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THE ART BULLETIN

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
The Creation of the <i>Style Louis XV</i> FISCHE KIMBALL	1
The <i>Imagines</i> of the Elder Philostratus KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN	16
A Spanish Romanesque Column in the Fogg Art Museum W. R. TYLER	45
A Documented Altarpiece by Piero della Francesca MILLARD MEISS	53
Notes	
Fragments of a Byzantine Ivory Box MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS	71
Exhibitions and Collections	
Frank Lloyd Wright at the Museum of Modern Art HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK	73
The Dumbarton Oaks Collection HANNS SWARZENSKI	77
Letters to the Editor	80
Book Reviews	82
<i>A Survey of Persian Art</i> Meyer Schapiro	
TALBOT HAMLIN, <i>Architecture Through the Ages</i> Lewis Mumford	
CHARLES SEYMOUR, JR., <i>Notre Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century</i> Kenneth John Conant	
FISCHE KIMBALL, <i>Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver, the Architect of Salem</i> Talbot Hamlin	
ROGER FRY, <i>Last Lectures</i> ; VIRGINIA WOOLF, <i>Roger Fry: A Biography</i> James Johnson Sweeney	
F. STOHLMAN, <i>Gli Smalti del Museo Sacro Vaticano</i> Perry B. Cott	
ANNA MARIA BRIZIO, <i>Ottocento; Novecento (Storia Universale dell'Arte, Vol. VI)</i> G. Haydn Huntley	
ARNOLD VON BORSIG, <i>Die Toscana, Landschaft, Kunst und Leben im Bild</i> Ulrich Middeldorf	
WILLIAM CHARLES WHITE, <i>Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China</i> Ludwig Bachhofer	
LAURENCE E. SCHMECKEBIER, <i>Modern Mexican Art</i> John McAndrew	
List of Books Received	99
Notes for Contributors	101

THE CREATION OF THE *STYLE LOUIS XV**

By FISKE KIMBALL

WHO invented the *style Louis XV*? Who was the first to imagine, to create those plastic forms from which issued, in the end, those of the rococo? We know that the first decisive works appeared in the last fifteen years of the reign of Louis XIV, culminating in the decoration of the chapel at Versailles and of the choir of Notre Dame de Paris, two works, themselves almost *régence*, in which may be found already the essentials of the style of Louis XV. These years were those of Mansart's Surintendance des Bâtiments (from 1699) and, after his death in 1708, of the succession of Robert de Cotte as Premier Architecte. Was it really to these great functionaries, or to other men, more modest in rank, that we should attribute the artistic initiative in this creation, one of the most genial of modern times?

One must first understand exactly the organization of the Bâtiments du Roi, as it existed in 1699, and as it had existed, for the most part, well before this date.¹ Both before and after Mansart, the responsible post of Surintendant was held by a layman: a minister like Colbert or Louvois, a great nobleman like the Duc d'Antin. The elevation to this post of a man of professional experience, in the person of Mansart, already Premier Architecte, was a unique exception. Not only did this, in itself, imply that he had displayed high talents for administration, but it tended to plunge him still further into varied activities of an administrative nature.

Fortunately we are in a position to know exactly the distribution of duties between him and his chief immediate subordinates, for we have long memoranda of their functions dictated by Mansart himself.² Their provisions throw a clear light on the matter of personal creative responsibility within the Bâtiments.

De Cotte, brother-in-law of Mansart, *architecte* in the Bâtiments since 1685, headed the *bureau des plans* "où se seront tous les desseigns pour le service du Roi, qu'il fera faire sur ceux que nous aurons réglé." Besides this supervision of their preparation, he was charged with maintenance of orderly files of the drawings, with care of the copper plates, engraved and unengraved, and direction of the work of engravers, with records of the marbles in the various magazines, their employment and sale, as of the stocks of lead, copper, iron and other materials, with the requisitioning of glass, with the papers of all the royal manufactures including the Gobelins and Savonnerie, their supplies and products, with all matters regarding the academies of architecture, painting, and sculpture, and, not least onerous, with putting in final form all the *devis* "que nous aurons dicté et réglé," distributing them to bidders and taking the bids. That De Cotte could draw, we know from the loose and summary sketches for his own hôtel of 1722, with their notes "ma chambre, mon cabinet."³ It is obvious, however, from the enumeration of his duties that he did not have the time personally to make finished drawings, and indeed we find no developed designs of interiors and ornament from his hand.

* This paper, the preparation of which was aided by a grant of the American Council of Learned Societies, was presented before the Athenaeum in New York on May 5, 1938. It was to have appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, July-August, 1939, and final corrections were embodied in the type on August 30, on the eve of suspension of publication at the outbreak of the war. The author is un-

able to communicate with the editors of the *Gazette*, with whom he hopes later to resume his collaboration.

1. R. Guillemet, *Essai sur la surintendance des bâtiments du Roi sous . . . Louis XIV*, Paris, 1912.

2. Archives nationales, O¹ 1246, prepared, it would seem, in 1699, on Mansart's accession to the Surintendance.

3. Cabinet des Estampes, Va 270.

Of the multiple functions listed for Jacques Gabriel, a Contrôleur Général since 1688, appointed *autre architecte* on Mansart's Surintendance, we need say only that they were all purely executive. Mariette states that Gabriel, whose mother was Mansart's cousin, "étoit expert dans la conduite du bâtiment, mais il n'aueroit pas pu dessiner le moindre bout d'ornement," and asks "Est-ce là être architecte?"⁴

Mansart himself, in spite of delegating so much, remained very fully occupied. His time was primarily employed in attendance on the King, whose orders, along with his own, he dictated to his secretary Marchand "sur des feuilles des papier volantes" (*sic*), which were sent at once to Gabriel to be registered and communicated to those concerned. Marchand or the under-secretary Beaulieu were instructed to follow Mansart constantly about, paper in hand, "pour écrire tout ce que je dirai, soit pour les choses que je trouverai à faire dans les visites que je ferai, ou pour les ordres que je donnerai aux contrôleurs ou entrepreneurs." Mansart held audiences and adjudications, dictated and signed letters, specifications, and contracts, and approved and signed the designs adopted. If we may believe the much later statement of Dargenville the Younger, Mansart "profloit dans la dernière perfection et dessinoit grossièrement avec du charbon ou une grosse plume."⁵ But we do not find in the archives any preliminary sketches which can be recognized as his, and he appears as a master of organization and efficiency rather than as an artistic creative genius.

We know that, in such ramified architectural organizations as Mansart was the first to create, the chief sometimes still retains a true artistic initiative. To judge of this we need to know whether or not the character remains essentially the same in the works of different designers in the organization at the same period, whether it evolves continuously in spite of change of designers or changes sharply with change in the personnel.

We have seen⁶ that the chief designer, actually holding the pencil, in the period 1685-99 was Lassurance, the accomplished *dessinateur* "sous clef" of Saint-Simon's strictures. In interiors, which constituted the principal royal works of that time, a sharp change in style occurred on his first appointment as *dessinateur* in January 1685; the evolution during his tenure was relatively minor. On Mansart's appointment to the Surintendance, Lassurance's pay was doubled, and in 1700 he was advanced to the rank of *architecte et dessinateur* at 5000 livres. From 1702 he was in charge at the Invalides and had his office in Paris⁷ so that he will scarcely have been concerned with the works which will occupy us here. From 1699, we shall see, the design of interiors and of decorative features was left to other hands.

As other *dessinateurs* there remained the veteran Cauchy, henceforth carried as *ancien dessinateur* with the least pay, and René Carlier the Elder, employed occasionally since 1695, regularly since 1698.⁸ These were now joined by Pierre Lepautre and Rivet the Younger. We shall find that it was Pierre Lepautre who played the essential creative rôle in the years from his appointment until his death, and that a decisive turn in the work of the Bâtiments

4. *Abecedario*, II, p. 276. Le comte de Fels, in *Ange-Jacques Gabriel*, Paris, 1912, cites no drawings by the elder Gabriel, whose later works he considers to have been designed by the son. Lemaistre (apparently Jean Pierre) who was also now appointed "autre architecte," was paid in 1700 as "architecte et expert, pour le verrification des toisez des bâtimens" (*Comptes*, IV, 684), and thus will likewise have been a practical man rather than a designer.

5. *Vies des fameux architectes*, Paris, 1787, p. 365. Dargenville was not yet born at Mansart's death; his father, with similar interests, could barely have known Mansart. Many of the younger Dargenville's notices were taken over entire from Mariette and other previous writers, but I have been unable to find any earlier source for this

passage.

6. Cf. the writer's papers, "Le décor du château de la Ménagerie," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VI^e pér., XVI, 1936, 245-56; "Les transformations des appartements à Trianon sous Louis XIV," *ibid.*, XIX, 1938, 88-110.

7. *Comptes*, IV, 912, 974.

8. Cauchy was made inspector at Meudon in 1700, and thereafter will scarcely have been concerned with the preparation of designs. We believe that to Carlier may be attributed the designs for remodeling the Cabinet de Madame de Maintenon at Trianon, 1698, and the Appartement du Roi in the Aile Gauche, 1700, both of conventional and backward character. Cf. the paper on Trianon cited in note 6.

occurred, immediately on his appointment, in designs entrusted to him. They comprised precisely such interior features, domestic and religious, as first manifested the new spirit, and continued to offer its most characteristic expressions.

Eldest of the children of Jean Lepautre (1618–82), Pierre Lepautre was married at Saint Christophe in 1678.⁹ We may thus place his birth in the neighborhood of 1648, perhaps a little later. Pierre-Jean Mariette, whose father published many of Pierre Lepautre's engravings, and who will have known him well, recounts his varied training under Jean Lepautre, his marvelous facility in etching, and his success as an engraver "dans le temps qu'il en faisoit son unique profession." At this time, from his first dated plates of 1679, we find him engraving illustrations for numerous volumes on architecture and related topics, with dates extending to 1698. It is worth noting that, following his father and brother Jacques (d. 1684), he engraved a number of designs by Jean Berain, those datable being of 1687, 1690, and 1693.¹⁰ He also received isolated payments in 1685, 1687, and 1689 for "planches et plans qu'il a gravez pour le service de S.M."¹¹ This will have been the justification for describing him as *graveur du Roy* in an agreement of August 14, 1692, signed by him and by the engraver, Jean Liebaux.¹² He had also engraved privately, in the 'nineties, several suites representing interiors and other details from buildings by Mansart.¹³

For his later career the basic text is the following passage from Mariette's notice:

Comme il se trouva avoir assez de génie pour l'architecture, et qu'il possédoit toutes les parties pour la bien dessiner, Jules-Hardouin Mansart, surintendant des bastimens, jeta les yeux sur luy, fit créer en sa faveur une place de dessinateur et graveur des bastimens du roy, et, en cette qualité, se l'étant entièrement attaché, il se servit souvent de sa main pour rédiger et mettre au net ses pensées. Ainsy Pierre le Pautre eut beaucoup de part à tous les ouvrages qui se fit dans la suite à Versailles, à Marly et dans les autres maisons royales, tant pour ce qui regard l'architecture que le jardinage. Il en fit presque tous les dessins; il en grava mesme plusieurs.¹⁴

It was indeed precisely on Mansart's elevation to the Surintendance, in January 1699, that Pierre Lepautre first entered the regular employ of the Bâtiments, as *dessinateur et graveur* at a salary of 2000 livres (*Comptes*, IV, 554), continuing until his death in 1716.¹⁵ That Mariette was not in error in suggesting Mansart's dependence on Lepautre is shown by another significant document, in the register of extracts and decisions for 1701:

Paultre represente qu'il a travaillé longtemps sous les ordres de M. Mansart du temps de Msrs. Colbert et Louvois sans estre payé de son travail.

Que M. Mansart luy a promis de luy faire de bien en cette consideration. Il demande quelque gratification pour ce travail.¹⁶

To which Gabriel noted: "M. Mansart lui fera plaisir dans l'occasion," a promise never kept.

As compared with Lassurance, his predecessor as *dessinateur*, whose training was purely architectural, Pierre Lepautre was much more versatile, having learned from his father, as Mariette says, "l'architecture, l'ornement, la perspective et généralement toutes les dif-

9. H. Herluison, *Actes d'état-civil des artistes français*, Paris, 1873, p. 245. He is still frequently confused with his cousin, the sculptor Pierre Lepautre (1660–1744).

10. R.-A. Weigert, *Jean I. Berain*, Paris, 1937, nos. 234–41, pp. 178 ff.

11. *Comptes*, II, 785. The earliest of these may well have been the large perspective of the Hôtel des Invalides, signed and dated 1683.

12. Archives notariales, minutier central, XLIX, 399, document communicated by the gracious authorization of Me. Faroux. This is the only signature of Pierre Lepautre known to me.

13. Listed by Destailleur, *Notices sur quelques artistes français*, Paris, 1863 and, as to interiors, by the writer in "The Development of the 'Cheminée à la royale,'" *Metro-politan Museum Studies*, v, 1936, 259–80. We would now revise slightly, as follows, the dates there assigned to these: *Cheminées et lambris à la mode*, ca. 1684; *Portes à placard*, ca. 1688; *Cheminées à la royale*, ca. 1696.

14. *Abecedario*, III, p. 188.

15. This is the year given by Mariette. It is confirmed by the manuscript accounts, O¹2216 and 2217, which record payments to him for 1716, but not for 1717.

16. O¹1081.

férentes parties du dessin." In an engraved address he informs the public: "Pierre Lepautre . . . montre à dessiner l'Architecture, la Figure, l'Ornement, le Paysage, etc." Notably in his mastery of the figure he surpasses Lassurance, who rarely introduced any figural motives in his drawings, and then with but rudimentary indications.¹⁷ We shall serve the more freely plastic character which appeared in the work of the Bâtiments by Lepautre's advent.

Among surviving drawings for the royal works between 1699 and 1716 we find a considerable number made by a single hand, a hand not appearing before or after these dates, which are those of Lepautre's employment. Comparison of their technique with that of his engraved designs reveals that these drawings are indeed from the hand of Pierre Lepautre. In spite of varying media, and of varying degrees of care and of speed in preparation, they show a unity of technique as impressive as is their difference in technique from other drawings of the same milieu, even those of imitators and followers. They permit us to identify as from Lepautre's designs a body of executed work which includes also certain works for which the original drawings are not preserved.

We will consider these works in the order of evolution, beginning with the decisive examples in the palaces of the crown,¹⁸ the first of Lepautre's designs to be executed and admired, the first to be influential.

THE DECORATION OF THE PALACES, 1699-1703

It is in the new chimneypieces at Marly, designed beginning in April 1699, and completed by December, that there appears for the first time the characteristic style of the last fifteen years of the reign of Louis XIV, already foreshadowing the *style régence*. They were published in the *Livre de cheminées exécutées à Marly sur les desseins de Monsr. Mansart Surintendant . . . dessinées et gravées par P. Le Pautre Graveur du Roi* (Figs. 1-2).¹⁹ They show the type of *cheminée à la Mansarde* or *à la royale* with arched mirror extending to the cornice, itself of recent invention—first employed, so far as we know, in Mansart's remodelings of the Hôtel de Lorges by 1695; again in the Appartement d'Été of the Ménagerie from drawings by Lassurance in 1698-99, and in the Cabinet de Monseigneur at Meudon from designs of Berain, executed in March to July of 1699.²⁰

The Marly designs, limited though they are to a refacing of the existing narrow chimney-breasts,²¹ already embody the essential character of the new phase of the style, soon to be employed in the remodelings of the royal apartments at Versailles in 1701 and at Trianon in 1702-1703. By contrast with Lassurance's work of 1685-98, with its rigidly geometrical framework, its limitation of carved ornament to the decoration of moldings and friezes, we now find a plastic modification of the framework itself and a free invasion of the panels by plastic elements.

The forms, though differently employed, were suggested by certain elements from the painted surface-ornament of Berain.²² In Berain's panel-fillings the characteristic feature was the bandwork, in C-scrolls connected by short vertical and horizontal bars. These

17. E.g., two cherubs in a drawing for the Ménagerie reproduced in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, loc. cit.

18. As we shall see, the earliest of all his designs to be made for the Bâtiments, preceding the domestic examples by a few weeks, was a religious work, but this was not executed until later and in a modified form.

19. A precious example, possibly unique, is in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cf. the writer's study in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, loc. cit.

20. Cf. the paper on the *cheminée à la royale*, just cited.

21. Only in the Chambre du Roi were there more extensive changes. Cf. A. M. E. Marie, "Les chambres de Louis XIV au Grand Trianon et à Marly," *Bulletin de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1938, pp. 190-96.

22. Its essential forms were developed by 1693, as we see from plates engraved by Dolivar who died in that year, but it is important nevertheless to observe the chronology of Berain's later works.

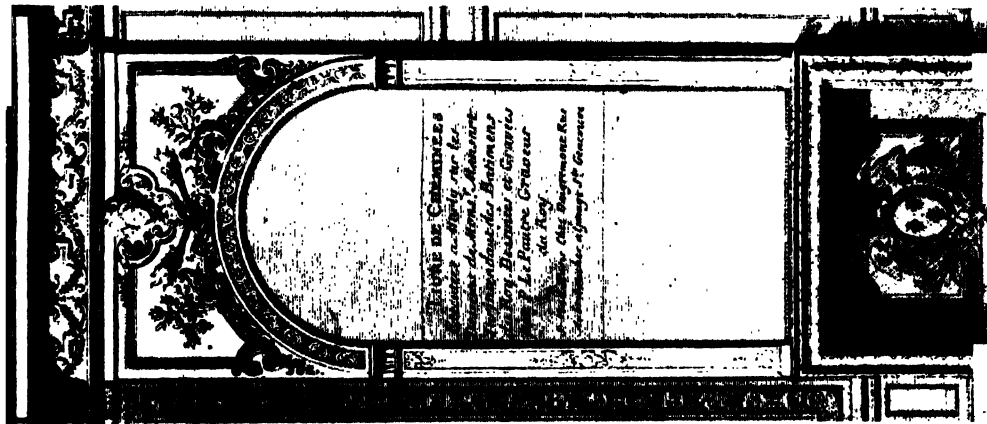


Fig. 1

FIGS. 1-2—CHIMNEYPIECES AT MARLY, 1699. DRAWN AND
ENGRAVED BY PIERRE LEPAUTRE

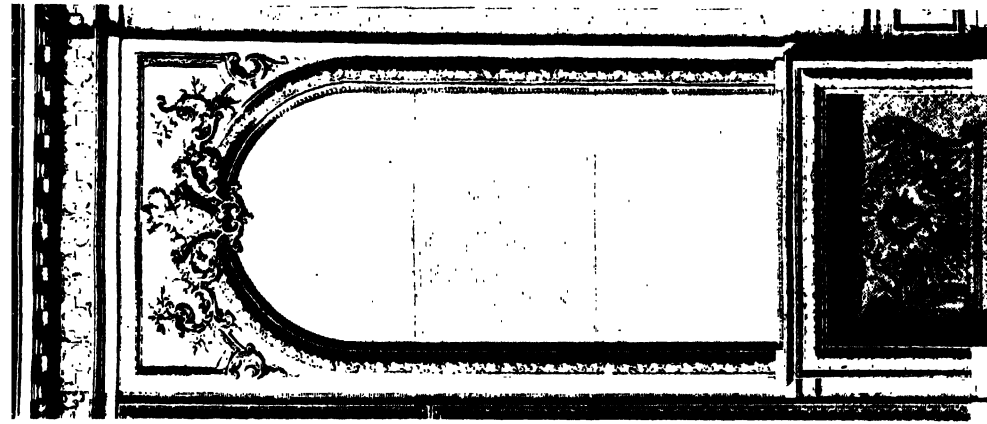


Fig. 2

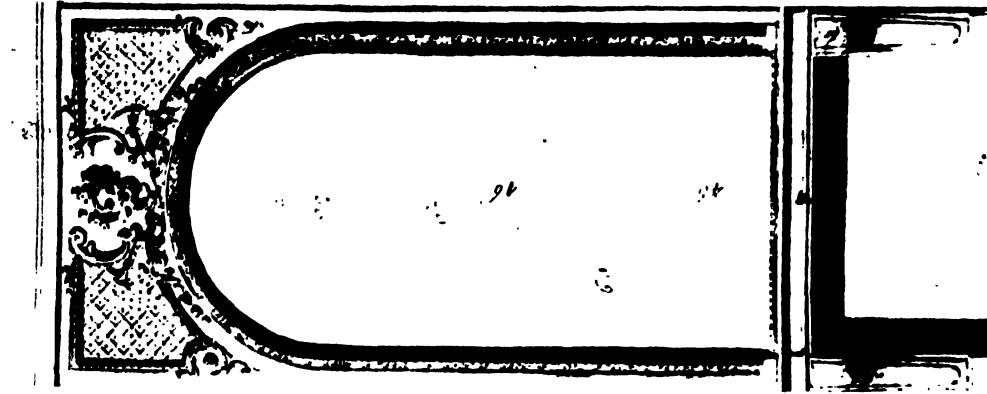


Fig. 3

FIGS. 3-4—MANUSCRIPT DESIGNS FOR CHIMNEYPIECES, 1700.
DRAWN BY PIERRE LEPAUTRE

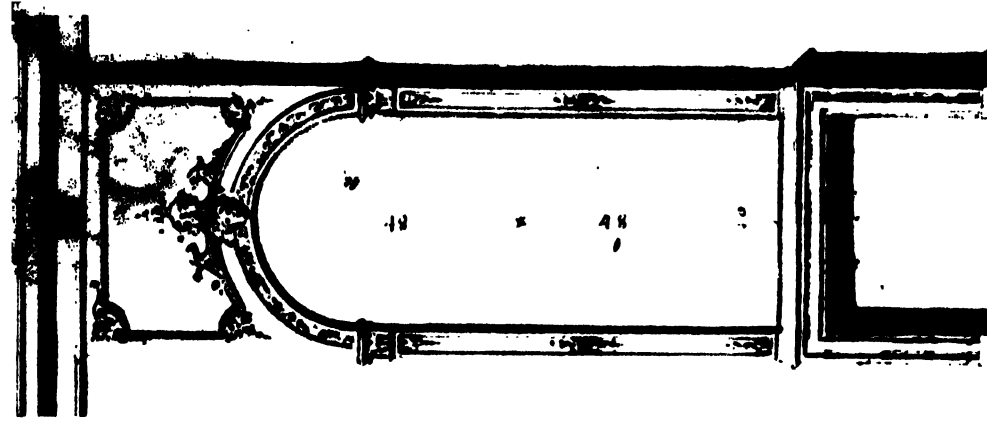


Fig. 4

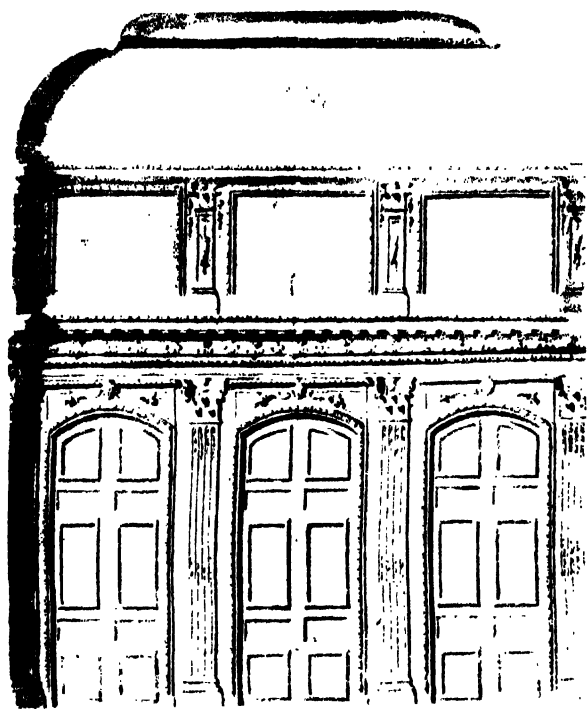


Fig. 5

FIGS. 5 6 STUDIES FOR THE CHAMBRE DU ROI AT VERSAILLES, 1701. DRAWN BY PIERRE LEPAUTRE

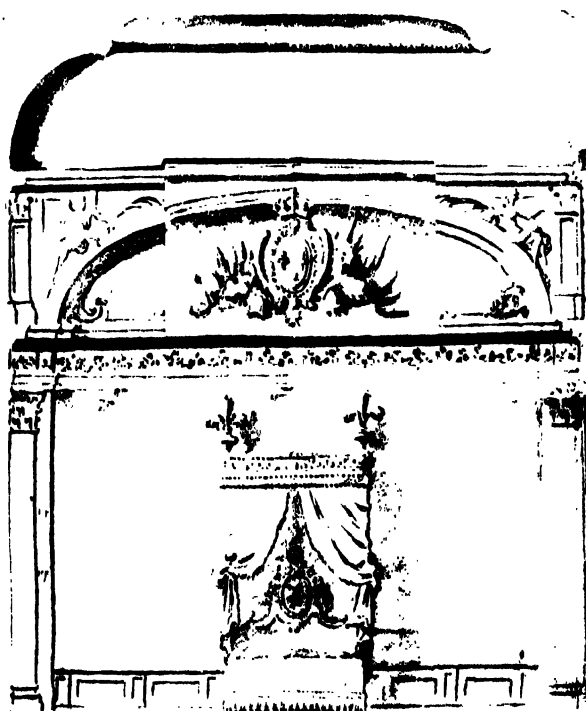


Fig. 6



Fig. 7 Medal of the Altar of Notre-Dame, 1699. By Roussel and De Launay

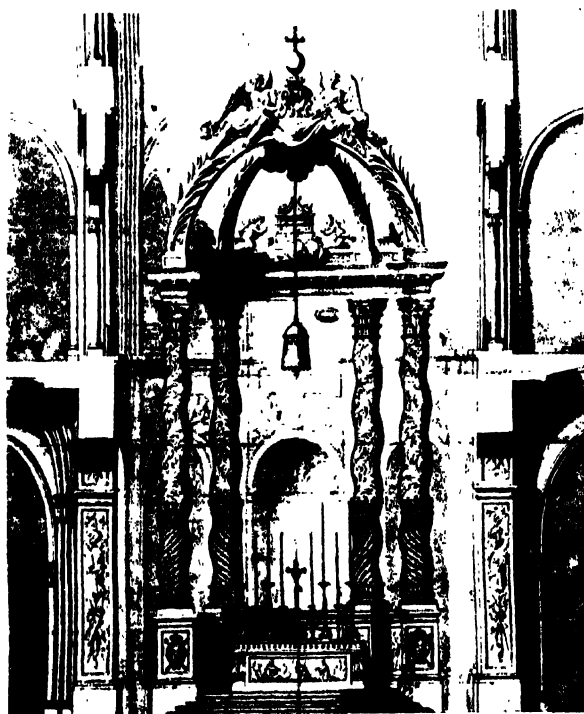


Fig. 8 Design for the Altar of Notre-Dame, 1699. Drawn by Pierre Lepautre

bands end to left and right in the *bec-de-corbin*²³ of two converging scrolls, from the spiral of which diverges the reverse curve of a leaf of acanthus. At the junction of bands on the central axis, from between opposite scrolls, spread radiating lines, essentially those of a palmette which may be realized as bellflower, as shell, or as the head-dress of a mask.²⁴

At Marly the scheme of Berain's flat band-work is taken over by Lepautre into the plastic framework itself. Lepautre applies Berain's forms to the moulded outlines of the panels; he truncates their angles by C-scrolls ending in the *bec-de-corbin*, each with a swirl of acanthus;²⁵ he flanks the palmettes of mask and headdress by opposite scrolls, interrupting the mouldings.

We may compare Lepautre's treatment here with Berain's in his chimneypiece at Meudon, in course of execution at the same moment, and in his engraved series *Desseins de cheminées* (including that one), which the dedication shows to have been issued in 1699 or later. Berain's arabesque is a panel-filling. He may inscribe lines of bandwork with his typical motives, but he confines them within the mouldings, which themselves remain strictly geometrical—he does not transfer these motives to the frame. Lepautre, on the other hand, while modifying the plastic outline with such motives, abandons the painted arabesque filling. The only real filling in his panels is a uniform carved *mosaïque* of neutral effect (itself based on hints from Berain's earlier work) occasionally used as a foil to the airy whiteness of the background elsewhere. This transformation of the arabesque from a flat filling to a plastic frame was a significant contribution of Lepautre, destined to have far-reaching influence.

There is an equal contrast between their major architectural forms: Berain's are of mannerist character, complex and broken, with academic proportions and bold projections; Lepautre's are relatively simple, with slender proportions and slight relief. The lightness of Berain's surface arabesques was in sharp contrast to his own treatment of masses. Lepautre, having created a frame of plastic arabesque elements, now abandoned any massive architectural forms. Thus he opened the way which was henceforth to be followed.

That it was not Mansart or De Cotte who was responsible for originating the new treatment is shown by their failure to impose it on Carlier also, in his designs of February 1700, for remodeling the *Chambre du Roi* at Trianon. The artistic failure of these, in contrast to the brilliant success of Lepautre at Marly, was such that the triumph of the new style soon became universal. Mansart and De Cotte thenceforth adopted the style of Lepautre for all interior works, and, as we shall see, called on him personally to make the drawings for the most important ones.

Great ladies of the court must at once have chimneypieces in the fashion. There exist several manuscript drawings for ones on the order of those at Marly, the touch of which, identical with that of the Marly engravings, clearly establishes that they are by Pierre Lepautre (Figs. 3-4).²⁶ The fine pen-stroke does not differ essentially from the stroke of Lepautre's free outline with needle or burin, alike facile and flowing, with slight shading. The heads above the arches are expressively indicated with a few touches, a dot under the

23. So the motive is called by Geymüller, *Baukunst der Renaissance in Frankreich*, Darmstadt, 1901, and by German authors following him. Although Geymüller had the advice of Destailleur in matters of usage, I do not find the term used in just this sense by French writers, either in the eighteenth century or today.

24. Cf. the detailed analysis of Berain's forms in R. Sedlmaier, *Grundlagen der Rokoko-Ornamentik in Frankreich*, Strassburg, 1917, pp. 22-30, with which, however,

we cannot agree in matters of dating and attribution.

25. Geymüller, *op. cit.*, p. 347, sees the plastic *bec-de-corbin* motive in the scrolled ears of architraves by Borromini (e.g., at the Sapienza). These motives, however, lack the acanthus leaf which clearly indicates Lepautre's dependence on the French tradition of Berain.

26. Cabinet des Estampes, De Cotte collection, Ha 18, fols. 25 and 26.

line of the mouth being particularly characteristic. Lepautre's handling of the brush, and of color, is here revealed to us for the first time. Narrow shadows are drawn in boldly with a very sure line of the brush. While the choice of tints, for woodwork, for glass, for marbles, are those which had become traditional in the Bâtiments, the blond tonality is paler and more neutral than with Lassurance or Carlier. One of these drawings (Fig. 3) is inscribed, "Cheminée de Mad^e La princesse de Conty à Versailles. Bon à Rivet menuisier et Tarlet marbrier. Le tout réglé le 15^e Juin 1700. Mansart."²⁷ Another (Fig. 4) seems to be for the Chambre de Mme la Duchesse de Chartres, ordered September 12, 1700.

By 1701 a remodeling of the Appartement du Roi at Versailles could no longer be postponed. It was executed, as we know, on a radical plan, taking for the Chambre du Roi the old central salon, with its greater size and height, extending the Antichambre to include the space vacated by the Chambre, and enlarging the Cabinet du Roi or Chambre de Conseil at the expense of the Cabinet des Perruques. The first two of these rooms remain substantially intact, among the chief monuments from the last period of the reign.

For the Chambre du Roi, designs survive at the Archives Nationales (O¹1768, no. 66) which seem to have escaped the earlier students of Versailles (Figs. 5-6). They show successive studies for the rear wall. Although the drawing under the wash is here in pencil instead of pen, there is no difficulty in recognizing the same hand as in the drawings by Lepautre which we have presented. There is the same free and sure drawing of shadows with the brush, the same abbreviations for the scrollwork and *mosaïque*, the same, notably, for pilaster capitals. On the later alternates, more summarily sketched, the touch becomes progressively bolder, the figures showing the greatest mastery and economy of line, with Lepautre's characteristic shorthand for the faces.

While in this room the pilasters and doorways are survivals from the treatment of 1684,²⁸ all else was, by successive orders, brought in line with the new spirit. The effect of height was increased by the genial invention of the great arch, and by the new arches of chimneypiece and opposite pier "renfermant des glaces jusqu'en haut," with details clearly designed by the same hand as those at Marly. The old overdoors, "trop pesants," were replaced; the heavy panels of the old doors were carved as best they could be with bandwork ornaments "riches et légers," the window-heads and shutters were likewise carved in Lepautre's new vocabulary of forms.

Of the designs for the Oeil-de-Boeuf and the Cabinet de Conseil only rough office copies survive,²⁹ but many features reveal unmistakably the paternity of Pierre Lepautre. In the chimneypiece of the Oeil-de-Boeuf, this is evident both for the mantel, with its oval arch, and for the great mirror with its concave upper corners—features both found first in the examples at Marly. The tympanums of the windows are merely so many Marly mirror-heads; the window-heads are rich adaptations of the same novel motives. Beneath the large paintings and mirrors of these rooms the paneling offered for the first time large panels carved in the new manner—a border of bandwork with scrolled corners *à bec-de-corbin*; scrollwork invading the field at the ends and about a large central rosette. It is small wonder, in view of the richness and novelty of this treatment, that Dangeau should have

27. Only the signature is Mansart's, not the other writing. Nolhac was in error when, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, II, 1902, 41, he captioned this drawing "Croquis de Mansart." The order for the work, June 15, 1700, is included in Mansart's register.

28. Not 1679 as previous scholars had supposed. Cf. "Mansart and Le Brun in the Genesis of the Grande Galerie

de Versailles," *ART BULLETIN*, XXII, 1940, 4.

29. O¹1770, liasse 1, nos. 15 and 15 bis; and O¹1772, liasse 11, nos. 4 and 5. The latter, which reveal for the first time the treatment of the Cabinet de Conseil between 1701 and 1755, were kindly called to my attention by A. M. E. Marie. We shall publish them in a collaborative study of the Appartement du Roi.

written, on the return from Fontainebleau to Versailles November 16, 1701 (VIII, 239): "Le roi trouva ici son appartement d'une magnificence, d'un agrément et d'une commodité non pareils."

Even in the case of the Grande Galerie, Lepautre was called on to make certain designs for modifications at this time. It is well known that the first set of bronze *chutes d'armes* by Ladoireau were not delivered until 1701, when the King ordered them placed in the Salon de la Guerre,³⁰ and that it was not until this period that an order was given for additional examples for the Galerie, which are believed to have replaced the "trophées de plomb et d'étain" executed in 1682. Brière, with commendable caution, wrote: "Rien ne prouve qu'ils aient été semblable aux 'chutes d'armes'." On the contrary, we find that the original decoration of the panels in the Galerie now containing the *chutes d'armes* was entirely different.³¹ It was on the occasion of this change that Lepautre will have made a long drawing of the Galerie, rendered in his characteristic manner, to show the intended new aspect (O¹1768).

At Trianon, too, the King had to have an apartment in the new style, provided in 1702 in place of the Salle de Comédie.³² From their character we cannot doubt that the details at least were drawn by Lepautre. These rooms, wholly new, exemplify the style more fully than could the remodelings at Marly and Versailles. The modifications of the geometrical assemblage by carved scrollwork is carried into the overdoors and pier glasses. No longer are there any moulded impost; though the upright panels on many walls are punctuated at half their height by rosettes or small ornamented traverses, the effect is now of a single flight from dado to cornice. The weight and relief of all the mouldings is greatly reduced, and the whole paneling takes on an ethereal lightness and delicacy.

Lepautre's hand may be recognized beyond doubt in the subsequent work at Trianon, which included new chimneypieces at Trianon-sous-Bois in 1705, new and more delicate cornices, placed higher, in many of the rooms of the Château in 1706, the graceful smiling modifications of the Salon des Glaces at that period, and of the Salon des Sources in 1713.

THE FIRST PROJECTS FOR THE ALTAR OF NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS, 1699-1703

Even before Lepautre's first decorations of this character were being executed in the royal châteaux, he had made for the Bâtiments the first design for a major religious work, the altar of Notre-Dame de Paris. We are forced to discuss this project in some detail, for Lepautre's connection with it has not been appreciated and the evolution of the design itself has not hitherto been adequately established.³³

On December 19, 1698, Dangeau had noted in his journal³⁴ the King's gift of a large sum for this purpose, in fulfilment of the old vow of Louis XIII. Of the character of the first design, our chief idea hitherto has been derived from descriptions of the medal by Roussel and De Launay³⁵ placed in the cornerstone December 7, 1699, of which an example is now reproduced here (Fig. 7). As Germain Brice wrote in 1713 (*Comptes*, III, 264), it shows the altar "de quatre colonnes torses, d'ordre composé, posées en demy cercle, qui portoient un demy baldaquin."

The original design for the altar in this form has lain, apparently unobserved, at the

30. Mansart's register, October 1701.

31. See our paper on the Grande Galerie, cited in note 28.

32. Cf. the writer's paper on Trianon, cited in note 6.

33. M. Vloberg, *Notre-Dame de Paris et le voeu de Louis XIII*, Paris, 1926, reproduced some of the designs for the altar, but he apparently did not know those illustrated here,

and thus failed to disentangle the evolution.

34. VI, 477. December 21 he reports the amount as 500,000 livres.

35. Their authorship of the medal is indicated by the *Comptes*, IV, 485, 488. In Mansart's register, O¹1809, we find the authorization for it under date of June 12, 1699.

Archives Nationales (O¹1690, no. 52). It bears on the back the endorsement, entirely in Mansart's bold hand: "Arete par le Roy ce 19 mars 1699, Mansart."³⁶ The same date appears in his endorsement of a memorandum (no. 36): "Depense à faire pour l'Autel de Notre Dame," totaling 287,000 livres: "regle ce Jour duy—à Marly par le Roy pour l'Autel de Notre Dame—et depancer 40,000 par année à commencer de cel de 1699 19 mars."

This drawing, which we reproduce for the first time (Fig. 8), is from the hand of Pierre Lepautre. Drawn on a large fair sheet, it is inked with easy mastery and finely rendered in color. The identity of technique with Lepautre's drawings and engravings extends to indication of every individual motive of ornament—palm, bellflower, acanthus, fleur de lys, shell, guilloche. The suggestion of the faces, the drawing of the figure, nervous and muscular, and of the wings all conform with the manner of Pierre Lepautre, indeed the crowning group is almost identical with one in the designs for the Chambre du Roi.

Lepautre's design of 1699 for Notre-Dame did not represent an isolated and radical adoption of an Italian baroque type, for this type had been current in France since Bernini's design for the altar of the Val-de-Grace in 1665.³⁷ On the contrary, the design is in many respects a conservative version of the baroque scheme, reverting to more geometrical lines. The plan is a semicircle; the canopy has a semicircular arch, disguised but slightly by the fronds of palm—very different from the consoles at St. Peter's, the Val-de-Grace, or the Invalides. The spacing of the columns is uniform, instead of being unequal in balanced, opposite groups.

The treatment of the arcades of the choir and apse around the baldaquin deserves some attention, especially as, in the end, this treatment was to become a dominant feature of the design. The Gothic piers were to be given a revetment of marble with round arches, above which were pairs of seated female figures supporting shields. The piers were to be adorned with trophies of arms.

The *Comptes* regarding Notre-Dame reveal numerous payments in 1699 for the execution of a model of the altar in wood. The first stone of the foundations was laid December 7, 1699 and the full-size model was exhibited June 19, 1700,³⁸ but met with much criticism. The King inspected the model on his visit to Paris on May 20, 1701, "le trouva mal placé," as Dangeau reports (VIII, 105), and called for a vote of the canons as to its location.³⁹ In September 1703, the model was demolished.⁴⁰ In an unpublished contemporary résumé of the history of the project (O¹1690, no. 44) we read: "En 1703 M. De Cotte écrivit au Chapitre en ces termes: 'Le Roy a vu le nouveau dessein de l'Autel de Notre-Dame; il m'a paru content. Nous allons travailler en conformité tant à l'autel qu'au dessus de chaises et jubé.' Le dessein a été exécuté."

What appear to be the first tentative versions of the new design, thus datable probably from 1703, exist in three variants preserved at the Cabinet des Estampes (Va 259b).⁴¹ The

36. *Ibid.*, March 4, 1699: "M. Mansart a fait voir au Roi le dessein en forme circulaire de l'autel de Notre-Dame que sa Majesté a approuvé." Following preparation of the estimate, royal authority to proceed is also recorded here, March 19.

37. Marcel Reymond, "L'autel du Val-de-Grace," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1911, 1, 367-94.

38. We learn the date from a memorandum of severe observations, O¹1690, no. 37.

39. From this time come the studies for placing a similar baldaquin in other positions in the cathedral, reproduced by Vloberg, *op. cit.* One (pl. xxxvii), apparently by Lepautre, is a perspective showing it placed under the crossing. The twisted columns are abandoned in favor of fluted Corinthian columns. Another (pl. xxxix), described by

Vloberg as "Dessin de Robert de Cotte," is inscribed "Idée d'un particulier" and would appear to be one of the suggestions volunteered at this period. It places the baldaquin at the entrance to the choir, flanked by remains of the old jubé of the early seventeenth century (cf. Vloberg, pl. xvii). From the technique and details of this design the "particulier" might well seem to have been Gilles-Marie Oppenord, who had returned from seven years' study of the baroque in Italy in the summer of 1699 and was eager for employment (cf. *Grand Oppenord*, pl. LXXXVIII).

40. *Comptes*, IV, 957. Some late payments for further demolition of the "ancien modèle" occur in 1709 (V, 342).

41. Courajod, writing in the *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*, année 1873, pp. 356-58, erroneously supposed these drawings to be of the period of 1699.

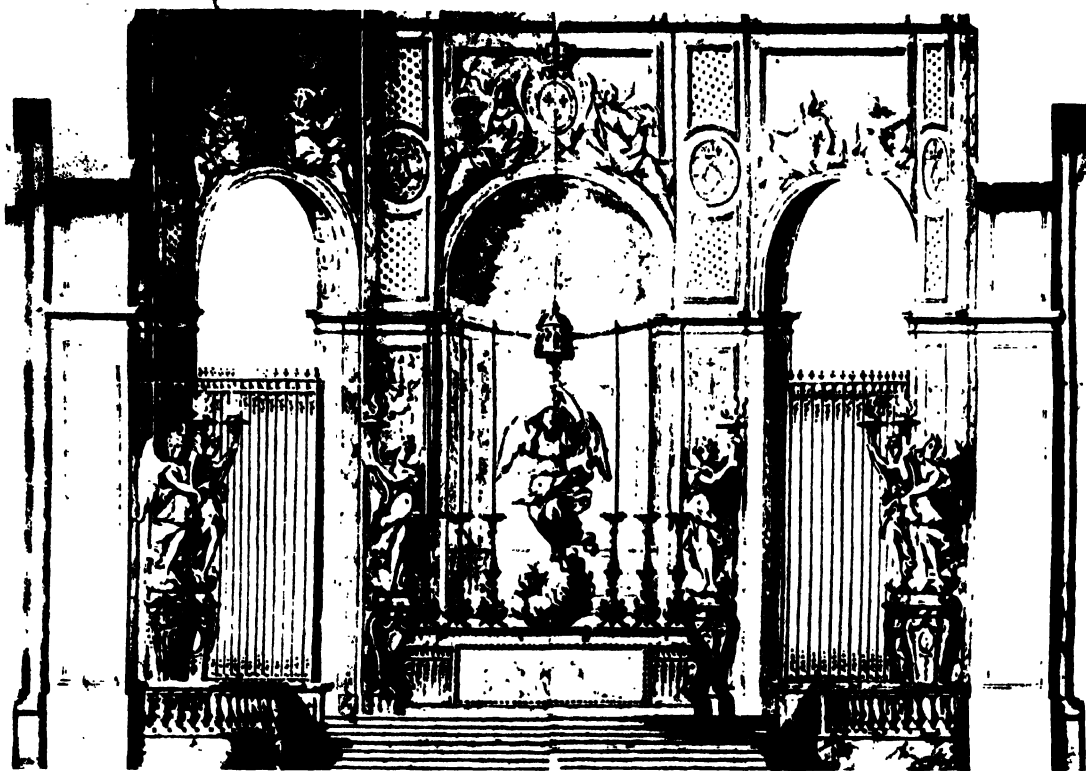


Fig. 9 Design for the Choir of Notre-Dame, *ca.* 1703. Drawn by Pierre Lepautre



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

FIGS. 10-11 ALTERNATE STUDIES FOR THE CENTRAL BAY OF THE CHOIR OF NOTRE-DAME



Fig. 12 Detail of Stalls of the Cathedral of Orleans,
1702-1706



Fig. 13 Engraved Design by
Pierre Lepautre (Detail)

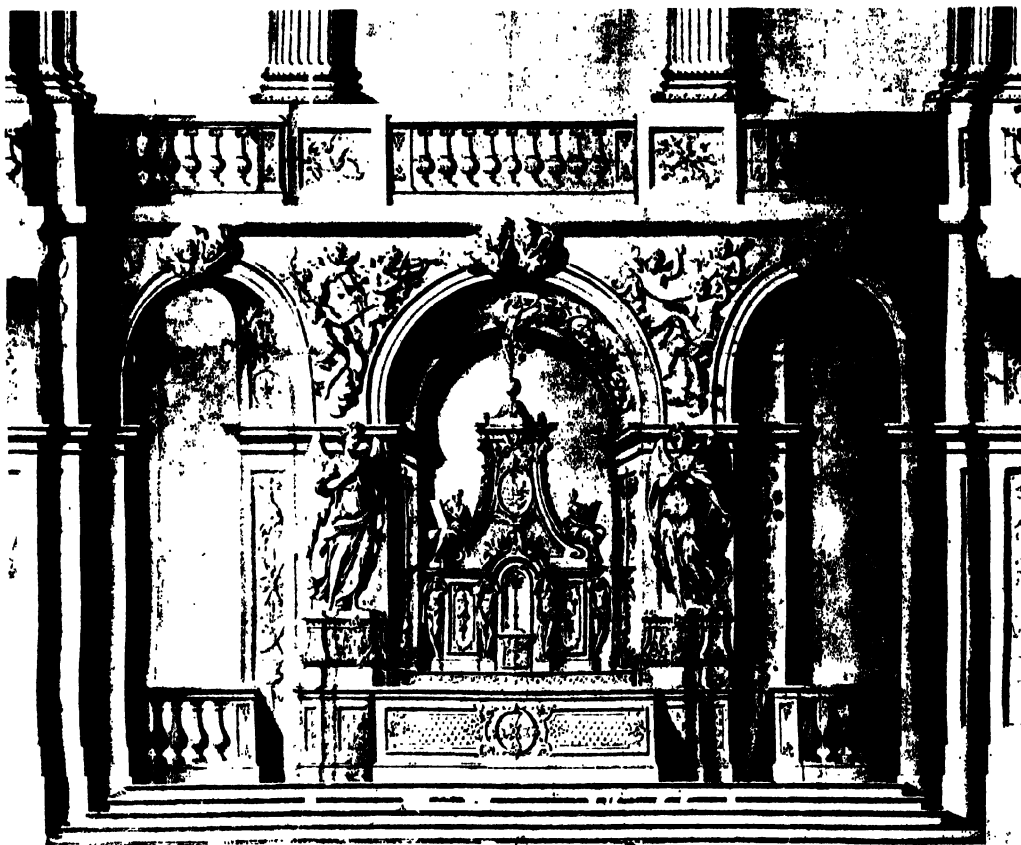


Fig. 14 Design for the Apse of the Chapel at Versailles, 1707. Drawn by Pierre Lepautre

drawings (Figs. 9-11), hitherto unpublished, are likewise from the hand of Pierre Lepautre. This is shown not only by absolute identity of the tricks of hand with corresponding features in the design of 1699 (e.g., the crucifix) but also by independent analogies of indication with other drawings and engravings of Lepautre. The medium is again the same—pen and colored wash, with similar tonality—although there is a somewhat freer and bolder shading with the brush.

It was now proposed merely to place near the back of the apse a low altar-table like a sarcophagus, with a relief of Louis XIII kneeling before the Virgin with the dead Christ. Around the sanctuary, on pedestals flanked by consoles, were to stand angels holding torches. In the first version an angel also occupies a niche in the central arch. The second version shows under the arch, instead, an elaborate tabernacle corbeled on consoles adorned with winged cherub-heads. In the third variant, from which the executed designs were later developed, the relief of the *Pietà*, with the monarch in adoration, is enlarged and removed from the altar-front to fill the central arch or niche, above which a glory with adoring angels replaces the royal coat-of-arms with its supporters. The trophies of the piers below the imposts are now *trophées d'église*. Above are panels of *mosaïque* with rondels at half their height. The motives meanwhile developed in domestic interiors thus begin to make a modest appearance in monumental religious work.

The execution of the altar was deferred until after the death of Mansart, with further modifications which we shall discuss in their place.

THE STALLS OF ORLEANS, 1702-1706

Meanwhile a project of related character, for the choir of the Cathedral of Orleans, had received the attention of the Bâtiments. The approved design for the stalls (Fig. 12) was one presented in 1702 by Jacques Gabriel, Contrôleur Général des Bâtiments du Roi.⁴² Now Jacques Gabriel, while an efficient executive, was, according to the passage we have quoted from Mariette, incapable of drawing the least detail of ornament. When we examine the surviving woodwork of the stalls and of the episcopal throne (designed in 1705), we realize at once that he had recourse to the gifted designer of the Bâtiments, who had just created these new forms.

We see that Lepautre embodied here in church woodwork the ideas he had developed in the paneling of the palaces. While most of the panels are geometrical, those above the arches, like those above the chimneypieces elsewhere, are truncated with the *bec-de-corbin*. In the panels of the pedestal below the episcopal throne are the rosettes and interlaces of the dadoes at Versailles. The scheme of the ovals within an arch on consoles is like that of the overdoors in the new apartment of the King at Trianon, designed the same year, and corresponds even more closely to one of Lepautre's engraved designs for interiors at this period (Fig. 13).

It should be noted that the *trophées d'église*, here employed as a major decorative feature, were the first conspicuous examples of this motive, foreshadowed in baroque Italy and afterwards so widely adopted. Their use was in contravention of a recent dictum of the Académie d'Architecture at its séance of June 3, 1697: "Il serait mal à propos de représenter en trophée mesmes dans les églises, des chandeliers, des calices, des burettes et autres choses semblables,

42. Adjudication of June 30, 1702, published with other documents by G. Vignat in *Réunion des sociétés des beaux-arts des départements*, xvii, 7893, 722-56, and by G. Cheneveau, *Sainte-Croix d'Orléans*, 1921, pp. 199-213. The carving of the stalls and of the throne was executed by

Dugoullons (so he signed his name in one of the documents), the medallions of the life of Christ being from drawings and models furnished by Robert le Lorrain, as the younger Dargenville notes in his life of the sculptor.

qu'on n'a pas coûtume d'attacher et mettre en trophée."⁴³ Thus a new freedom transcended academic bounds and pointed toward the future.

THE DECORATION OF THE ROYAL CHAPEL AT VERSAILLES, 1707-1710

The succession of De Cotte to the post of Premier Architecte, on the death of Mansart, May 11, 1708, did not affect the status of Pierre Lepautre, who continued as *dessinateur* with the same pay. The great enterprise then in progress was the decoration of the chapel at Versailles. Its forms were magnificently recorded in the folio *Les Plans, coupes, profils et élévations de la chapelle du château royal de Versailles, levés & gravés par Pierre Lepautre architecte & graveur du Roy*. It is not however, on this, his record of the completed work, that we base our suggestion that Lepautre had a large share in the decorative design. There survive numerous manuscript drawings from his hand.

The most important of these are for the apse of the chapel with the high altar, preserved at the Cabinet des Estampes.⁴⁴ One large sheet (Fig. 14) shows the whole breadth of the nave. No less than eleven flaps, now mounted separately (Va 361, tome VII), give alternate designs for the altar with its flanking figures. All these are rendered in wash in Lepautre's characteristic blond tonality, identical in touch and degree of development with the drawings of 1703 for the apse and altar of Notre-Dame, with which they are also closely related in style and motive.

The basic drawing, already indicating all the wealth of sculptured ornamentation the chapel was to receive, shows this in forms antedating the execution of any of it, and was thus made not later than 1707.⁴⁵ Lepautre here treats the altar-front with his characteristic panel-work; above it he places a retable composed with motives derived from Berain. Later alternates offer a variety of tabernacles and baldaquins, as well as large reliefs filling the arch: a *Nativity*, a *Resurrection*, a *Pietà*, and angels flanking a glory—the scheme adopted in the relief executed by Van Clève. In the several studies, the flanking figures are sometimes saints, sometimes angels, standing or kneeling, the last foreshadowing those finally carried out. Their pedestals take on a baluster-like profile reminiscent of Berain.

For the spandrels of the choir, Lepautre proposed groups of three angel-musicians; we know that, after Coustou had experimented with models of two angels, the scheme of a single angel with a cherub was adopted in execution. For the piers Lepautre proposed *trophées d'église*, as in the stalls at Orleans; already in the drawing before us he suggests a variety of the motives employed in those, which make the magnificence of this decoration. The bands of interlace on the soffits of the arches are also indicated here generically; we cannot doubt that the motives of the pendentives and the rosettes of the aisle vaults, as well as the backgrounds of *mosaïque*—all so consonant with his earlier work—derive also from Lepautre.

At the Archives Nationales are studies for certain other features of the chapel;⁴⁶ all those surviving from the time of its first building may be recognized as in the technique of Lepautre. They include early projects for the altar of the Virgin (Fig. 15), the altar of the Holy Sacrament, and the altars of the aisles. These altars, first discussed in a preliminary memorandum of January 1707, were executed on a somewhat modified scheme in 1708-1710. Our drawings will thus be from 1707.

The project for the altar of the Virgin—identical in the indication of every motive with

43. *Procès-verbaux*, III, 11.

44. Topographie, format 6.

45. The dates and names of executants are covered by L. Deshairs, *Documents inédits sur la chapelle de Château*

de Versailles, Paris, 1906, reprinted with fuller detail from his paper in the *Revue de l'histoire de Versailles et de Seine-et-Oise*, VII, 1905, 341-62.

46. O¹1782, 1783.

Lepautre's line drawings and engravings—is not based on Italian altarpieces, but is a composition of original type, of elements already familiar to us in his secular work. In the great frame of the painting, the outline repeats that of mirror-frames at Marly and in the *Oeil-de-Boeuf*, though winged cherub-heads *à la* Borromini form the central motive and replace the leafage at the upper corners. In the latter position, they constitute, with others in the chapel of Versailles, the earliest examples I know in French architecture of the *têtes en espagnolette*, a motive familiar in Berain's engravings.

That the superbly carved doors of the chapel and its vestibules were made from drawings by Lepautre is a conclusion which is inescapable. Perfectly coherent in style with the projects for altar-frontals, they show the culmination of his personal development in the liaison of the divisions by interpenetrating scrolls, and in the more impassioned curvature.

The new freedom was even more apparent in the other woodwork of the chapel, which included the oratories, the confessionals, the pulpit, the stalls and the organ. Though so much of this is destroyed, we are not wholly without resource as to its form. The turrets of the oratories of the tribune appear in Lepautre's engraved section.⁴⁷ Oval in plan, they had the character of a baroque belfry, with buttresses and crown of consoles. The Oratoires de Mesdames at the west end of the aisles, originally standing isolated, had a crown of equally free profile—a concave pedestal with consoles at the corners, bearing a scrolled urn. Lepautre's section makes evident that the "changement" shown in a later drawing by Gabriel (Fig. 16) was merely a rearrangement, on a new plan, of the existing elements which clearly reveal Lepautre's authorship of the original design.

It is the organ case which most fully embodies the new spirit and most clearly illustrates the importance of Lepautre's innovations. Here we are in an exceptionally favorable position for comparisons with the organ of Saint Quentin designed by Jean Berain in 1697,⁴⁸ just prior to Lepautre's first work for the Crown. That organ—itsself representing great innovations in the traditional type—is extremely massive, in an effort to achieve academic proportions. Its broad base is paneled without other carving than garlands over certain rondels. We remark particularly that there is not the smallest suggestion of a plastic modification of the geometrical outline of the panels, no trace of application to the framework of motives of Berain's painted arabesque—an application which we have signalized as Lepautre's decisive and fruitful contribution, transforming the evolution of style.

In the organ of Versailles we see, first, a reversion to the "Gothic" from which Berain expressly sought to escape.⁴⁹ The towers are accepted as the principal motives; there is no effort to disguise the intervening surfaces by academic treatment. The pipes are supported by a spreading cove in a manner unused since the sixteenth century (Amiens, Reims, Ecouen) but related to the cove of Lepautre's proposed tabernacle for Notre-Dame de Paris in one of the projects of 1703. The case for the first time takes on a concave form, to remain characteristic throughout the following reign. The panel-frames of the substructure and of the cove have Lepautre's characteristic outline and ornaments, the frame of the *fenêtre des claviers* is richly scrolled with related motives. The trophies of musical instruments, employed in pierced form by Berain, here continue the tradition of Lepautre from the stalls of Orleans; the royal arms with their supporting Victories have many analogies in his previous designs.

47. Reproduced by Nolhac, *La chapelle royale de Versailles*, Paris, n.d., p. 7.

48. Cf. A. Rauget, *Les grandes orgues . . . de Saint Quentin*, Argenteuil, 1925, p. 18, which reproduces Berain's original design, and N. Dufourc, *L'orgue en France*, Paris, 1935, pp. 352-56 and pl. LX, LXXI which reproduce drawings

of it by Berain the Younger, 1701, from the Tessin papers in the National Museum, Stockholm. Cf. also R.-A. Weigert, *Jean I. Berain*, 1, pl. xiv.

49. Letter of Cronström to Tessin, October 16, 1700, quoted by Dufourc, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

The palm trunks rising at the angles were the first examples in interior decoration of this motive. It had appeared in exterior designs for the chapel at the extremity of the roof, in elements executed in 1707 by the sculptors Guillaume Coustou and Lepautre. Naturally the gifted sculptors who executed the carvings had liberty to modify their details, but the instance of Saint Quentin, where we can compare design and execution, shows that such modifications were minor and that the artistic credit rests primarily with the designer.

We will thus not overestimate the part of Philippe Bertrand, who had made the models for the Victories, the relief of King David, and other figural motives of the organ, and who had, with La Pierre and Vassé,⁵⁰ made the wax models of the pulpit, with its circular plan and free profile.⁵¹ The essential responsibility throughout the unified decorative features of the chapel remains with Pierre Lepautre.

THE COMPLETION OF THE CHOIR OF NOTRE-DAME, 1708-1715

Work on the altar of Notre-Dame was resumed November 3, 1708, with financial assistance assured in September by the canon Antoine de la Porte, who died December 24, 1710. The proposed treatment at about this period appears in Jouvenet's painting, *The Mass of Canon de la Porte*, at the Louvre,⁵² showing the monstrance he presented to the cathedral June 7, 1708. The background, reputedly painted by Feuillet, has an irreality which betrays that it was executed from drawings. The main group of the niche is now an *Entombment*, above which floats a group with God the Father upborne by angels. On the face of the altar is a relief of the *Last Supper*. More advanced drawings for the work (Figs. 17-18), still made certainly prior to 1712 and perhaps two or three years before that, we recognize as also from the hand of Lepautre.⁵³ They show a great elaboration of the ironwork as executed in 1713 (692), in a development of Berain's style. The angels with their torches now stand on consoles of cartouches flanked with palms. At the entrance, on either side of the gates, appear marble altars in the form of a triptych, with the Madonna in a central niche flanked by saints.

The ultimate arrangement removed the figure of Louis XIII from the *Pietà* of the central niche and placed it on a separate pedestal in the flanking arch of the apse, balanced by a figure of Louis XIV—the sculpture being executed by Coustou and others, beginning in 1712 (611). The pedestals of the royal statues, buttressed by consoles, are fronted by winged cartouches, similar to many in the designs of Pierre Lepautre.

For the altar-table proper, Lepautre prepared certain early studies of moulded, architectural profile,⁵⁴ but the final design,⁵⁵ so richly sculptural, we believe was made by François-Antoine Vassé, who, with Cayot and Desjardins executed in 1712-15 the angels, bas-reliefs, and other bronze ornaments (*Comptes*, v, 609, 694, 787, 788, 875). Vassé's design for the altar marked, indeed, the beginning—even before the death of Louis XIV—of a second phase in the creation of the *Louis Quinze*, the phase associated with the Regency. Then, after the death of Pierre Lepautre, the great creative figures were to be Oppenord and Vassé himself, whose contributions to this second phase we shall develop in another place.

50. Deshairs, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 49.

51. A sketch of it in 1770 is reproduced, *ibid.*, frontispiece, and by Nollac, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

52. Reproduced by L. Réau, *Histoire de la peinture française au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1927, II, pl. 2, and by Vloberg, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxviii.

53. Reproduced by Vloberg, pls. xli and xlii, both attributed by him to De Cotte, among whose papers they are preserved at the Cabinet des Estampes. The latter drawing

is also reproduced by M. Aubert, "Les trois jubés de Notre-Dame de Paris," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XLIII, 1923, 112. Two additional minor drawings by Lepautre are included in the volume Va 254a, nos. 2468, 2470.

54. Va 254b, all with the number 1862.

55. *Ibid.*, reproduced as "dessin de Robert de Cotte" by P. Marcel in *L'architecte*, 1907, p. 32, and by Vloberg, *op. cit.*, pl. xl.

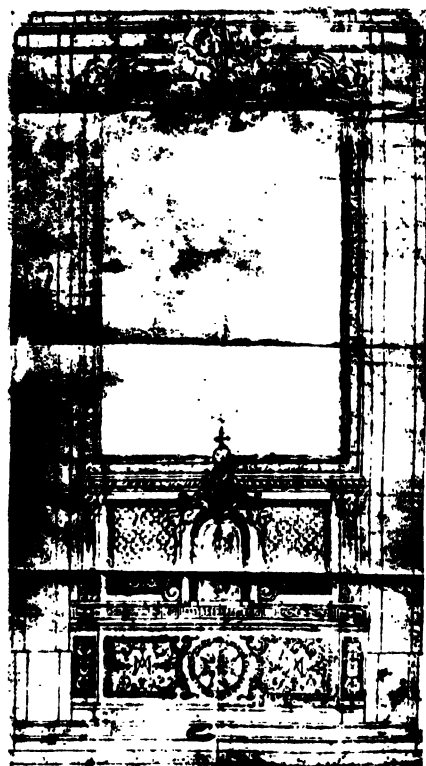


Fig. 15 Study for Altar of the Virgin,
Versailles, 1707. Drawn by
Pierre Lepautre



Fig. 17 Section of the Sanctuary at Notre-Dame, before 1711.
Drawn by Pierre Lepautre

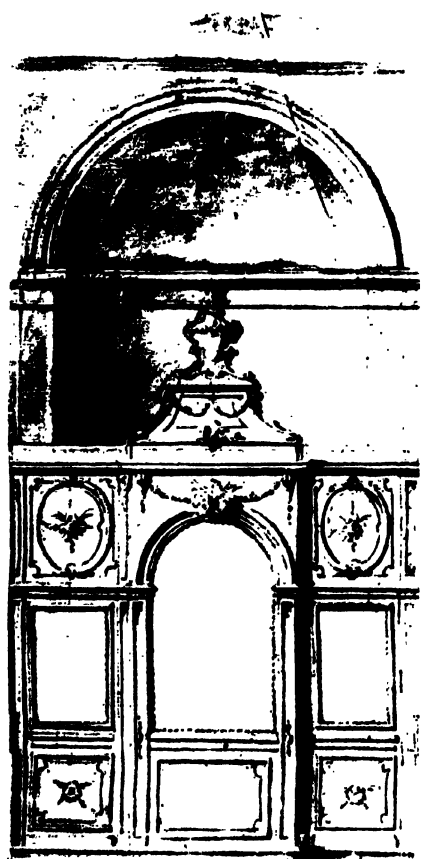


Fig. 16 Oratoires de Mesdames,
Versailles, as Rearranged
by Gabriel

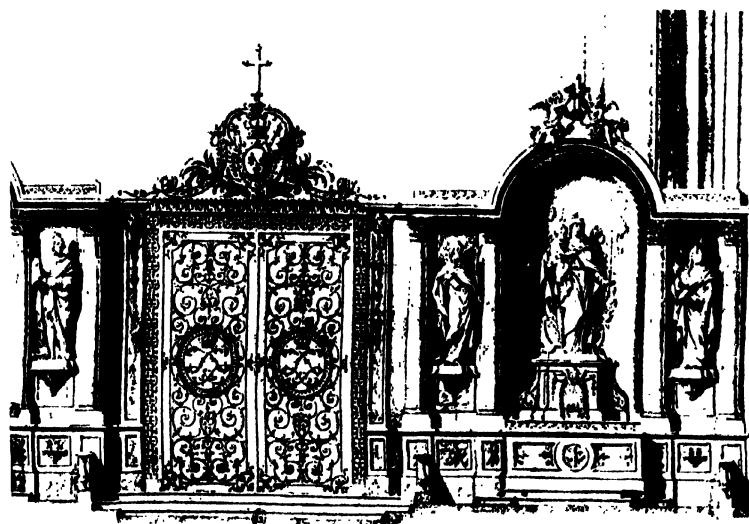


Fig. 18 Design for the Jubé at Notre-Dame, before 1712.
Drawn by Pierre Lepautre



Fig. 19 Archiepiscopal Throne of
Notre-Dame, 1711 ff.



Fig. 20 Section of the Salon d'Hercule, Versailles, 1712.
Drawn by Pierre Lepautre

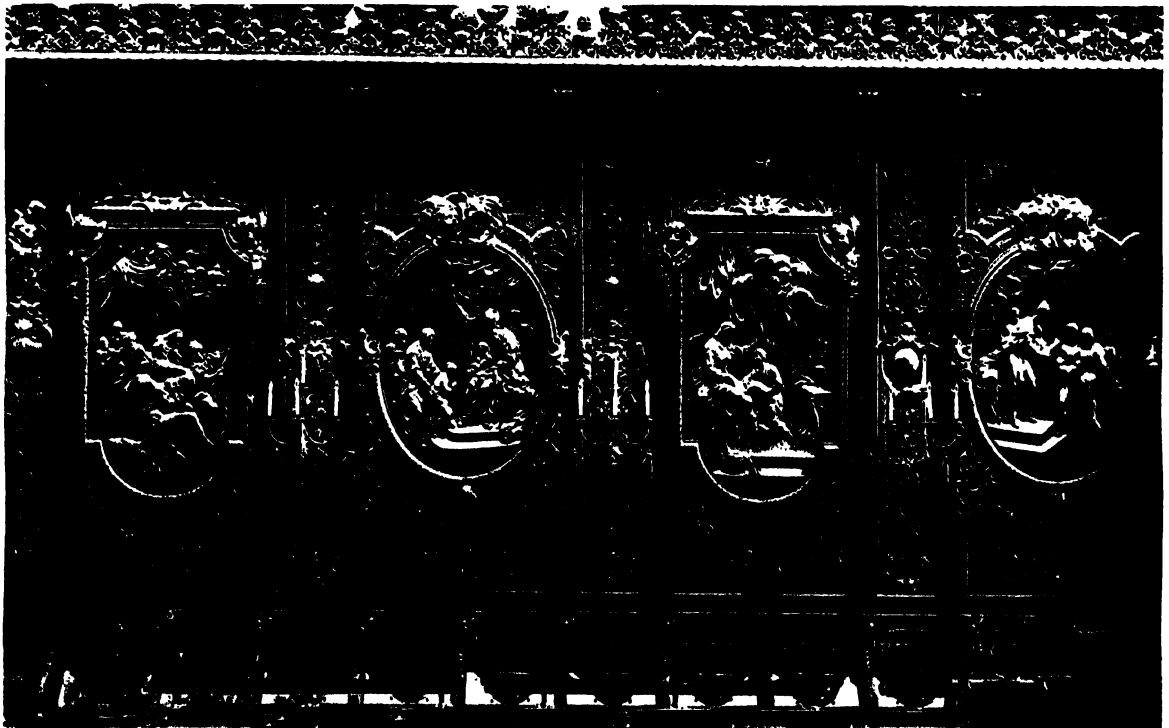


Fig. 21 Stalls of Notre-Dame, 1710 ff.

The stalls (Fig. 21) were constructed by Jean de Nelle, *menuisier*, with payments from June 9, 1710 to January 2, 1711, on which date begin payments to the sculptors Dugoullons, Tardieu, Bellin, Legoupil and Lalande. In 1711,⁵⁶ Philippe Bertrand was paid a small sum for "un modèle en cire de la chaire archiépiscopale." May 12 of that year de Nelle and Legoupil received first payments on the joinery of the *chaires* or thrones (Fig. 19) on which the sculptors had 11,000 livres on account in February 1712.

Who actually designed this woodwork, so remarkably creative, foreshadowing the style of the Regency? The guide books before 1750 mention, beside De Cotte, only some of the executants. Brice in criticizing adversely the marble work of the unfinished choir in 1713 (III, 266), says: "Vassé travaille aux sculptures et aux ornements, et en espère beaucoup de son habilité." It was the moment, as we have seen, when Vassé was employed with Cayot and Desjardins on the sculpture and ornaments of the altar proper; the accounts do not mention him as otherwise concerned here. Brice goes on to speak of the woodwork, but says nothing of its authorship either in this or in the subsequent editions published in his lifetime (1717, 1725). The *Description* of Piganiol de la Force in 1742 (I, 392-97) correctly ascribes the ornaments of the altar to Cayot and Vassé, and the carving of the stalls to Dugoullons. There is thus no need for us to credit the statement of Dargenville⁵⁷ and of the later editor of Brice,⁵⁸ both writing in 1752 and perhaps merely misapplying earlier allusions, when they attribute the *desseins* of the stalls, the thrones, and other features to Vassé or to Dugoullons—attributions uncritically repeated by modern writers. Down to 1710, certainly, Vassé had never been called on by De Cotte for designs, and Dugoullons had constantly worked from designs by Lepautre.

In such work the traits of the designer are to be sought in the general lines and major features, whereas the details of the carving derive from the executants. In the paneling of the stalls we note particularly the crowns of the alternate panels, with curved corners flanked by twisted cherub-heads—so closely similar to the crown of Lepautre's altarpiece of the Virgin in the chapel at Versailles. In the intermediate panels, above and below the oval medallions, the scrolls of the truncated corners—of the type originated by Lepautre at Marly—are almost identical with those which flank the circular medallion on the face of the altar in the same design of Lepautre.

Coming to the *chaires*, we observe their basic resemblance—in spite of the difference of scale and function—to the tabernacle of Lepautre's altar just cited, a resemblance extending to the general form of the canopy and to the arch flanked by scrolled pilasters. The body of the *chaire*, with its oval rosettes on a curved profile, represents an obvious progression from the base of the one at Orleans through the pulpit of Versailles. The canopy, with crown so boldly swung, offers no surprise after the crowning features of the tabernacles and oratories of the chapel at Versailles. All this woodwork is indeed, inescapably, the conception of Pierre Lepautre.

THE SALON D'HERCULE, 1712-1715

The Salon d'Hercule at Versailles, occupying the position of the older chapel and leading to the vestibule of the new one, has usually passed as a work of the following reign, its decoration with the brilliant sculpture of François-Antoine Vassé having been completed

56. The payment of 112 livres 1 sou, made belatedly on November 11 (v, 510) covered not only this model but other work "fait en 1709 et 1711."

57. *Voyage pittoresque de Paris*, pp. 7-8. Dargenville was born too late to have any personal knowledge of the artistic

responsibilities concerned.

58. IV, pp. 201-202. The editor of this fourth volume, according to the *Bibliothèque historique* of Lelong, 1768 ed., was the Abbé Perau, born in 1700, thus also too late to have personal knowledge of the matter.

in 1725-36. Its masonry and joinery, however, were executed in 1712.⁵⁹ There is another significant item in the accounts (594):

8 janvier 1713: aux peintres, sculpteurs, maçons et autres ouvriers qui ont esté employez au modèle des ouvrages du sallon neuf dud. château, pour leurs journées et autres menus dépenses faites à ce sujet. 3396 livres 17 s. 6 d.

Thus, and necessarily before the assembling of the marbles in 1713 and 1714, a design for the room existed. The north wall, indeed, appears in one of Lepautre's plates for the engraved folio of the chapel published by Demortain. This shows the spacing of the pilasters, the arched doorways, the elliptical arch of the fireplace with a mask at the center, the great frame above with its concave corners at the top, its consoles below—all that characterizes the general design of the room.

Accordingly we are not surprised to discover a colored section (Fig. 20),⁶⁰ endorsed "Sallon de Versailles" and showing the east wall as executed, in the technique of Pierre Lepautre, who was thus also the author of this supreme design. As envisaged at the end of the reign of Louis XIV, the room already incorporates so fully the style of the early years of the following reign that it has long been regarded as one of that period's most characteristic creations.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus we find that, as Mariette said with the utmost exactitude, "Pierre le Pautre eut beaucoup de part à tous les ouvrages qui se fit dans la suite à Versailles, à Marly, et dans les autres maisons royales"—indeed his part was the decisive one. By the variety of work at the same moment under Mansart and De Cotte, by the changes in style when their designers changed, we know that the creative responsibility was not theirs. The true creative artist, as in other periods of fertile originality, was the designer who actually held the pencil. Marly, the Appartements du Roi at Versailles and Trianon, the stalls of Orleans, the adornment of the chapel at Versailles, the choir of Notre-Dame, the Salon d'Hercule—all the great decorative enterprises of the later years of Louis XIV⁶¹—were, we now see, from the hand of Pierre Lepautre, and were truly of his design. The authorship of these superb works of art establishes Lepautre, hitherto almost overlooked, as a great artist in his own right.

It has been commonly believed that in the genesis of the new style Italian influences were predominant. Obviously many elements and motives used by Lepautre were of Italian high-baroque origin. The outlines of his mirror-frames and altarpieces, the arched cornices on consoles, the figural supporters of the coats-of-arms, the winged cartouches and cherubs' heads, the valanced baldaquins may all be found in works of Bernini and Borromini. The influence of such Italian artists, however, had been amply felt in France long before the fundamental change of style we have described. All the elements mentioned had been already domesticated in France, in the work of Le Brun and in the sculpture of the returned pensioners, indeed they are all to be found in the engraved plates of the artist's father, Jean Lepautre who died in 1682. Pierre Lepautre, who had never been in Italy, derived far more fruitful suggestions, as we have seen, from a purely French source, the arabesque of Berain. The derivative elements, Italian and French alike, he fused in a new creation, essentially distinct from either.

The part of other architects and designers in the work of the time we shall discuss more

59. *Comptes*, v, 583, 585, 586.

60. O¹768.

61. I do not attempt to discuss here other works for

which designs by Lepautre survive, or which may otherwise be identified as from his hand.

at length in a volume shortly to appear. But it may already be asserted that, during the period 1699-1715, which was decisive for the subsequent development of style, none of them played a rôle at all comparable in importance with that of Pierre Lepautre. To Boffrand has been given great and—so far as decorative design is concerned—undue credit. Although he was employed intermittently by the Bâtiments as designer from 1687 to 1698, and again, as architect, from 1709, I have found no drawings of interiors or ornament by him in either of these periods.⁶² In private houses the surviving interiors which may surely be attributed to him are much later in date. Oppenord had returned from seven years in Rome in the summer of 1699, to find his patron Villacerf superseded, the posts in the Bâtiments just filled. As an outsider he found little employment until after the end of the reign. His altar for Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 1704, his project for the altar of Saint-Victor, 1706, are of pronounced Italian high-baroque character. Meanwhile he himself was falling under the influence of Berain, Audran, and Pierre Lepautre. The same was true of Vassé, whose important creative work scarcely begins before 1713. Claims have been made that priority and initiative belonged to Alexandre Le Blond, in such works as the Hôtel de Vendôme, 1706-1707,⁶³ but the interiors merely follow Marly and Trianon. The plates of "cheminées nouvelles," themselves engraved by Lepautre, which Le Blond added to his 1710 edition of Daviler's *Cours d'Architecture*, are little more than personal variants of the forms which Lepautre had originated.

The line of the following development stems directly from Pierre Lepautre. His attenuation of plastic forms, his transference of accent from filling to frame, led on to the spatial expansion characteristic of the *Louis Quinze* and the rococo. For the framework itself his genial adoption of arabesque motives was the decisive step. It pointed the way to heightened movement, in the richer use of sculptural and figural motive under the Regency, in the asymmetry of the *genre pittoresque* during the 'thirties and 'forties. Oppenord and Vassé, Meissonier and Pineau, the creative talents of these successive generations, were thus the artistic heirs of Pierre Lepautre. He may truly be called the father of the *style Louis XV*.

PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

62. His handwriting is available in his letters, which permit certain plans, e.g., of the Place Vendôme in its first form (Cabinet des Estampes, Va 441) to be recognized as his.

63. B. Lossky, "L'Hôtel de Vendôme," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1934, II, p. 30; and J.-B. A. Le Blond, Prague, 1936.

THE *IMAGINES* OF THE ELDER PHILOSTRATUS*

BY KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN

Perhaps you will even applaud me for it and prefer me to any opponent, saying that I have made your pleasure double. But the difficulty of the task is patent to present so many pictures without colour, form or space. Word-painting is but a bald thing.—Lucian *De domo* 21 (transl. Harmon).

I

THE Elder Philostratus' book of descriptions of paintings is the most extensive literary source in existence for the appreciation of ancient painting.¹ Together with the scattered examples of wall painting preserved in Rome, it has for centuries been the principal representative of classical painting in the western world. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, these descriptions inspired creative art in many instances which reflect a fascinating diversity of moods. Even after the discovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the great Goethe, disappointed as he was in the limited atmosphere of these "Middletowns," enthusiastically recommended the paintings described by Philostratus as models of art to his contemporaries.²

But the excavation of Pompeii and Herculaneum at once revived a comprehensive visual experience of ancient painting, which continually increased throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, making "Pompeian Painting" the almost exclusive representative of classical pictorial art in the eyes of the public at large. Interest in Philostratus and his descriptions became more and more the concern only of classicists engaged in specialized research. Collecting monuments and recovering documents of the past in excavations all over the ancient world, they added immense visual material to the knowledge of ancient painting. An entirely new basis for its history has been created by the increasing number of funeral frescoes and the great wealth of mosaics which we are only now beginning to use methodically for the history of ancient art, by the specialized study of the graphic art of Greek vase painting, and by the editing of Renaissance and baroque reproductions of once known and now lost antique paintings. In the 'twenties of this century, excellent handbooks like those by Pfuhl and Swindler³ have summarized the new and comprehensive picture resulting from that research and from the critical study of literary sources.

Philostratus has not been forgotten in the course of the nearly two centuries which have elapsed since the discovery of Pompeii. As a matter of fact, if the degree of appreciation of an ancient author be measured by the output of publications dealing with him, one might say that during the nineteenth century his book on painting grew more popular than ever before. But this popularity, aside from being limited to esoteric scholarly discussion in Germany and France, was not at all genuine. The famous and violent debate about the

* I am greatly obliged to Miss Phyllis Williams for valuable suggestions and correction of the English of this article.

1. Anyone studying the text and interpretation of the Elder Philostratus' *Imagines* should consult the following editions: *Philostratorum Imagines et Callistrati Statuae*, ed. Fr. Jacobs and F. Th. Welcker, Leipzig, 1825; *Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt*, ed. C. L. Kayser, 1844; *Philostrati Maioris Imagines*, ed. O. Benndorf and C. Schenkel, Leipzig, Teubner, 1893; *Philostratus' Imagines, Callistratus'*

Descriptions, with an English translation (Loeb Classical Library), London, 1931.

2. *Philostrat's Gemälde und Antik und Moderne* (Goethe's Werke, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Grossherzogin Sophie, Weimar, 1898), XLIX, 61 ff.; XLIX, 200 ff.

3. E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, 3 vols., Munich, 1923; M. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, 2nd ed., New Haven, 1930.

authenticity of his paintings⁴ was, as far as his champions were concerned, a long and weary defensive battle. Today, reading the records of this debate which are not always entertaining, one feels that those who defended the authenticity—and they included men of the great stature of Welcker, Brunn, and Wickhoff—were holding their ground extremely well against Caylus, Friedrichs, Matz, and Robert. But the battle ended in a draw. Only once in the course of the last decades has a comprehensive study of the problem been made.⁵ From the last quarter of the nineteenth century on, most critics have been very noncommittal in taking a stand. Even where they indicated their personal viewpoint, they argued that, after all, the problem of authenticity did not matter so much. In any case, they would say, Philostratus' book indicates a characteristic attitude towards the criticism of art, and undeniably it shows many connections with still-preserved ancient works. Thus, although some or all of his paintings may be purely imaginary, the author reflects real art and its appreciation. Consequently these descriptions have been used only to point out coincidences with existing paintings or with other literary sources which describe works of art.

But let us not fool ourselves! In the present stage of our knowledge—or rather lack of knowledge—of the history of ancient painting, and probably for all time to come, a description of more than sixty paintings of antiquity, however incomplete or unsatisfactory, would be of extreme importance, if the paintings described were real works of art. One might doubt the validity of this statement if Philostratus belonged to either the first century B.C. or to the beginning of our era. For that age, Pompeian painting in all its complexity cannot fail somehow to reflect the essential character of the painting of this period as a whole. But for any other period of antiquity, such a description would be of basic value. This is definitely the case for the period to which the book belongs, i.e., the third century A.D., which may be called the dark age of ancient painting. We possess no complexes of paintings from that age aside from those in the Christian catacombs, other funeral frescoes, mosaics, and provincial products. All of these are indirect reflections of the great art of the period rather than direct documents of its achievements, because of the limitations of their quality, their function, their technique, or their provincial origin. In a period for which a lower-middle-class tomb in Rome, like that of the Aurelii, is used as a cornerstone for the history of painting, and for which the discovery of the frescoes of a Jewish synagogue in Mesopotamia tends to revolutionize the entire picture of the history of ancient painting, we cannot afford to shelve these descriptions as negligible. A priori, it is possible that these paintings did indeed exist, but that they belonged, at least in part, to earlier periods, because Philostratus characterizes the complex as composed of works by various masters.⁶ This problem will be discussed later. Even in this case, however, a number of the paintings would undoubtedly be nearly contemporary works and the earlier paintings, for that matter, would become important documents for other periods. In any case, the book would remain a unique source for what existed and was appreciated in the first half of the third century A.D. This century is not only the dark century in the history of ancient painting, as has been said before, but as research in the field of late Roman art proceeds, it becomes increasingly evident that this was the century of the great crisis of ancient art in which the foundations for the develop-

4. For the history of the discussion, see the editions quoted in note 1 and: K. N. Némitz, *De Philostratorum imaginibus*, Diss., Bratislava, 1875, pp. 1 ff.; E. Bertrand, *Philostrate*, Paris, 1882, pp. 67 ff.; K. Münscher, *Philologus*, Suppl. Band 10, 1907, pp. 509 ff.; F. Steinmann, *Neue Studien zu den Gemäldeschreibungen des älteren Philostratus*, Diss., Zürich, Basel, 1914, pp. 1 ff. Steinmann

rightly pointed out that in the earlier discussion the argument was distorted by the inclusion of the descriptions of the younger Philostratus, which are considerably later and very different in character.

5. Steinmann, *op. cit.* Cf. also M. Camaggio, *Historia*, 4, 1930, pp. 481 ff.

6. 1, Proœm., §4.

ment of later western art were laid. For this reason, Philostratus' book would become a great source for an extremely important age—provided that the paintings which he describes really existed.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to offer a solution to this old puzzle. This solution has been achieved by adopting a method entirely different from that of all former approaches. When it occurred to me, it seemed so simple that I at once became very suspicious. At first, I could not believe that in the course of the well-known long and exhaustive debate no such attempt had been made. But this seems to be the case. Thus, it seems legitimate once again to open discussion on the debated question of whether or not Philostratus actually saw the paintings which he described.

The arguments which have been used by both sides hitherto have been of four classes. First, the attempt has been made to compare the descriptions with extant works of art, for the most part Pompeian paintings. The increasing number of analogies has been the main argument of the defenders of authenticity. It has rightly been stated that lack of analogies in some cases as well as other differences could be explained by the wide chronological gap between the destruction of Pompeii and the age of Philostratus. Nowadays, a new and comprehensive comparison, especially with late mosaics, undoubtedly would yield a much richer and more detailed picture of the relation of these descriptions to surviving works of art. Indeed a new edition of the book with an extensive illustrated archaeological commentary would be very desirable. The author hopes that his attempt to prove the authenticity of the descriptions by means of a general argument will help to stimulate such an enterprise.

Secondly, general aesthetic arguments have been used. The interpreters have either emphasized the genuinely artistic and visual qualities of the pictures, as Goethe did, or they have tried to show that many of the pictures could never have existed because they conflict with standards of beauty in general or in antiquity. Of course, this argument is by its own nature fallacious. At the time when most of the debate was going on, the aesthetic standards of painting in the age of Philostratus were utterly unknown and they are largely unknown today. Indeed, Philostratus would be the main source for revealing them.

The two remaining arguments dealt with problems of literary style. It has been argued that in many cases the descriptions include features which never could have existed in real paintings. In the majority of such cases this argument referred to the conflict between time and space and to the sudden transition from visual details to the narration of events. The opponents tried to show that Philostratus described features which he could never have seen combined. The defenders either interpreted the passages in question differently, or else they stressed a distinction indicated by Philostratus himself between what he actually saw and what he added by way of explanation. The opponents said that Philostratus was not at all concerned with describing anything real. The defenders admitted that his main concern was to exhibit his oratorical and stylistic ability; nevertheless, they argued, the objects which he used or abused for this purpose were real. In this respect, the discussion gradually effected a certain lessening of the distance between the two opposed camps. On one side it was admitted that Philostratus' reactions are indicative of the taste of his period, and that his imagination moved in directions which in turn were conditioned by this taste. On the other side, it was agreed that the essential task of the orator was literary and oratorical, and that he used pictures as topics for stylistic exercises. The whole argument dealt with the reconstruction of the single paintings and with the material available for such reconstructions, rather than with a definitive answer to the entire problem.

Finally, the adversaries tried to prove that Philostratus relied almost exclusively upon literary sources. The defenders answered that, in general, ancient art was intimately related to literary subjects and sources. Each coincidence may just as well be explained by the dependence of a painting upon a poetical source, as by a direct influence of this source upon Philostratus. In fact, the degree to which even learned and obsolete poetical or scholarly sources were used by painters of this period is unknown—unless it can be proved that the paintings of Philostratus existed in reality.

In the course of the protracted and acrimonious fight about the authenticity of these paintings, one critic rightly said that there is no way of really proving their existence other than by proving the existence of the entire collection which Philostratus reports or pretends to have seen in Naples.⁷ That statement was made with the intention of demonstrating the hopelessness of the cause of the defenders of authenticity. Its author, naturally, considered it practically impossible that the very building which Philostratus mentions could ever be found. But, in my opinion, there exists another way of proving the real existence of the "collection," and of proving it from the book itself.

Strangely enough, no one,⁸ with the exception of Goethe, has ever called attention to the problem of the general order of the paintings in the two books of Philostratus. Goethe, indeed, was puzzled by the apparent disorder of the arrangement, in which painting after painting seems to be described without any system: heroic, bucolic, mythological, landscape, historic, still-life, and religious paintings appear in a kaleidoscopic mixture. In a cavalier manner Goethe did away with "the confusion in which these pictures are registered one after the other." He preferred to arrange them in suitable groups according to their subject matter and mood and the dignity of the subject. But there is no way of dismissing the problem of general arrangement as Goethe did, since, with the exception of a few mistakes in single manuscripts, the text tradition is unanimous. Many other difficult problems of criticism exist, but in this respect there is nothing to be debated. The "disorder" of the descriptions, their seemingly casual combination, represents exactly the order in which Philostratus deemed it necessary to publish them. In regard to details, too, he obviously refers occasionally to a remark made in a preceding description. But no continuous trend of thought unites the descriptions or even the single sections and explains the present arrangement in these two books. And a rapid glance over the subject matter will convince anybody that there is apparently no deliberate and artful disposition which would bring about a distribution of subject matter in an entertaining pattern of *variatio* according to a well-known ancient literary tendency. The only case which reflects that intention—the occurrence of two still-lives, one in each of the two books (I. 31; II. 26)—will be explained later. Moreover, certain types of subject matter occur only in limited sections of the two books, but there again, it seems, without continuous coherence, with the one exception of a cycle of Herakles (II. 20–25).

In the first book, for instance, not less than five paintings dealing with the story of Dionysus appear in one section; four of these are combined in two pairs (I. 14–15 and 18–19), although they are separated from each other and from a related fifth picture (I. 25) by de-

7. Kalkmann, *Rheinisches Museum*, 1882, p. 414. See also Steinmann, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

8. Welcker seems to have thought of the possibility of this approach. He observed that in some places the descriptions show indications of an order in which the paintings were exhibited. But he doubted whether a real order existed and discarded or postponed the discussion (*op. cit.*, pp. LXV ff.). Steinmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff., also was puzzled

to a certain extent by the fact that connections were occasionally apparent within a single group. He believed that one could recognize "certain groupings" such as pictures of heroines (I. 14–17), genre scenes (I. 20–23), heroes (I. 27–30). But, all in all, these connections are very vague, and he did not attempt to investigate the entire problem of the order or disorder of the descriptions.

scriptions of paintings dealing with other subjects. On the other hand, these five pictures are the only pictures of Dionysus and his story within the entire two books! Similarly, the above-mentioned cycle of Herakles (II. 20-25) includes all that may be found about Herakles in the books of the Elder Philostratus! In another case, in one section we find a group of at least five paintings (II. 13-17) related to Poseidon, the sea and islands. Philostratus himself never discusses these groups as such. Furthermore, in the first part of the second book, as in the case of the cycle of Dionysus, we find a painting showing a procession to Aphrodite (II. 1) in the same region in which several other pictures, such as the death of Hippolytus (II. 4), the love of Krithis and Meles (II. 8), and the suicide of Panthea (II. 9) illustrate the power and tragedy of love. But only some of them directly succeed each other. Again, within the first part of the first book, puzzlingly connected subjects exist: putti harvesting apples and playing (I. 6), putti in a swamp (I. 9); on the other hand, we find the death of heroes in front of besieged towns only here (I. 4 Menoikeus; I. 7 Memnon); and, finally, pictures of river gods (I. 1 Skamander; I. 5 Nile; I. 11 Phaethon and Eridanos). Apparently all these groups are somehow connected. But the various threads are strangely interwoven, and Philostratus himself disregards these connections. The cycle of Dionysus, which has already been mentioned, is interrupted at one point by a series of not less than five pictures, which, in turn, in subject matter and even in composition clearly constitute a unit:⁹ the sleeping Olympus surrounded by satyrs, and Olympus seeing his face in a well (I. 20-21) deal with the same figure; Silenus sleeping and surrounded by nymphs is clearly a pendant to the first picture (I. 22); it, in turn, is succeeded by a picture of Narcissus seeing his own image in a well (I. 23) as a counterpart to the second painting of Olympus; and finally, this picture of Narcissus is succeeded by that of the death of Hyacinthus (I. 24) in a combination which indicates the parallelism between the stories of the two boys who died and survived as flowers. Thus, we see here the interruption of one cycle, that of Dionysus, by the description of a second cycle which, in this case, is not only related in subject matter but rhythmically arranged in a series of formal analogies.

There is no hint that Philostratus focuses upon these groups as units. Except for casual side glances, he does not treat them as units and does not elect to arrange them logically as such. It follows that the vicinity and relation of these picture-groups were not the product of his mind but were rooted in fact. Obviously he describes pictures that were topographically united, but without regard to the ideological and formal relation which had dictated their combination. It is evident that this could have happened only if he actually saw real pictures which were arranged according to a system that would account for the relationships. At the same time, this order must have been such that it was topographically possible to see and discuss one painting after the other in the actual "disorder" in which they appear in these books. Indeed, the only explanation of the relationships and the lack of order is that Philostratus saw real pictures which were, to a certain extent, arranged on the upper and lower parts of walls, as will be shown. In these cases, each of the superimposed sections formed a unit. By partially disregarding these units and describing first the lower part of a wall, then the upper pictures of the same wall before proceeding to the lower section of the next wall which actually was related to the preceding lower section and, finally, continuing with the paintings above the second lower wall, the author created the present "disorder."

This is the only possible explanation of the general facts which have been mentioned.

9. Steinmann recognized this in regard to pictures 20-23 (see note 8).

But it is not the only proof of the fact that Philostratus actually described paintings in a topographical sequence. In two instances we can still see that he started at one point within a topographical unit and ended when he had approached the same point again. The cycle of Herakles is one of these cases. Here, Philostratus begins with the picture of Herakles and Atlas (II. 20). This scene is one of two of the customary twelve deeds of Herakles in the service of Eurystheus, and it belongs to the very end of this so-called *Dodekathlos*. The last scene which Philostratus describes, illustrating the horses of Diomedes, is the only other picture of that cycle among his descriptions, the remaining four scenes dealing with other episodes. It is obvious that this picture was meant to precede the one depicting Herakles and Atlas. Consequently, Philostratus describes a cycle of paintings arranged around a room, but he neither started nor finished his description at the point which the artist intended to be the beginning and the end. A second such case is to be found in the section including the cycle of Bacchic pictures. Here, at an early stage, Philostratus discusses a painting of the race between Pelops and Œnomaus (I. 17). At the very end of this section and preceding the still-life which concludes the first book, he describes a picture showing Pelops receiving his later (in I. 17) victorious horses (I. 30).¹⁰ Obviously, again, Philostratus moves around a room and at the very end his eyes fall on a painting placed close to his starting point. Pausanias' catalogue of the paintings by Panainos in the Temple of Zeus in Olympia offers another example of the same type of disregard for artistic order in a topographical description.¹¹ Just as Philostratus describes the two related scenes of the *Dodekathlos* of Herakles at the beginning and the end of a larger group, so Pausanias, by a strange coincidence, starts with a picture of Herakles and Atlas and ends with the apparently related painting in which the Hesperides are represented.

From these observations it follows: First of all that, at least as far as such cyclic relations exist, the paintings which Philostratus describes were real; secondly, that at least in some cases, they were arranged in several superimposed rows, each of which was connected horizontally as a decorative entity or a unit of subject matter; finally that again, at least in some cases, the cyclic representations were disposed around a room or hall so that at the end a spectator would be close to the point from which he started.

The facts mentioned determine with sufficient evidence the background of Philostratus' descriptions. It is possible, however, that he made additions for the book edition of his lectures. In due time we shall consider this problem. But it is also self-evident that if the topographical arrangement indicated above could be restored through a more detailed analysis, we should not only substitute a reconstruction of definite plasticity for a general principle, but, in addition, we should obtain very welcome evidence for the concepts of pictorial cycles in Philostratus' period. In fact, the principle, once applied, works surprisingly well and justifies itself conclusively. In submitting the results of such an analysis, it is advisable to begin with the one obviously intact and undisturbed unit, the cycle of Herakles, and to move backward from this solid basis.

II

THE ROOM OF HERAKLES (II. 20-25)

As we have seen, a series of six pictures illustrating adventures of Herakles is included in the second book. It clearly constitutes a united cycle. But it must be added that, with

10. Steinmann, again, noted the relation. However, he wrongly calls it a repetition of the same subject (*op. cit.*;

see note 8).

11. See W. Doerpfeld, *Alt-Olympia*, I, 1935, pp. 247 ff.

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the exception of his incidental presence in the picture of the Argonauts (II. 15), this most popular of all ancient heroes does not appear elsewhere in the more than sixty pictures of the two books. On the other hand, none of the paintings preceding this cycle has any conceivable relationship to it, and its last picture is followed by one of the two still-lives. It is significant, however, that not even in this case does Philostratus take advantage of the possibility of describing a related group of paintings. How easy it would have been to subordinate such paintings to a common idea! If he had invented six paintings of Herakles and united them in one consecutive section, such a practice would certainly have found expression in a moralizing or, at any rate, intellectual synopsis.

On the other hand, this cycle as it actually appears here, is not united simply by its general subject. It shows also a detailed arrangement and a sequence which is logical and coherent—with the exception of the fact that Philostratus neither starts nor ends at the right point. Let us follow his own order: The first picture which he describes is the one showing Herakles and Atlas (20). This scene, which takes place in northwestern Africa, is followed by the fight between Herakles and Antaios in Libya (21). After this we see Herakles sleeping and attacked by the Pygmies in the same place (22). Obviously, we have here three pictures of African adventures in an order which is chronological as well as topographical. The expedition for the golden apples of the Hesperides, of which the meeting between Herakles and Atlas is a part, belongs to the end of the canonical *Dodekathlos* of deeds performed in the service of Eurystheus, as I have already stated.¹² Philostratus, too, in his sophisticated way, indicates this connection at the beginning by saying that the carrying of the globe was not one of the things Eurystheus had required of Herakles.¹³ In late monuments, it is true, the struggle with Antaios is often included in this cycle of twelve deeds, and then it precedes the meeting with Atlas. But usually, as originally, it does not belong to this cycle. It is evident that the more common tradition is used here. Quite naturally, then, this adventure was located on the return trip from the Hesperides. Again, Philostratus was familiar with this tradition and he explicitly states this chronological relationship.¹⁴ The Pygmies, in turn, attack Herakles when he is relaxing after his fight with Antaios. Here, too, Philostratus recognizes this chronological order,¹⁵ and it seems that it was indicated somewhere in the picture by the corpse of the dead Antaios.¹⁶ This group of African adventures is succeeded by the picture showing the insanity of the hero (23). As is well known, this picture and the explanation given by Philostratus are based on the most famous version of the myth in the tragedy of Euripides. The poet had, indeed, stated that this tragic event took place when Herakles returned from the *Dodekathlos*. Philostratus, too, is aware that this picture is in the right place here, and he mentions that the deeds have already been performed (23. 1). Consequently, pictures 20 to 23 present a sequence. They begin with the end of the *Dodekathlos*, show the return voyage in two scenes and, in the picture of the insanity, the return home itself. But the two remaining pictures do not follow in their place in Philostratus' book. As we have already seen, the last picture (25) represents the adventure of the horses of Diomedes, i.e., another part of the *Dodekathlos*

12. For the cyclic representations of Herakles, see Klügemann, *Annali*, 1864, pp. 30 ff.; Furtwängler, in Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, s.v. "Herakles," p. 2251.

13. II. 20, §1: . . . οὐδὲ προστάξαντος Εὐρύσθενος . . . (" . . . and that too without a command from Eurystheus . . .").

14. II. 21, §2: ἄγει τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἢ γραφὴ χρυσᾷ ταυτὶ τὰ μῆλα ἡρικότα ἥδη καὶ κατὰ τῶν Ἑσπερίδων ῥέδμενον . . . (" . . . the painting brings Herakles; he has already secured

the golden apples and has won renown for his exploit among the Hesperid nymphs . . .").

15. II. 22, §1: Ἐν Λιβύῃ καθέδοντι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μετὰ τὸν Ἀνταῖον ἐπιτίθονται οἱ Πυγμαῖοι τιμωρεῖν τῷ Ἀνταίῳ φάσκοντες. ("While Herakles is asleep in Libya after conquering Antaios, the Pygmies set upon him with the avowed intention of avenging Antaios.")

16. *Ibid.*, §2: κείται καὶ ὁ Ἀνταῖος . . . ("Antaios also lies there . . .").

which should precede the picture of Herakles and Atlas. The artist, naturally, intended picture 25 to be seen before 20. More complicated is the problem of the remaining picture dealing with Herakles and Theiodamas (24). This myth¹⁷ has no definite place in the biography of Herakles and was located in two different regions—in the Thessalian mountains and on the island of Rhodes. If the painter had thought of the Rhodian locale, the picture would have been placed between the African adventures and the insanity.¹⁸ Indeed, Philostratus interprets the landscape which he sees as the steep mountain scenery of Lindos in Rhodes.¹⁹ But in the picture, of course, it could as well have meant mountains of Thessaly. Within this particular selection, on the other hand, a picture of the Thessalian adventure would have to occupy precisely a place next to the Thracian horses of Diomedes. And Philostratus has, indeed, described it in a place preceding this scene and adjacent to it. Thus he certainly was wrong in interpreting the landscape as Rhodian. Like all the others, the Thessalian scene 24 has its correct place within the cycle, and topographically and chronologically marks its beginning.

The result of this analysis is that we see that Philostratus describes a cycle which actually began with his fifth and ended with his fourth picture. This fact is also indicated by his own text. We have seen that he was aware of the correct chronological and topographical order of pictures 20 to 23, and that he emphasized this sequence in each case. Such references, however, are entirely absent from the description of pictures 24 and 25. This pair of pictures, which belonged to the beginning, not to the end, was out of place in his arrangement. And he was so far from recognizing its true connection with the entire cycle that he interpreted the picture with Theiodamas as related to Rhodes. Philostratus evidently described the cycle in a topographical order, but he started at the wrong point. As long as what he saw was in harmony with learned tradition, he did not hesitate to refer to it. The last two pictures seemed to lack such a connection with tradition, and consequently he reported them as unrelated.

Evidently, the divergence between the intended and the reported order can have been caused by only two facts: first, the pictures must have been arranged around a room, consequently at the end the lecturer could approach the point where he had started; second, the failure of Philostratus to begin at the right point must have been brought about by an entrance which interrupted the cycle between his first and his last picture. The two scenes of the *Dodekathlos*, i.e., pictures 20 and 25, were on either side of a door through which Philostratus entered. Finally it seems probable that another entrance existed between the real beginning and end of the cycle, i.e. between pictures 23 and 24. On this basis, a number of possibilities of reconstruction exist. The most probable scheme is indicated in Figure 1. It recommends itself because it unites on one wall the closely related pair of pictures, 21 and 22, and at the same time it offers a simple architectural solution. If the doors did not admit sufficient light, windows might well have existed in the upper part of the walls.

Any observer familiar with the common iconography of Herakles will be impressed by the unconventional selection of scenes chosen for this cycle. The outstanding and most commonly represented deeds of Herakles are absent. The ideological implications of this cycle are, indeed, very different from the common and popular emphasis on the heroic activities of the hero. This difference is further enhanced by the presence of such unusual scenes as

17. See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, s.v. "Theiodamas," p. 1606.

18. Indeed, Tzetzes and Stephanus of Byzantium place it between the African and the Anatolian adventures of the

hero.

19. Probably he did so remembering the most famous poetic version of this story, that of Kallimachos.

those of Herakles and Theiodamas, Herakles and the Pygmies, and the insanity. The emphasis seems to be entirely psychological, depicting in striking contrasts the moods and passions of the hero which result from his violent nature: his brutality and obesity in the episode with Theiodamas; his furor and magnanimity in the following Thracian scene, where his grief over the body of a young boy is a pathetic motive; his superhuman energy in his encounters with the giants Atlas and Antaios. All these dynamic qualities are stressed in

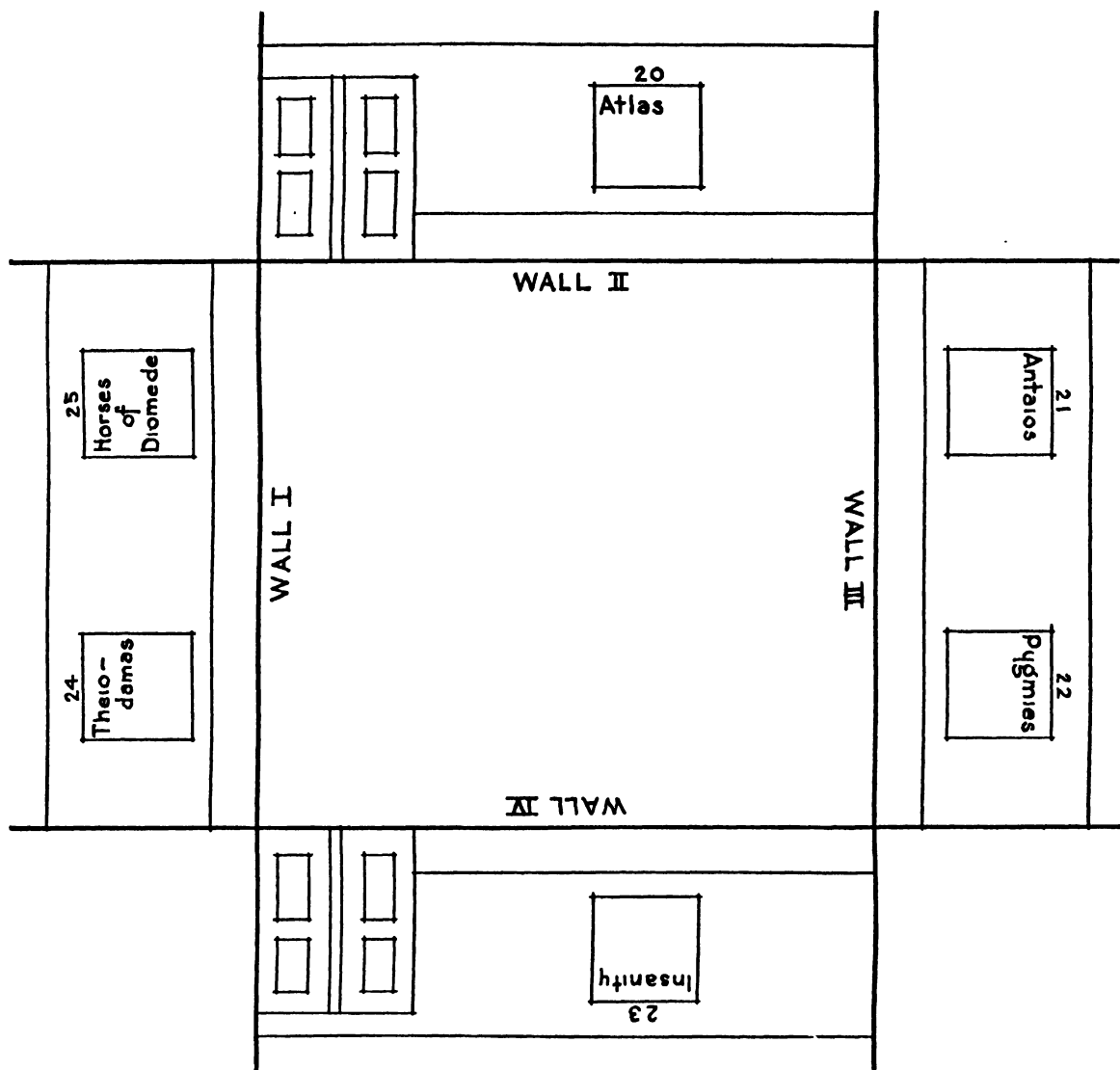


FIG. I—ROOM OF HERAKLES

the first four paintings. They are followed by the anticlimax of his appearance while sleeping and exposed to the attacks of the dwarfs, and finally, by his tragic insanity, in which his fury and energy are vented against his own offspring. The violent character and the tragedy of this superman have been depicted in this cycle with a vigor which may still be felt by any unprejudiced reader of Philostratus' descriptions. But, in spite of this vigor, the picture of the hero seems to have been inspired rather by moralizing philosophy than by the richness of the original myth.

THE ROOM OF THE PRIMITIVE WORLD (II. 13-19)

Moving backward from the room of Herakles, we meet another group of interrelated pictures; however, they represent a different type of cycle. They are centered not around one person but around an idea, and they breathe a common atmosphere. They deal with the sea, with the activities of Poseidon, and with the origin of features of landscape. Picture 13 shows Poseidon threatening Ajax on the island of Gyros, and creating the archipelago of Gyrai with his trident. In picture 14 he appears again with his trident opening a gate between Thessaly and the Aegean Sea and thus shaping the Thessalian landscape. In picture 16 he is seen a third time, and here he creates the harbors of the Isthmus of Corinth (§2, end). Finally, picture 17 shows an archipelago of seven islands. As Philostratus himself states, traces of a violent origin similar to that of Thessaly are visible at one point (§4). In the same way, in his description of the picture of the Isthmus (§3), he refers to the corresponding scenes of Thessaly and Gyrai. It is obvious that as he proceeded with his descriptions, he could not fail to notice the intimate relationship between these four pictures. On the other hand, they are interrupted by picture 15, which shows the Argo and the prophecy of Glaukos who emerges from the sea. Now it is evident that this painting, in turn, is related in subject matter to its two neighbors. The Argo, the first ship ever built by man, started from Thessaly after the great flood, which is the event pictured in the preceding painting. Glaukos, the sea-demon and soothsayer, appears here, and in the following picture we witness the founding of the cult of the prophetic sea-demon Palaimon-Melikertes in the sanctuary of the Isthmian Poseidon where, incidentally, the Argo according to tradition was dedicated after her return.²⁰ Philostratus takes no advantage of these connections and does not mention them. It is obvious that, without noticing them, he describes the painting exactly in the place in which it was meant to be seen. Thus, this group of five pictures (13-17) is a unit. Philostratus described in addition two other paintings before turning to the room of Herakles. The question arises as to whether or not these pictures belong to the same complex. It would seem possible that Philostratus saw them in a different place, between these two rooms, or else that he inserted them in preparing the edition of the book. But picture 18, which shows the well-known story of Polyphemus and Galathea, fits very well into the maritime framework of the preceding cycle. On the other hand, the next painting appears to be intimately related to it. Philostratus again was aware of this connection, and he stressed the analogy between the primitive shepherds, the Cyclopes (18, §1), and the barbarian Phlegyan of picture 19 (§1). However, it is questionable whether his interpretation of picture 19 is correct. This painting could equally well refer to the fist-fight between Pollux and Amykos as to that between Apollo and Phorbas, the king of the Phlegyans. Amykos, too, was the leader of a wild and primitive tribe of giants, the Bebrykes.²¹ The rays around the head, which lead Philostratus to recognize Apollo, might as well have indicated the star of Pollux. If this were true, the connection would be still more intimate. Both Amykos and Polyphemus, as well as Glaukos (15) and Proteus (17), are sons of Poseidon who is the main actor in the rest of the cycle. And this adventure of Pollux was part of the expedition of the Argo. In any case, it is evident that the two pictures 18 and 19 belong to this complex. As to the arrangement of the pictures, one fact is important: the great island picture, with its extensive detail (17), must have occupied a comparatively

20. See Roscher, *op. cit.*, i.v. "Argo," pp. 502 ff.

21. The analogy of the picture as it is described by Philostratus to the well-known representation on the

Ficoroni Cista has already been observed by the interpreters; see Steinmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 ff.

large space. On the other hand, the paintings of Polyphemus and "Phorbas" are more limited in their actions and scenery than those of Gyrai, Thessaly, the Argo, and the Isthmus. As a related pair, they should occupy parts of one wall. This seems indicated, too, for the interrelated pairs of pictures of Gyrai and Thessaly and for the two prophetic pictures 15 and 16. An entrance has to be placed between the picture of "Phorbas" and that of Gyrai, with which Philostratus begins. A window between pictures 18 and 19 might account for their more restricted size. The arrangement given in Figure 2 is therefore suggested.

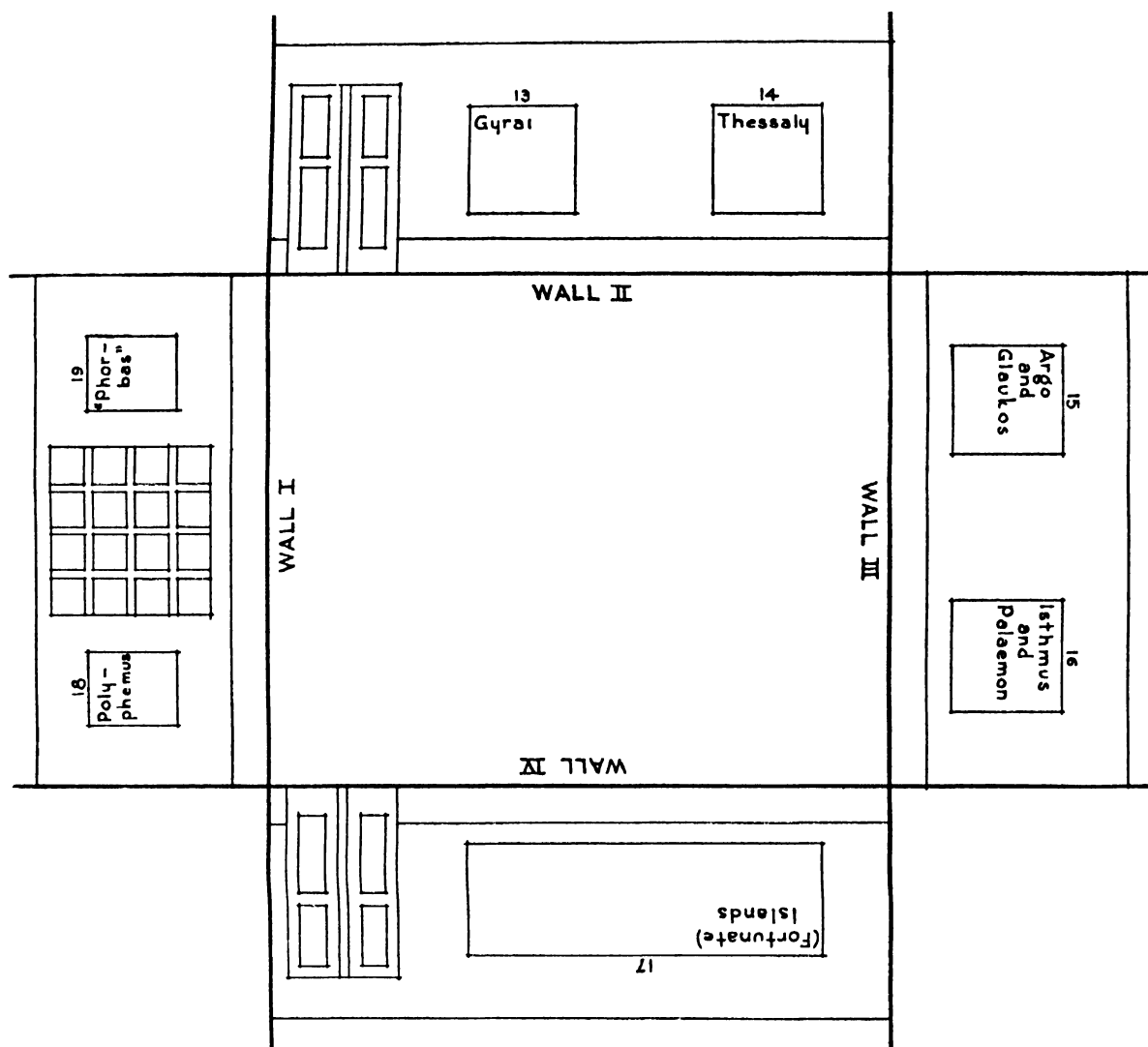


FIG. 2—ROOM OF THE PRIMITIVE WORLD

The mythological relationships between the pictures of this group have already been pointed out. But a further analysis of its character is needed. Such an interpretation has to be based on a number of general aspects. One of these is the importance of the sea and of the actions of Poseidon and of his descendants. The second is that the earth is pictured in the process of formation in three paintings (13, 14, 16) in addition to the island picture (17) with its volcano and its split rocks. A third is the definitely primitive character of this world, where men, whenever they appear, are living a primitive life (17) or belong to savage and primitive races (18, 19), and where the first ship ploughs through the waves (15).

Our interpretation had best start by focusing on the dominant picture of the seven islands. This painting²² contains many elements, and is so rich that the length of its description is unparalleled in the two books of Philostratus. It has been suggested that this archipelago might represent the Aeolian Islands near southern Italy.²³ But evidently Philostratus himself explicitly avoids such an indication in this case, although in describing other landscapes he does not fail to indicate geographical identity. He limits himself to the statement that these are not known islands of the Aegean such as Lesbos, Imbros, and Lemnos, i.e., his home country and thus familiar surroundings (17, §1). He goes on to describe the first island as somehow resembling Samothrace: that is evidently the meaning of his Homeric allusion to the "steep" and "fortress-like" island with a summit fit for Poseidon Panoptes.²⁴ He may indeed have thought of this for a moment. But afterward he takes us away from any real experience to the "high seas" and into a dreamy and fantastic world. Many of the elements of this description remind us of the earlier "sacred" landscape paintings.²⁵ There are hunters, fishermen, sailors, and peasants, and a bridge which unites two of the isles (§§3, 4, 10). But, as we have seen already, the spectator also observes traces of telluric transformations: one original island is split in two, and next to them a volcano is active (§§4-5). The religious element occurs too: Zeus is visible thundering (§5); we see a statue of Poseidon, and implements and figures of the Bacchic cult (§§7-9). In addition, details right out of a fairy tale appear: an island with a golden snake (§6), and that other island of Proteus which Philostratus says he would call the "golden island, if the poets had not invented this epithet for everything beautiful and miraculous." In other words, he would like to have the term understood in a more specific sense. It is, to be sure, a Saturnine island of unbelievable wealth and fertility, and it alone has a town. This, too, is a fairy town—in fact it is only a palace, and in it lives and plays a royal child. Here we have a picture of that golden age of the childhood of mankind, of that Saturnine world in which the wealth of nature, the establishment of order by the gods, and the beginning of culture in the innocent infancy of humanity are illustrated.

We have already seen that at one point in his description Philostratus alludes directly to the golden age. The picture which he describes is, indeed, a picture of the Fortunate Islands where the status of the golden age survives in a microcosm. Luckily, this point can be proved with a degree of certainty which rarely can be achieved in this kind of research, though strangely enough, the fact has escaped former interpreters. The descriptions of the Fortunate Islands, which were developed out of the background of the Homeric description of the Islands of the Blessed, have been collected and discussed in the interesting Johns Hopkins University source book on primitivism in the ancient world.²⁶ Aside from more general pictures, it includes three catalogues of the Fortunate Islands. Two of them, derived from different sources, are preserved in Pliny's *Natural History*.²⁷ They are dry geographical descriptions of allegedly real islands in the Atlantic which, it was supposed, were the substratum of the myth. The third narrative, by Lucian, is a parody on romantic

22. A remarkable analysis of the visual appearance of the picture is to be found in Welcker, *op. cit.*, pp. 485 ff.

23. Welcker, *loc. cit.*, mentioned this interpretation only as an afterthought. Since then it has been generally accepted. The passage in §5 regarding the occurrence of the story of the Gigantomachy in Italy and Sicily does not belong to the interpretation of the painting, but reminds the audience in Naples of familiar stories of the volcanoes in their part of the world.

24. *Iliad* 13. 10 f.

25. Compare especially the landscape showing islands

(of the blessed?) in the tomb of Caviano: O. Elia in *Monumenti antichi Lincei*, xxxiv, 1932, pp. 421 ff.; H. Wirth, *Römische Wandmalerei*, Berlin, 1934, pl. 18, pp. 87 ff. (with a too late and absolutely unfounded date).

26. A. D. Lovejoy, G. Chinard, G. Boas, and R. S. Crane, *A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas*, 1, Baltimore, 1935, 290 ff. The poetic vision of Horace, *Epod.* 16, 1 f., breathes very much the same atmosphere as our painting. Compare, also, H. Jeanmaire, *Le messianisme de Virgile*, Paris, 1930, pp. 82 ff.

27. vi. 202 f. (32 f.).

tales.²⁸ In addition, Plutarch²⁹ gives some scattered details in two different passages. Instead of discussing the varied aspects of these different traditions in detail, it will be sufficient for our present task to give a simple synopsis of the interrelation of these sources, and of their connection with our description:

PHILOSTRATUS	I (§2): <i>steep</i> and <i>sheep</i> ; running water; flowers	II (§3): <i>flat</i> ; farmers; fishermen; cult of Poseidon	III (§4): <i>two islands</i> , originally one, united by bridge; a) <i>concave</i> ; b) <i>convex</i> ; sailors, wayfarers	IV (§5): <i>volcanic</i> ; Zeus	V (§§6-9): hills; serpents, <i>dragons</i> ; ivy, <i>byony</i> , vine; cult of Dionysos	VI (§§10-11): rocks; <i>forests</i> ; seagulls; hunters	VII (§12-end); small; " <i>golden</i> ," <i>two springs</i> , cold and hot; <i>city</i> , <i>palace</i> ; royal child; <i>dogs</i> , apes, hare; <i>singing birds</i> ;— <i>going ashore</i>
PLINY (Berosos)		"Planaria" (i.e. the <i>flat</i> isle): trees	"Invallia": <i>concave</i> . "Junonia"		"Capraria" (i.e. isle of goats)	"Pluvialis": only rain-water	
PLINY (Juba)	"Ninvaria": (<i>high</i> because of) snow; foggy		"Junonia Minor" and "Junonia"; stone aedicularia		"Capraria": <i>big lizards</i>	"Ombira" (i.e. = Latin "Pluvialis"): <i>forests</i>	"Canaria" (i.e. the isle of the <i>dogs</i>): <i>ruins</i> now; many <i>dogs</i>
LUCIAN	Corkland: Round town	volcanic	volcanic	volcanic	volcanic	volcanic	<i>flat</i> ; <i>golden city</i> ; <i>two springs</i> (of laughter and pleasure); king Rhadamanthys; <i>singing birds</i> ;— <i>going ashore</i>
PLUTARCH			<i>two islands</i> , separated by narrow street	"Island of Zeus"			"Island of Kronos"

The comparison reveals a striking analogy. Pliny's two descriptions have stripped the islands of their mythological meaning and fairy character. They explain analogous phenomena as physical features or relics of former human occupation. Plutarch, in his short remarks, stresses the mythological elements. Lucian, interested here only in satire and not in mythological or geographical speculation, generalizes, calling all the five central islands volcanic. On the other hand, in a parody of Plato's circular Atlantis, he substitutes a circular cork island for the first island. But he dwells extensively on the fairy features of the last island, although in our diagram only those features paralleled in Philostratus' description have been mentioned. But these parallels are sufficient proof that his parody was based on a description of the mythical seven islands similar to that used by the painter. It is evident, too, that the "ruins" and dogs on this island mentioned by Juba are the mythical palace and racing dogs of our picture in an euhemeristic interpretation. The same is true of the big lizards on the island Capraria. They are the mythological dragons of Philostratus' fifth island in materialistic disguise. The complete number of seven islands occurring here appears again only in Lucian's parody.³⁰ Apparently the geographers, basing themselves on hearsay about islands in the Atlantic, were not able to locate as many as these. All this evidence is more than sufficient to prove that our picture represents the seven Fortunate Islands, and that it was inspired by a learned poetic or mythographical source. But we have still another indirect and striking evidence of this. Aside from Zeus and the Bacchic demons, the only mythological figure who occurs in the painting is Proteus. Beginning with Homer,

28. *Ver. narr.* II. 4 f.

29. Sertorius 8; *De fac. in orbe lun.* 26.

30. Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p. 297, note 2, also mentions the number seven for the islands described by Pliny. But our synopsis shows that two of them (III) should be regarded

as one, the split island. The number seven may have a speculative (Pythagorean?) meaning. In Lucian's description the town has seven gates. The dogs are related to Saturnus.

he was connected with the Islands of the Blessed. He prophesies about them in the *Odyssey*,³¹ and it is this prophecy which still served the geographer Strabo as a point of departure for his discussion of the Fortunate Islands.³² It is evident that his appearance in this painting is due to his traditional connection with the legendary islands. As it is, the painting which Philostratus describes is indeed the most comprehensive source for ancient speculation about the Fortunate Islands. However, I shall resist the temptation to discuss the varied and new aspects which this picture offers within the framework of related mythology. Let us return to our cycle of pictures after this necessary excursion and try to understand its meaning.

Its aspects are indeed numerous. The first, that of the shape of the microcosm, is illustrated twice in the island painting: first, by the active volcano which apparently was seen in the center of the picture,³³ with Zeus throwing his thunderbolt against the mountain in the cosmogonic fight against the Giants. We have already seen that the idea is expressed again in the pictures in which Poseidon creates Thessaly, the Isthmus of Corinth, and the islands of Gyrai with his trident. These he splits in the course of his fight with Ajax. This very element of the split islands occurs again in the island picture. The fact that these two islands also occur in other sources on the Fortunate Islands shows that their appearance here was not invented by the painter, but only used again.

The second aspect is the origin of religion and worship. In the island picture we have already seen Zeus as supreme god. Poseidon, who is a leading figure in the rest of the paintings, is present in an image. But Dionysus, the god of the fertility and abundance of nature, is present too and owns one island. He and his father Zeus are great creative powers. It is obvious that this picture reflects one of the late antique speculative religious systems, in which the different gods become manifestations of one supreme creative force. On the island of the Bacchic cult, the "Goat's Island," as it is fittingly called in Pliny's sources,³⁴ a golden snake emerges from a cave. Here Philostratus is in the position of a professor who has to tell his students something about it. Thus he embarks upon a discussion of the meaning of snakes as guardians of gold in mythology. But he fails to explain why the animal itself is golden, although he honestly states the fact. Now a golden snake is intimately connected with the Bacchic mystery rites of Zeus-Sabazios, in which it symbolizes the renewed god Dionysus himself.³⁵ That is the reason why Dionysus, whom Philostratus believes to have temporarily left his island, is not visible in human form: he appears from the earth in the disguise of the golden snake. But it would, undoubtedly, be wrong to limit the religious background of these pictures to one particular denominational doctrine. Poseidon too is present and creative and even more often than Zeus and Dionysus. He not only models the earth, but he too is a god of fertility and prosperity. Thus, he creates islands (Gyrai), fertile lands (Thessaly), and harbors (Isthmus), and in the picture of the Fortunate Islands he appears as the protector of commerce and agriculture in a unique image, the base of which combines the prow of a ship with a plough. Another religious element is present in the demons and oracles. The soothsayers Glaukos and Palaemon are actors in two paintings. In the island picture, a third prophetic sea-demon appears—Proteus,³⁶ whose other relations to this particular subject have already been mentioned. We shall return to him once more.

31. *IV*, 561 f.

32. *I*, 1, 4-5; Lovejoy, *loc. cit.*

33. Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

34. It seems to me that the Bacchic island which is described by Lucian, *op. cit.*, 1, 6 f., in the beginning of the voyage, which later leads to the Fortunate Islands, is de-

rived from a description of this island Capraria.

35. Arnob. *Sat.* v. 21; Roscher, *op. cit.*, *IV*, p. 254.

36. For Proteus as prophet, see Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 500, note; like Palaemon he is "Neptuni vates" (Vergil) and a parallel figure to Glaukos; see Roscher, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* "Proteus."

But the general implication of all these epiphanies is clear: this primordial world is full of prophecies of the future!

The third major aspect of the cycle, as has been said, is connected with the primitive features of human life. This aspect reveals itself in the absence of any architectural elements with the exception of the fairy palace on the island of Saturn, an absence uncommon in ancient landscape painting. Men appear in varied actions as fishermen, hunters, wayfarers, and peasants. Sailors, too, are just starting their first adventures. And, in a separate unit, the Argo picture also symbolizes that initial stage.³⁷ But Poseidon is still busy shaping the harbors on the Isthmus of Corinth which will become the center of world commerce in the future. Indeed, as Philostratus tells in the description of the second of the islands, commerce is still limited to the exchange of natural goods between fishermen and farmers. And in this world in which the Gods have just vanquished the Giants, the savage tribes of barbarian shepherds who are themselves giants and sons of Poseidon are still making life dangerous. Thus Apollo has to fight the robber king of the Phlegyans (or Pollux the king of the Bebrykes) in order to make life and travel safe for men. Polyphemus, the leader of the Cyclopes, also belongs to these savage tribes, "who do not yet live in towns," though love begins to tame him.³⁸ 89551

All this contrasts sharply with the most striking element of the island picture—the "golden" palace-town with its happy exuberance. This, the town of the Saturnian age, in which life is a joy and there is eternal play in the childhood of humanity, is governed by a royal child. This child is a last and extremely important element of the picture. As we see from a comparison with Lucian, the royal child in the palace has supplanted Rhadamanthys, the king of the blessed and judge of the other world. That might be considered quite a natural idea in a period in which putti were commonly used on sarcophagi for the symbolical representation of a blessed after-life.³⁹ But within a picture representative not of that other world, but of the Fortunate Islands of the golden age, the appearance of a royal child has another, though not unrelated, connotation. The birth of a royal child as a forecast of the return of the golden age of Saturnus is a well-known motive which was most impressively expressed in the poetic prophecy of Vergil's fourth *Eclogue*.⁴⁰ That this same prophetic character was intended here is further indicated by the presence of the soothsayer Proteus, the "primordial one,"⁴¹ who occupies a place near this island in the picture. Thus, at the end of his pictorial cycle of the primitive world, the artist turns to the ideology of the return of the golden age. The coherence and at the same time the profound speculative background of this cycle of seven pictures is striking, and it adds an entirely new aspect to what is otherwise known about antique painting.

Although Philostratus was perfectly able to see immediately many of the implications of single pictures, he did not discuss this cyclic idea. He was not interested in it. Nevertheless, it appears in his descriptions. It must be added that here, as in the cycle of Herakles, the same ideas and subjects do not recur in any other part of his books.

37. Is it mere coincidence that Horace, *Epod.* 16, 57, says about the Fortunate Islands: "non huc Argo contendit"?

38. For such primitive savages, including the Cyclopes, see testimonials: Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 303 ff.

39. Welcker (*op. cit.*, p. 487) in fact noticed the ideological similarity: "lusus pueriles non plane absimiles Amorum lusibus." For the relation of our picture to funeral painting, see above, note 25.

40. E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg)*, 1924; J. Carcopino, *Virgile et le mystère de la IV^e églogue*, Paris, 1930, pp. 21 ff.; H. Jeanmaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 ff.

41. Ovid *Met.* 11. 224 f. Proteus prophesies to Thetis the future grandeur of her son Achilles. Before the birth of Apollonius of Tyana, he appears as prophet to his mother: Philostr. *Apoll. Tyan.* 6.

THE ROOM OF APHRODITE (II. 1-12)

The first part of the second book, in so far as it precedes the description of the room of the primitive world, includes twelve pictures. Again a topographical connection is evident, although it is more complicated than that of the two groups previously discussed. Here, for the first time, we meet the above-mentioned interruption of one group of pictures by another cycle. The first picture shows singing girls in a procession to Aphrodite. Evidently some of the succeeding pictures illustrate the power of this goddess. The death of Hippolytus after his refusal to love Phaedra (4), the love of Krithis and Meles (8), the suicide of Panthea on the pyre of her husband (9), and the death of Cassandra on the corpse of Agamemnon (10) are easily recognizable as illustrations of this sort. In regard to this last picture, Philostratus himself mentions the erotic relationship between the King and Cassandra, and its expression in the painting (§1). But the picture of an oriental queen who prefers war to the female destiny of love (5) also obviously belongs to this group. Philostratus himself stresses the point that like Hippolytus, the hero of the preceding picture, she illustrates the paradox of beautiful youth, unwilling to yield to the power of Love.⁴² Thus we see a cycle of six pictures:

- a) Procession to Aphrodite (1)
- b) Death of Hippolytus (4)
- c) "Rhodogoune" (Hippolyte ?) (5)⁴³
- d) Krithis and Meles (8)
- e) Suicide of Panthea (9)
- f) Death of Cassandra (10)

As to the shape of these paintings, it is apparent that most of them should be rather high rectangles. In the picture of Hippolytus, this form is clearly indicated by the representation of mountains with personifications on them, and in the picture of Panthea by the appearance of a town in the background. The most natural reconstruction of the picture of

42. II. 5, § 4: οὐ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ ἐραυ τοῦ ἐρᾶσθαι. ("For I do not think she loves to be loved.")

43. The name of this painting, as given by Philostratus, is very doubtful. The story of Rhodogoune to which he refers is known to us only in short excerpts from a more extensive story. His interpretation is based solely on the disorderly hair which hangs down on one side, because the queen interrupted her dressing to hasten into battle. Even if we accept this interpretation, as all the commentators have done, we do not know what romantic love story, to which Philostratus clearly alludes, was told about this woman. Possibly a reference to a popular story of this kind is preserved in a strange funeral epigram from the early imperial period (CIG 5724=Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 1878, no. 685=IG XIV, 499). The last two lines say: "Once the name, by which everybody called me, was Epagathos. But now they call me Rhodogoune from the name of a queen." The reason for this adoption of the name of a legendary queen is undoubtedly to be sought in the strange circumstances of the death of this woman who, as the epigram says at the beginning, was stoned to death by a man. Such a tragic end of the "non-loving" queen could account for her appearance in this place in the cycle. But Welcker (*op. cit.*, p. 425) observed that the same story was told about Semiramis (Polyaen. *Strat.* 8, 26; *Rhodogoune*, *ib.*, 27). We are, thus, entitled to recognize Semiramis too on the basis of the criterion of the disorderly hair. If that name applied to the picture, implications of the refusal to

surrender to love and to her later tragic suicide would already be visible (*Diod.* II. 4 f.; 13; 20. 5 f.). Semiramis who dealt cruelly with her lovers found a tragic end. But I hesitate to accept the whole interpretation. Philostratus indicates one antiquarian detail which fits neither Rhodogoune nor Semiramis: this is a curious small shield "καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἀγασθαι χρὴ τὸ μέτριον καὶ ἀποχρῶν τῷ στήρτι." ("One should also admire the moderate size of the shield which is large enough to cover the breast" not "the shield of moderate size, but large enough," as Fairbanks translates). Why just sufficient for the breast? It is obviously a pelta, and this is the reason why Philostratus himself wonders whether this could not be an Amazon. But he rejects this idea, solely because of the fact that her chiton does not leave one breast uncovered. This amusing case is one of the best examples of the fact that he was viewing real pictures and had to find out what they meant. His archaeological method in doing this may have been right or wrong. Being familiar with the commonest Amazon type of his period, he did not realize that that type was not the sole variety in use. Older art, at least—and who knows on what source that painting depended?—often did represent the Amazons with both breasts covered. Which is a better argument—the Amazon shield or the chiton? I tend to accept the former, and to recognize in this figure Hippolyte, the queen of the Amazons. She, like her son Hippolytus, who appears in the next picture, was a non-lover and met a tragic end.

Krithis and Meles also yields this form.⁴⁴ On the other hand, the procession to Aphrodite should have a more horizontal shape.⁴⁵

We may safely assume that these pictures occupied the lower main sections of walls. Where the cycle is interrupted, Philostratus turned to the upper part of that section where he had previously discussed the main picture or pictures. If this is true, picture 1, pictures 4 and 5, pictures 8, 9, and 10 occupied the lower spaces of three walls of a room.

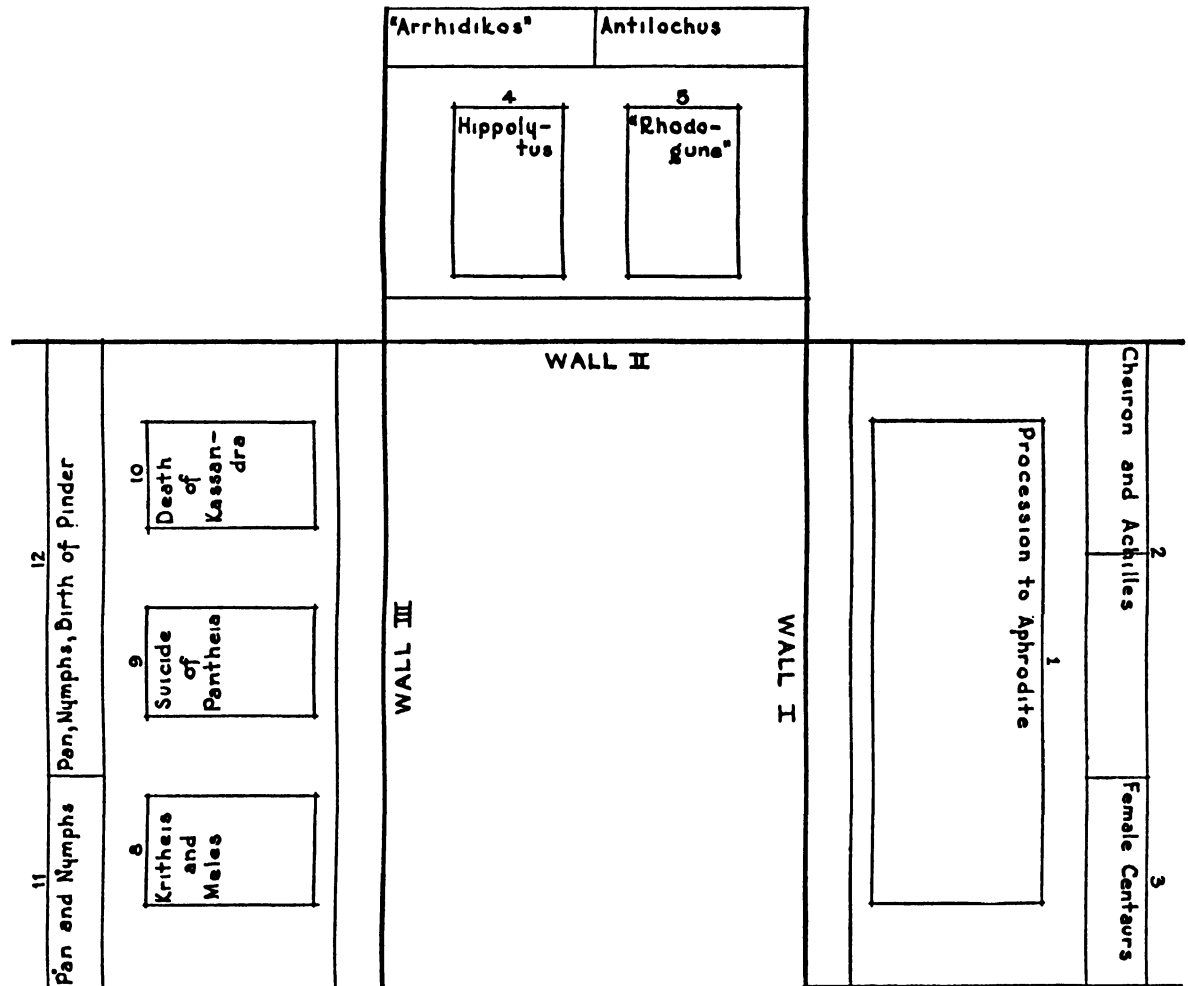


FIG. 3—ROOM OF APHRODITE

The remaining pictures of this section include a variety of subjects and show no definite relation to the lower cycle. Most probably they were friezes of smaller size. The picture of Achilles mourning over the corpse of Antilochus undoubtedly had such an elongated rectangular form (7), as is shown by its iconographic forerunner in the reliefs of one of the silver jugs from Bernay.⁴⁶ The two scenes from the childhood of Achilles (2) also indicate a frieze shape. From the arrangement of Philostratus' descriptions, it results that the pairs of pictures 2 and 3, 6 and 7, 11 and 12, each occupied the upper part of one wall. Despite the absence of any continuous coherence of subject matter, interesting relations exist between these pictures which are in harmony with the proposed arrangement. Pictures 2 and 3 are

44. See Benndorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 ff., note.

45. Compare the similar frescoes from a house in Ostia in the Vatican Library (Nogara, *Le Nozze Aldobrandine*,

1907, pls. 47 ff.).

46. See *AJA*, XLIII, 1938, pp. 89 ff.

apparently related:⁴⁷ the first one twice shows the centaur Cheiron and the boy Achilles, the second presents female centaurs. On the other end, pictures 11 and 12 show a similar affinity: 12 shows the birth of Pindar with Pan and the Nymphs present, and Pan and the Nymphs are visible again in a genre scene in 11. The two remaining paintings have no direct connection, but evidently each of them is related to one picture in the other two sections: Achilles mourns at the body of Antilochus (7) next to the scenes of Achilles' youth (2), and the picture of a young Olympian victor is next to that of the birth of Pindar, the famous bard of such victories. On the other hand, if, as Philostratus suggests, this picture really represented the boy Arrhidikos,⁴⁸ who died in his youth, it would be a very suitable neighbor to the painting of the dead youth Antilochus.

Figure 3 illustrates how all these relationships may be accounted for in a simple topographical arrangement according to which the description proceeds by sections, and within the sections from left to right, and from below to above. A wide window or a wide entrance occupying most of the space of the fourth wall would explain the restriction of the decoration to only three walls.

As we have said, only the lower or main pictures constitute a really coherent cycle. (Incidentally, all the heroines are Anatolian, whatever the interpretation of picture 5 may be.) This cycle symbolizes the power of love. The prelude, in a literal sense, is the procession of singers to Aphrodite. Then follows the representation of two famous non-loving young people—a man and a woman, the former Hippolytus, being punished by the goddess.⁴⁹ The two subsequent scenes illustrate the tragic end of a virgin in love, and the faith of love beyond the grave. Within this group, the picture of Cassandra occupies a transitional place between the non-lovers and the lovers. Cassandra, the virgin priestess, renounces her virginity and priesthood only at the moment of death and, when it is too late, reveals her love to Agamemnon. In the next picture, Panthea dies in order to remain united with her husband. Finally, the happy end follows in the scene of Krithis and Meles, which symbolizes blissful union in everlasting love. This union, we may recall, results in the creation of poetry, since Homer is its offspring. That fact, indicated in the picture by the presence of the Muses, in a truly cyclic idea, leads back to the first picture with its emphasis on the celebration of love by song. Here, the prelude becomes the finale.

THE ROOM OF DIONYSUS (I. 14-30)

The existence of a cycle of pictures dealing with Dionysus and his activities has already been briefly discussed. The obviously related paintings are: the birth of Dionysus (14), Dionysus and Ariadne in Naxos (15), the punishment of Pentheus (18), the punishment of the Tyrrhenians (19), and the creation of a spring of wine in Andros (25). Although the general idea underlying this group is apparent, Philostratus himself does nothing to emphasize it. This is again caused by the fact that he disrupts the order of his discussion by including other pictures which interrupt the various parts of the cycle. Once again his analysis clearly follows a topographical order, and includes the upper paintings of single sections in between and after the principal pictures. Consequently pictures 14-15, 18-19, and picture 25, each occupied the lower space of one wall. As in the room of Aphrodite the upper pictures show no comprehensive relation in subject matter, at least not one that could be easily recognized. But here, too, a number of relationships exist. Some of them

47. Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 415: "supparis argumenti."

48. The elements which Philostratus describes hardly allow such an interpretation.

49. For a similar moralizing interpretation see: Philostr. *Apoll. Tyan.* 6. 3.

have already been mentioned. These upper pictures represent: Pasiphae and Daedalus (16), and the race between Pelops and Œnomaus (17) on the wall over pictures 14 and 15; the sleeping Olympus surrounded by Satyrs (20), Olympus seeing his face in a well (21), Silenus sleeping and surrounded by Nymphs (22), Narcissus seeing his face in a well (23), and the death of Hyacinthus (24) on the wall over pictures 18 and 19; the childhood of Hermes (26) and the arrival of Amphiarus in Oropos (27) over picture 25. As to the latter two pictures, it might seem doubtful whether they belong to this group. It may be safely assumed, however, that this room included them as well as the three succeeding paintings 28 to 30. This would seem probable from the mere fact that the first book ends with picture 30, not counting the evidently unrelated and inserted still-life (31). Also, we have already seen that the last picture (30), which shows Pelops receiving his later victorious chariot from Poseidon, must be connected with picture 17, illustrating his victory over Œnomaus in that same chariot.⁵⁰ As in the room of Herakles, the description clearly moves around the room and, at the end, approaches the starting point again. Because of this connection, it seems probable that the extensive painting representing the hunt of a boar (28) occupied the lower space of the fourth wall, and that the succeeding paintings of the liberation of Andromeda and of Pelops were placed above it.

As to the shape of these pictures, the description gives us at least some indications. In the birth of Dionysus as well as in the punishment of Pentheus, upper parts of the background are clearly distinguished from the lower foreground. Therefore, these pictures seem to have been tall rectangles or squares. The same is true of the painting of Dionysus and Ariadne, as we know from the many pictures of this type still preserved. Consequently, the first four pictures in the cycle of Dionysus were squares or tall rectangles. The pictures of Andros and of the hunt, although they must have been equally high, certainly had a larger size and thus probably a more elongated form. On the other hand, a frieze-like shape is indicated for some of the upper pictures. This is true of the race between Pelops and Œnomaus, and of the death of Hyacinthus as they appear in the description. The same shape is possible for most of the other pictures.⁵¹ But, in view of the well-known iconographic type of paintings of Narcissus, and for economy of space, this picture and its counterpart showing Olympus in the same attitude (21) must have been tall rectangles. This frieze of five pictures (20–24) was thus organized in a rhythmic scheme: *a, b, a, b, a*. The length of this series makes it probable that the wall below was pierced by a large window. The resulting scheme for the reconstruction of the pictures in this room is shown in Figure 4.

The Bacchic cycle starts with the birth and marriage of the god. It goes on to illustrate the punishment of the incredulous Pentheus and of the Tyrrhenian pirates who are morally improved by their transformation into dolphins,⁵² and it culminates in the creation of the spring of wine for the benefit of the faithful. This whole development of ideas, and particularly the last picture, indicates the connection of this cycle with theological

50. See above, note 10. It seems, that in 17 § 2 Philostratus casts a side-glance at picture 30, telling its story here without direct mention of the picture. In § 3 he says: "... ἡλικίαν τε καὶ ὥραν ἄγων (*scil.* Pelops), ἦν καὶ μικρῷ πρόσθεν εἶδες, δρε τοὺς ἱπποὺς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐξήτει..." ("and [Pelops] is of such youth and beauty as you saw [rather than 'noticed' as Fairbanks translates] a moment ago, when he was begging Poseidon for his horses..."). Similarly, at the end of the description of the Andromeda picture (29), he seems already to refer to the succeeding painting (30) by the rather artificial comparison of Perseus and Pelops.

51. This is particularly evident for the continuous and much debated scenes of the childhood of Hermes, 1. 26. The iconographically unusual composition of the picture of Andromeda in which she is freed by Eros and where Perseus reclines and receives refreshments from the Ethiopians could also be explained by the use of a frieze.

52. For Pentheus *moralisé* see: Carcopino, *Études romaines*, 1, Paris, 1926, pp. 135 ff. The moral improvement of the Tyrrhenians, see 1. 19 § 6: "... τὰ μὲν εἶδη ἰχθύων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τὰ δὲ ἦθη χρηστοῖς ἐκ φαύλων." ("... as fishes in shape instead of men, and as good in character instead of bad.")

doctrines of the Bacchic mystery cults. Those who believe in the god and drink from the sacramental source of wine which he has so miraculously created will become wealthy, powerful, and handsome, and they will grow to heroic size (25, §2). Thus it is not surprising

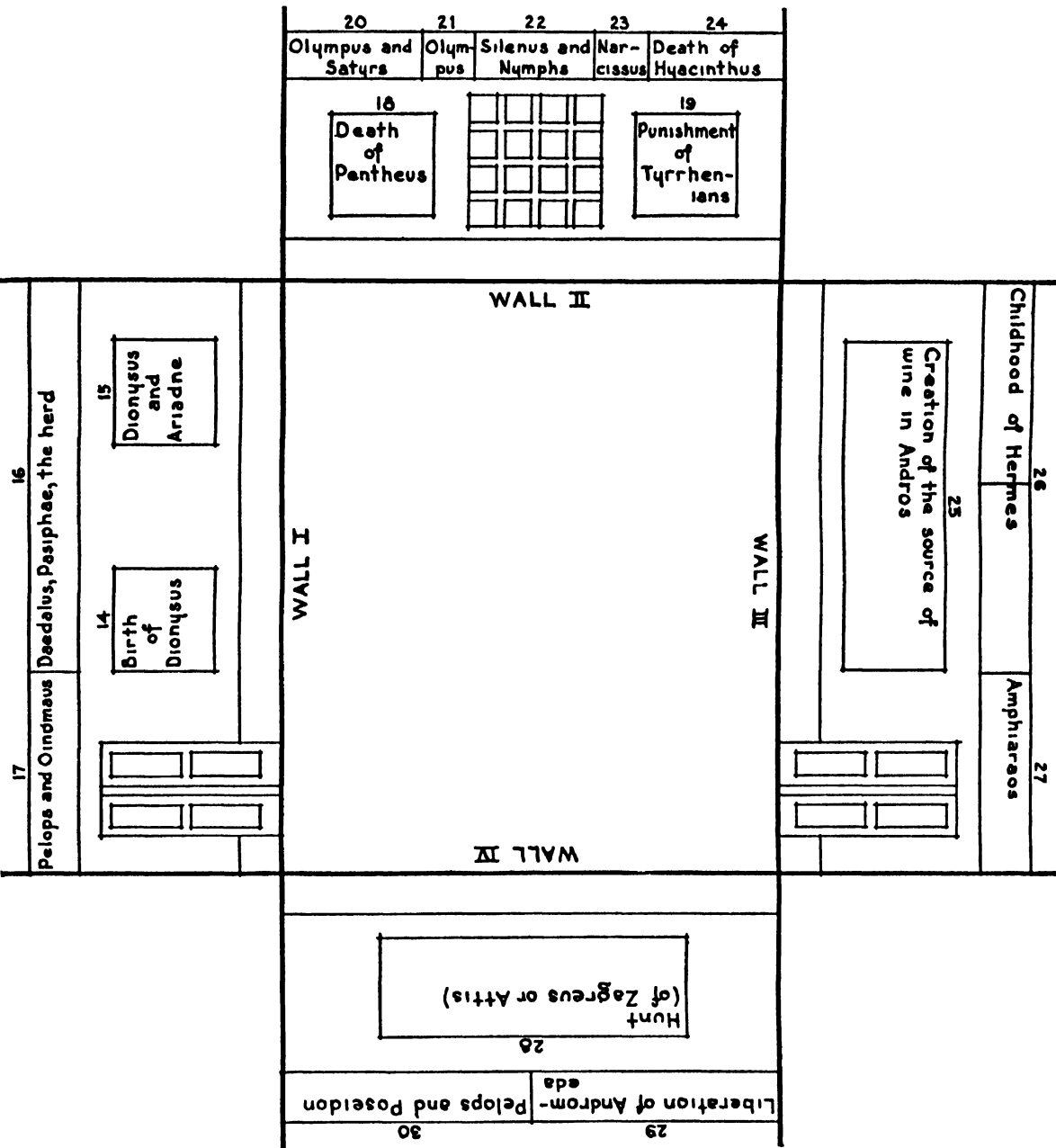


FIG. 4—ROOM OF DIONYSUS

to find the scene of a beautiful young hunter included at the end (28). The description reveals a painting of monumental character and a relation to the Bacchic cycle must be assumed. The young hunter who rides on a white solar horse decorated with the emblem of the full moon (or rather the sun?) is clad in a Phoenician purple cloak. He is conscious of the fact that "he is beloved." He might be the hunter Zagreus,⁵³ the young Dionysus, or Adonis. Both of them are hunters who, dying in the very flower of their youth, return

53. For Zagreus the hunter, see Roscher, *op. cit.*, s.v. "Zagreus."

reborn as new gods, and symbolize the eternal renewal of life in nature. It is well known that both of them were confused and identified with each other and with the analogous Phrygian Attis in the mystic speculation of this period.⁵⁴ Thus within the framework of our cycle, this picture adds to the ideas of victory, moral improvement, and the bestowal of benefits and happiness on humanity, the doctrine of the self-renewal of the god of nature and life. As in the room of Aphrodite, this last picture, in a literally cyclic fashion, alludes to the rebirth of the god whose birth is shown in the first painting.

In this room at least some of the upper pictures, i.e., the five paintings of the second wall, seem to be related to the Bacchic cycle.⁵⁵ Three of these pictures, those of Olympus and that of Silenus, deal with figures in the Bacchic myth. The other two represent Narcissus and Hyacinthus. They, too, are mythical boys who symbolize in their premature death and in their metamorphosis into flowers the regeneration of life in nature. It is worthy of note also that in the Narcissus painting such a connection with the religious ideology of the Bacchic cycle is definitely indicated by the representation of wine around the cave (23, §3). Under these circumstances, one is tempted to assume connections also between the other upper paintings and this ideology. But it seems hardly possible to establish such a connection clearly.⁵⁶ It would lead us too far to discuss here possibilities of interpretation which at best remain conjectural.

THE ROOM OF THE RIVERS (I. 1-13)

The remaining descriptions of the first book again show a *Leitmotiv* in the repeated representation of rivers. In this case, however, the situation is still more complicated because of the fact that Philostratus apparently described three superimposed rows of pictures. The major cycle is composed of four paintings. They are: the Skamander, fighting the fire which rages through its plain (1); the Nile, with the personified cubits indicating the annual rise, and with a giant who guards its sources (5); Poseidon pursuing the princess Amymone and, on this occasion, creating an everlasting spring (8); Phaethon falling from heaven into the river Eridanos (11). The comprehensive ideas which led to this combination of four pictures are easily understood. The rivers and sources are selected from four parts of the world: Asia, Africa, Greece, and the West (in antiquity the Eridanos was identified either with the Po or with the Rhône). The first scene represents the fight between the elements of water and fire; the second, the fertilizing power of the Nile; the third, the relation between the sea (Poseidon) and the spring (Amymone); the fourth, the myth of Phaethon falling into the great river Eridanos, again illustrates the conflict between fire and water, which here results in the origin of wealth: amber originates from the tears of the Heliades (the fiery daughters of the sun) falling into the Eridanos, as Phaethon, their

54. See J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, London, 1919, III, pt. 4. For Adonis see Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 1085; Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, s.v. "Adonis," pp. 391 ff. For Attis: Hepding, *Attis*, Giessen, 1903.

55. For a similar cycle of pictures, see Petron. *Trim.* 83; A. W. Van Buren, *Memoirs Am. Ac. Rome*, xv, 1938, 77.

56. The two pictures of the childhood of Hermes and of the oracle of Amphiaraos may be connected by means of the ideas of Falsehood and Truth. The notion of the former occurs again in the paintings of the other wall in mythical examples of the stories of Pelops and Pasiphae. It is also involved in the story of the capture of Silenus (22), in that of Narcissus (23), and to a certain extent in the

death of Hyacinthus (24) through a mistake of Apollo, who is the deceived antagonist of Hermes in picture 26. Amphiaraos wears his laurel crown. In this picture (27) Oneiros is a main figure. He is the god of dreams, who reveals truth by deceit. The motive of truth and falsehood may have been connected with Bacchic mystery creeds. In favor of such an interpretation, one might point out, too, that a symbolism of black and white seems to unite several pictures: The horses of Enomaos are black, those of Pelops and Amphiaraos white. Oneiros wears a white cloak over a black garment.—The vase painting in Roscher, *op. cit.*, III, p. 2053 = Fairbanks (Philostratus, Loeb ed.), fig. 15, shows Dionysus present in the scene of the liberation of Andromeda.

brother, dies in the river. As Philostratus comments Phaethon represents the "superabundance of the fiery element in nature."⁵⁷ His death in the Eridanos, i.e., his absorption by water, thus refers to the same conflict between the two elements which is illustrated in the first picture. There the river is threatened by the raging fire; here the superabundant fire is absorbed by the river.⁵⁸ The process which there seems to threaten fertility, here becomes creative of wealth. The same ideas of natural philosophy also conditioned the selection of the two other scenes of this cycle. Here, the story of Poseidon and Amymone is not simply an amorous adventure of a god.⁵⁹ The story is as follows: When continuous drought threatened the Argive land, the king sent his daughter in search of water. Poseidon, seeing her threatened by a satyr (this, of course, is a purely poetical version), threw his trident against him. The trident missed the satyr (quite naturally, since he did not belong to the myth, and is not visible in our picture either), and hit a rock. Amymone took it out of the rock, and a beautiful and rich spring of water surged up from the wound in the rock. Within our cycle this myth has evidently been used in a speculation quite close to its original significance. It symbolizes the interrelation of the sea and springs of water, for according to ancient theories the vapors of humidity arise from the sea in order to come down in rain and to create springs. It thus illustrates the continuous renewal of the wet element. And the same is true of the picture of the Nile. This river, with its yearly flood originating in the hottest and driest part of the world and suddenly fertilizing the dry hot land, profoundly impressed Greek thinkers, as is well known. In our picture, the cosmic implication of the renewal of the waters of the Nile is emphasized by the figure of the giant replenishing the water of the river, and causing it to rise in personified cubits. He has already been recognized by Welcker⁶⁰ as Aquarius, the star which, according to ancient speculation, causes the annual renewal of the wet element in the Nile. It is quite interesting to note that in late antique speculation Aquarius is otherwise connected with the Eridanos-Po,⁶¹ who appears absorbing the superabundant fire in the picture on the opposite wall. Among the upper pictures also three scenes are apparently connected and, in their particular character, stand out from the rest. They represent: the death of Menoikeus in Thebes (4), the death of Memnon before Troy (7), and Amphion founding Thebes (10). Two of these scenes show the death of a young epic hero and, in turn, two of them are related to one place, Thebes. From their place in the order of the descriptions, it results that these three pictures occupied parts of the first three walls. As to their shape, it is clear that they should be squares or tall rectangles. In fact, in the picture of the death of Memnon the sky above is described as containing deities. In the picture of Amphion the partially constructed city walls of Thebes are visible in the background. City walls appear in the third picture, too.

The remaining paintings of this section must have been visible between these upper scenes and the river pictures. In harmony with the indications given by the descriptions, and with their position, we may consider them to have been friezes. Their subjects are: *Komos*, a nocturnal procession of revelry (2); Aesop approached by a procession of the fables (3); Erotes harvesting apples and engaged in other playful activities (6); swamp with Erotes riding on swans (9); the long frieze "Bosporus" with love scenes, playful actions, and fishermen (12-13). It is evident that most of these pictures belong to the playful putti

57. Transl. Fairbanks. Compare Lucret. v. 392 f.

58. Welcker, *op. cit.*, p. 200, says about this painting: "non volgarem hanc esse ignem, sed caelesti et asterii ignis imaginem. . . ."

59. Appolod. II. 1, 4; Hygin., *Fab.* 169.

60. *Op. cit.*, pp. 232 f.; Steinmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f.

61. Roscher, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 1468.

genre so familiar to us from Pompeii. That is clearly the case in pictures 6, 9, and 12-13.⁶² Here, too, belongs the *Komos*, whatever may have been the exact meaning of that painting, whose main actor was a child.⁶³ On the other hand, the picture of Aesop and the fables could only have a very loose connection with this genre (representing children's books?),

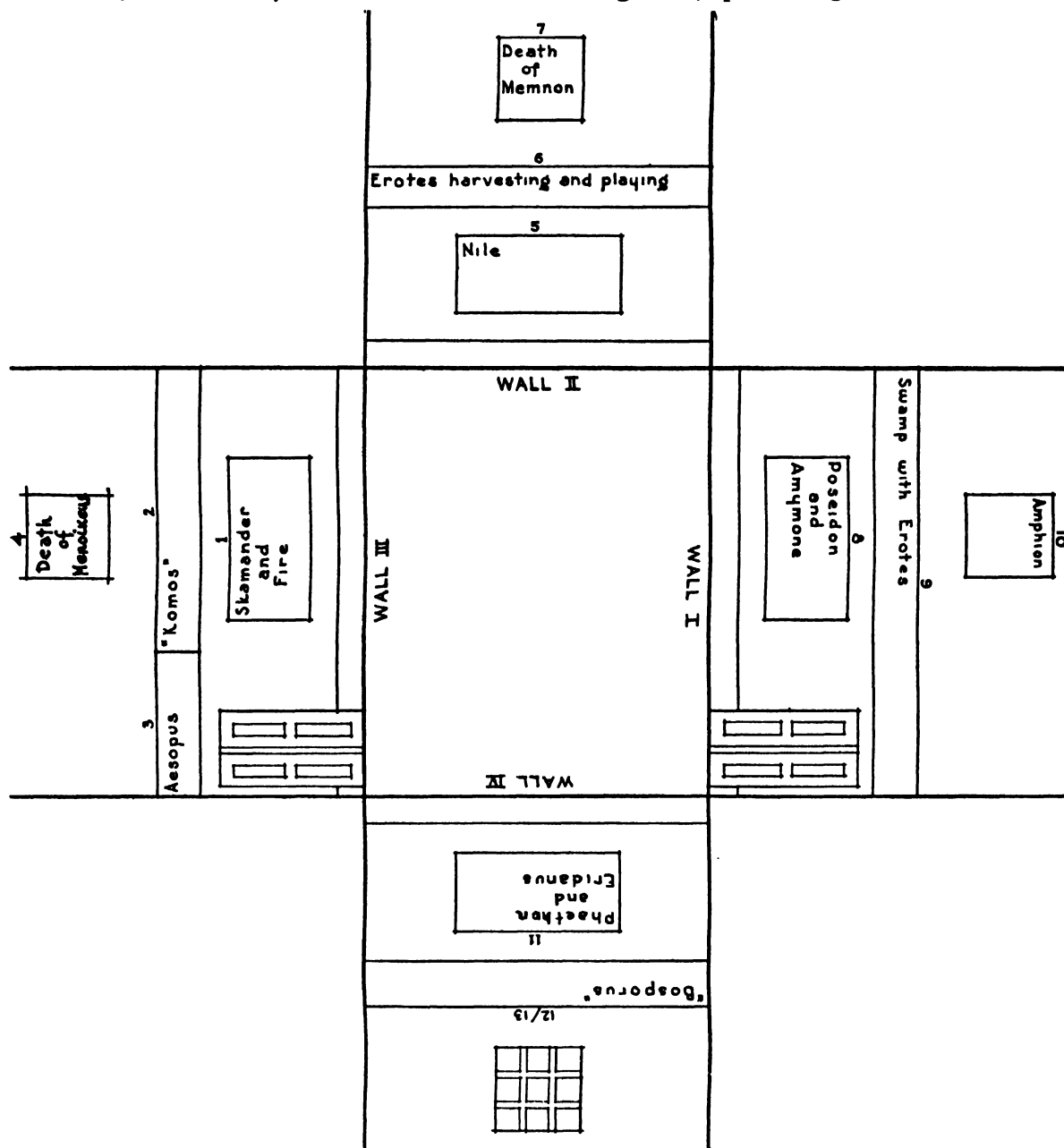


FIG. 5—ROOM OF THE RIVERS

and one might wonder whether it could not have been inserted by Philostratus. In view of the fact, however, that this would constitute a unique case within the descriptions of these topographical units, and that in the other rooms also such friezes do not seem to have strict

62. Welcker demonstrated this character for picture 12-13. Here, Eros is present in an image, too.

63. That the main actor was a child is indicated by the

expression "*ὄπω ξεῖρος*" ("not yet full grown"). See, for the controversy on the interpretation, Steinmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff.

and comprehensive relations, I do not feel entitled to exclude it from the reconstruction. As we said, the pictures of this group evidently were in the form of a frieze. There can be no doubt about this in the case of the "Bosporus" (12-13) and of the playing and harvesting Erotes (6).⁶⁴ But it is also indicated in the picture of the swamp, which is composed of a central and two lateral parts (4), and it is the most natural scheme for the *Komos* (2) and Aesop (3) in view of their processional character.

On the last wall, which contains such friezes (12-13) but lacks an upper picture, the upper section may have been pierced by a window. A reconstruction of the arrangement is given in Figure 5.

It seems likely that the actual beginning was opposite the point where Philostratus entered the room, as was the case in the room of Herakles. In the upper scenes, picture 10 chronologically precedes picture 4. That would make the relation of the sea to the springs (8) the initial picture in the cycle of the rivers. The continuous renewal and power to fertilize illustrated by the Nile would follow (5). After this, the conflict of water and fire (1) and the victory of the wet element (11) would complete a cycle, which, in this realm of natural elements, somehow corresponds to the gradual development of growth and power in the cycle of Dionysus.

III

The preceding discussion included, with one exception, all the pictures of the first book and the first twenty-five paintings of the second book. The descriptions of the Elder Philostratus include only a few other pictures. Two of these are the still-lives 1. 31 and 11. 26. It is self-evident that they are unrelated. Moreover, the rather perfunctory inclusion of one such picture in each of the two books shows the desire of the author to expand a given subject so that his book might also contain examples of this one missing type of painting. It must be noted, however, that these two descriptions of still-lives have been carefully inserted in definite places. First of all, neither of them disturbs any of the five topographical units which we have reconstructed. In addition, one of these obvious outsiders marks the end of the first book. The other succeeds the description of the last room, that of Herakles. But it is followed, in turn, by eight additional descriptions. These last eight pictures of the second book show a remarkable absence of any such relation and connection as we have found everywhere else. They represent a variety of subjects: the birth of Athena, the Loom, Antigone burying Polyneikes, Euadne committing suicide, Themistocles and Xerxes, the personification of the Palaestra, Dodona, the Hores. The first four pictures may be two pairs, if picture 28 (the Loom) refers to the myth of Arachne. But each of these pairs would remain unrelated, and the same is true of the succeeding four pictures, which show no conceivable connection with each other or, for that matter, with any of the first four paintings. At first, this fact might appear rather puzzling. But, in connection with the position of the obviously later-inserted still-lives, it is far from contradicting the results of our analysis, and it throws an interesting light on the genesis of the book. These unrelated eight pictures not only succeed the topographical description as an independent unit. They are also placed after the still-life which marks an original end of the second book as the other concludes the first. Apparently, they are later additions. It is very probable that, originally, Philostratus prepared his publication of the topographical descriptions with the addition of one still-life at the end of each of the two books.⁶⁵ At a later moment, either before the

64. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

65. This parallelism of only two still-lives proves that

originally only two books were intended. Only two books are preserved in the tradition of most of the manuscripts,

real publication or else for a second edition, he added descriptions of eight other paintings.⁶⁶ There is no reason to doubt that he had seen them as well as all the others. But whether or not he saw them in the same place cannot be decided. The last description concludes with a sentence which proves that it was meant to be the end: "one should paint gracefully."

This genesis of the book may account for the vague and rather veiled indications about the character of the collection given in the Proœmium.⁶⁷ As is well known, Philostratus says that the book originated in lectures given in a suburban villa near Naples where he saw the pictures in a stoa of "four, I believe, or maybe five stories."⁶⁸ The vagueness of this expression has been used as an argument by those who doubted the authenticity of the pictures. It does seem rather evasive. But now the history of the book allows us to understand this very vagueness. We have seen that, in reality, he saw the bulk of his pictures in a number of separated rooms. Inasmuch as Philostratus had added two descriptions of still-lives and the final discussion of eight additional pictures for the sake of the publication of his lectures, he had to be deliberately vague in regard to the exact architectural and structural situation. But within this very vagueness he has preserved a precious indication in his remark about four or five architectural units. Indeed, our analysis shows that exactly five such units were described in his topographical tour!

This leads us to another observation. As Philostratus says, the building was "a stoa." Our analysis has shown that the pictures were invariably seen around the walls of a room. These rooms may well have been adjacent to various stories of one of the extensive terraced porticoes of a Roman villa, as indeed such porticoes are generally provided with rooms for various purposes.⁶⁹ Our reconstructions, which have been based solely on the order and connection of the pictures in the different units, show a surprising repetition of a type of room provided with two lateral entrances near the front wall. This again is a very common type for such terrace architecture.⁷⁰ From the reconstruction, it results that the essential differences are limited to the position and size of the windows. This, too, is characteristic of the architecture of the Roman villa with its varied and sophisticated provisions for meeting the conditions of the different seasons. The writer is indeed tempted to recognize in the first four rooms four seasonal dining halls: The room of the rivers, barely lighted and in its very idea refreshing, would be a summer triclinium (*aestivum*). The room of Dionysus, with its small window and decorations which symbolize the god of the season, might be an autumn triclinium (*autumnale*). The room of Aphrodite, freely admitting the afternoon sun at one side, would be a hall for the spring (*triclinium vernale*). The room of the primitive

including the best codex, the Laurentianus *F. P* and some secondary manuscripts have, instead of Book II, three books: II (II. 1-10), III (II. 11-26), IV (II. 27-end). This corresponds to the tradition of Suidas who mentions four books. See, for this question, Benndorf, *op. cit.*, p. VII, note 1. Jacobs, *op. cit.*, p. 42, pleaded for the solution that even before Suidas some of the editors had made editions in four volumes and that *P* used such a manuscript. This is very unlikely. However the mistake which we read in Suidas originated, it seems probable that *P* introduced a subdivision of the second book because of that incorrect information obtained from Suidas. That this is the case is also obvious from the fact that both *F* and *P* otherwise depend upon the same archetype. Moreover, the subdivision of Book II into three sections creates books which are proportionately much too small in comparison with Book I.

66. In fact, the length of the two books, the second of which now considerably exceeds that of the first (1550

lines in the Teubner edition compared with 1389), becomes more balanced, although still not equal, if we eliminate pictures 27 to 34 (1288 lines compare with 1389 of the first book which, of course, includes the Proœmium in the present form).

67. That the Proœmium, in its present form, is related to the entire complex of preserved descriptions, including the last eight pictures, is indicated by the Hores being mentioned as painting the landscape with varied colors and thus alluding to the present last picture of Book II.

68. "ἐν τετράρων οἰμαὶ ἢ καὶ πέντε ὁρῶν." It is impossible to agree with Brunn's translation (*Rheinisches Museum*, 1882, p. 194): "in the fourth or fifth story." Fairbanks translates quite correctly: "built in four, I think, or possibly five terraces."

69. For this type of structure, see F. Noack and K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji*, Berlin, 1936, pp. 202 ff. and *passim*.

70. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

world with its Saturnine ideology would be a fitting winter triclinium (*hibernale*). But it should be stated explicitly that this is nothing more than a tempting idea which I dare to mention only in order to show how and why these rooms would fit very well into the architectural and ideal frame of life to which Philostratus himself ascribes them in his introduction.

It is evident that the pictures do not represent a gallery, or the collection of a connoisseur. Philostratus does not call them a gallery, as modern authors have done. But he says that they were *pinakes*, i.e., independently painted pictures inserted into walls (Procem. §4).⁷¹ It may be doubted whether that was true for the friezes also. But, as we know, the expression is otherwise perfectly in harmony with the procedure of mural decoration. Furthermore, he recognizes various masters, and we may believe him in this too. But his deliberate avoidance of mention of the names of famous painters⁷² is quite natural, since he describes not single famous pictures of the past but parts of more or less contemporary mural cycles.

We may well believe his story, as far as it goes. He happened to be in Naples in the villa of a friend whose rooms were decorated with extensive groups of paintings. Then and there, he lectured on them. His interest was concentrated on the task of giving oratorical expression to the impressions gained from pictures.⁷³ We should not use the obsolete term "rhetoric" implying that all this was only verbal fireworks; on the contrary, this was a serious attempt to convey in words the striking impression and the poetic power of painting.⁷⁴ It is true that in his age such an attempt could not be free from a certain amount of showmanship, of stylistic sophistication, and of learning. Nevertheless, in the opinion of this writer, Philostratus is much better than most gallery-talkers, and he has largely achieved his goal. His descriptions convey the flavor, the atmosphere, and the most striking features of these pictures. He has often been blamed for not accurately describing details, compositions, figures, actions, colors, etc. All this is true. But he did not intend to describe at all. He wanted to make the picture, as you saw it, speak.

Concentrating on this task of making the single picture eloquent, Philostratus did not care about the cyclic ideas and the interrelations of these pictures. Fortunately for us, he missed this point. Because, if he had followed the real order of these cycles, modern criticism undoubtedly would use exactly that ideological arrangement to prove that all these descriptions were fictions and invented at the writing desk. As it is, his failure to account for the general ideas and the cyclic sequences proves that he really saw these pictures. Thus, these descriptions have basically the character of a periegesis. Their faults are practically the same as those of Pausanias (except that Philostratus has taste and is much superior in every respect), for in most cases he, too, does not describe, but uses the periegetic frame for a literary task. Philostratus' emphasis is different and so is his task. He tells that he led his audience around the walls of these rooms. As one does quite naturally with a crowd, he explained painting after painting in succession, starting in one corner and at the end returning to it. He paraphrased rather than described the paintings and pointed out the emotional values and psychological associations of each picture. His emphasis in this course on the appreciation of art was one-sided, as has been that of every professor of this kind after him. Later, like many orators and letter writers and teachers before and after him, he decided to publish these lectures as a model of his technique and style in handling such

71. For the term *Pinakes* and its application to Pompeian wall painting, see the interesting article of A. W. Van Buren, *Memoirs Am. Ac. Rome*, xv, 1938, pp. 77 ff. (brought to my attention by Mr. Donald Brown).

72. See Matr., *Philologus*, 1882, pp. 596 ff.

73. Similar criticism: Kayser, *op. cit.*, p.v; Bertrand, *op. cit.*, p. 85; P. Friedlaender, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 88.

74. Jacobs says well, *op. cit.*, p. xvi: "verbis exquisitis in suam ipsius admirationem rapientis animos. . . ."

a task. The work aims, as a book, to create standards for the oratorical interpretation of painting. When Philostratus prepared this edition, he preserved his original lectures in their casual topographical order. He used the description of two rooms for his first volume, the remaining three for the second. In order to complete the range of subject matter, he added two still-lives, one at the end of each volume. Later, he decided to add at the very end a few additional descriptions of other pictures which he might have seen or lectured on in the meantime. Accordingly he wrote the present rather vague Prooemium, which, nevertheless, still insists on stressing the original experience.

As it is, these two books of the Elder Philostratus constitute a unique and very reliable source for the history of late antique painting. Again and again, in the course of future research, it will be necessary to compare these descriptions in detail with the art of their period. But that art is dispersed and nowhere preserved in the complexity in which it appears in this book. Aside from the richness of individual material, it is the comprehensive character and the cyclic arrangement of paintings in large groups which makes this book extremely valuable. True, the cycles of paintings as they have been reconstructed here show a number of relations to the tradition of Roman interior decoration as we know it from Pompeian walls and their few and poor successors in Rome and Ostia. The arrangement of dominating pictures in the lower part of the wall, with occasional superimposed friezes and even with upper paintings between the cornice and ceiling, is still dependent on the traditional organization of "Pompeian" walls.⁷⁵ In some cases, the number of paintings included in one room may seem very large to modern observers. But compared with Pompeii, neither in the room of Dionysus nor in that of the rivers does it exceed or even reach the sum of pictures which in some instances are found in one room there.⁷⁶

The subject matter of these paintings, as the long previous discussion about their authenticity has shown, is also largely identical with that known from earlier Roman wall painting. But scenes exist which are hardly to be found in the earlier periods. The first painting, of the plain of the Skamander and the raging fire in the room of the rivers, the comprehensive picture of the spring of wine in the room of Dionysus, the extensive and ceremonial procession to Aphrodite, the pictures of Poseidon creating Thessaly and of the Fortunate Islands in the room of the primitive world, and the picture of Theiodamas in the room of Herakles, do not lack the background of an iconographic tradition purely by chance. These are all very outstanding pictures, and they were created to emphasize the central idea of their respective cycles.

It is exactly this ideological character expressed in cyclic compositions which is the most important and striking feature of these works of art. Three varieties of connections and tendencies pointing in that direction had been traditional in ancient art since the Hellenistic age: the biographical cycle of a god or hero, the illustration of poems, and the moralizing combination of mythological scenes.⁷⁷ The first of these tendencies is to some extent represented here in the rooms of Herakles and Dionysus, the third in the room of

75. The pictures in Gaza, which were described by Procopius and reconstructed in a stimulating book by Paul Friedlaender (*Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza* [*Studi e Testi*, fasc. 89], Vatican City, 1939), in their arrangement on the walls with a lower monumental painting, a series of frieze pictures and additional elements in the upper part, show dependence on the tradition which created the decorative systems of our rooms. Compare the diagram, *op. cit.*, p. 85 and the reconstructions on pls. 11 and 12. It is observable also, that here, too, the two major paintings which occupy the lower parts of the two walls

deal with one subject, the stories of Phaedra and Hippolytus, while the upper friezes are only partially related to this cycle. The rhythmical arrangement—in these cases *a, b, b, a* and *b, a, a, b*—of larger and smaller units within the friezes may also be compared with that of the frieze paintings 1. 20–24 in the room of Dionysus (p. 34 above, and Fig. 4).

76. See, for example, Van Buren, *op. cit.*, p. 79: twenty-one pictures in the relatively small room of the Ixion painting in the house of the Vettii.

77. *AJA*, XLIII, 1938, pp. 87 f.

Aphrodite. The room of Dionysus, in fact, has a direct forerunner in Pompeii in a triclinium in the house of M. Lucretius.⁷⁸ There the triumphal entry of the child Dionysus is represented between two lateral walls showing Dionysus celebrating his victory near a trophy and Herakles in the service of Omphale overwhelmed by drunkenness. The power of Aphrodite, too, is illustrated in Pompeii in groups of famous lovers.⁷⁹ Cycles of Herakles apparently existed in many places. Among our paintings there is no example of the continuous illustration of poetic narration, although fragments of such narrative cycles were apparently used in some instances, such as the Pelops friezes in the room of Dionysus and the Achilles friezes in the room of Aphrodite.

But admitting all these connections, one has to state the fact that as far as our knowledge goes programmatic painting to this extent and on this intellectual level does not exist in the early Roman period or before it. The most striking illustration of a basic change in the appreciation and function of art is given by the room of the rivers and the room of the primitive world. These two cycles are rooted in cosmic, philosophical, and theological speculation. The element of the water, its fight with fire, its eternal creative power and self-renewal, is the object of speculation in one case. The appearance of the primitive world, the origin of landscape and culture, the golden age and its prospective return are the topics of the other. The rooms of Dionysus and Aphrodite are more logical and more strictly conceived on the basis of systematic doctrine than their predecessors, with their rather vague illustration of myths and of the power of the gods. The life, deeds, and suffering of Dionysus including the idea of the renewal of life, and the tragic, creative and eternal power of love are illustrated here. The room of Herakles, with its representation of the tragic fate of the superman, adds to the general speculations on life and nature, a reflection on human life as it is conditioned by character. One speculative trend thus seems to combine the various units into a broad outlook on all things.

A question arises here which will not fail to stimulate further investigation, if this interpretation seems acceptable. Is it possible to classify the man for whom these cycles were made in any of the various philosophical groups of that age? The task does not seem very easy. In the second and third centuries A.D. a fusion between the old philosophical schools and systems, the growing importance of a vague eclecticism, and a combination of philosophical and mystical-religious speculation was general. Certain features of these cycles seem to point to Stoic influences, as for example the fight between the elements in the room of the rivers.⁸⁰ But the interpretation of the story of Herakles is absolutely contrary to Stoic philosophy, for in that school of thought he is the model of wise virtue. The room of Dionysus, on the other hand, may reflect the creeds of a mystery religion rather than of a philosophical school.⁸¹ A Neo-Pythagorean inspiration seems possible for the entire complex.

But, whatever the answer to this question may be, it is evident that an encyclopaedic speculation dictated the choice and combination of the major paintings of these rooms. In this respect, in their very profound intellectual background and in their systematic tendency,

78. Herrmann-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei*, pls. 59 f., pp. 75 f., note 1. It is particularly interesting to note that in this room—unlike ours—the major picture of each wall is flanked by two small pictures of Eros in Bacchic actions. A description of this room by Philostratus would result in a group of nine paintings 1 to 9. Because of the position of a secondary door, an additional confusion would result. Pictures 3, 5, 8 would be the major pictures of the cycle of Dionysus. Pictures 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9 would be the pictures of putti.

79. Van Buren, *op. cit.*, and often.

80. Compare the battle between Osiris-Nile and Typhon-Fire—from a Stoic source—in Plutarch *Is. et Os.*, 33 f., 58, 65, with the mythological motives which illustrate here the fight of the elements water and fire.

81. Although this subject, too, might have been included in a similar philosophical speculation. Compare again Plutarch *op. cit.*, 35, where Bacchus as creator of the Universe is the humid element which creates the "bodies," earth, air, and fire.

these paintings are more related to the contemporary use of mythological and religious painting in funeral and religious art than to the lighter and more playful attitude of "Pompeian" wall painting. Programmatic painting in this sense is, indeed, visible in the use of symbolic mythological scenes in funeral paintings from the second century A.D. on, and in the religious art of the mystery cults. On the road to the new and solemn function of theological instruction in the service of the church, the paintings which Philostratus describes are of the greatest importance.

Though these pictures may have included, and undoubtedly in a number of cases did include, adaptations and even copies of earlier art, certainly the entire series was the work of one period. Whether this was the period of Philostratus' activity as a writer, which would date them in the second quarter of the third century, or whether they were earlier cannot be decided. But it is unlikely that they originated earlier than the late second century A.D. A date within the period of the late Antonine so-called "baroque" style, i.e., between Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus, would be very compatible with certain characteristics of these paintings. These characteristics are among those which caused much criticism and doubt in the nineteenth-century discussion because of their "unclassical" style. Some of them are: the occasional use of continuous narrative⁸² without separation of scenes; the extreme importance of landscape painting, which exceeds the customary achievements of earlier painting in a number of cases and culminates in the pictures of the room of the primitive world; and, finally, the common representation of scenes of night and fire, which in earlier art are very rare. From this point of view, the pictures described by Philostratus reveal a vital pictorial impulse in this age, of which we have otherwise only remote reflections. Although the author hopes that this discussion will contribute to the reestablishment of the book of the Elder Philostratus as an outstanding source for the history of western painting, we shall always regret where formal problems are concerned the limitations of a description which aimed not to describe but to interpret what the audience saw. Even within the resulting limitations, however, Philostratus conveys by "word painting," which is "but a bald thing," the atmosphere of a great art and a remarkable period.

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82. See *AJA*, XLII, 1937, p. 115 and Olsen, *ibid.*, XLV, 1940, pp. 114 ff.



Fig. 1 Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum: Column from San Pelayo. Sts. Simon, Jude, and Matthias



Fig. 2 Madrid, Archaeological Museum: Column from San Pelayo. Sts. Matthew, James, and Bartholomew (From a Cast)

Fig. 3 Madrid, Archaeological Museum: Column from San Pelayo. Sts. Paul, Peter, and Andrew (From a Cast)

A SPANISH ROMANESQUE COLUMN IN THE FOGG ART MUSEUM

By W. R. TYLER

THE William Hayes Fogg Art Museum owns a stone column,* carved with the figures of three apostles, which was formerly in the church of the convent (until 1487 a monastery) of San Pelayo de Antealtares, in Santiago de Compostela (Fig. 1).¹ It is a companion piece to two other columns from the same church, now in the Archaeological Museum, Madrid. A fourth column, which once completed the group, has been missing since the beginning of the seventeenth century.

These columns used to support the high altar of the church, before it was replaced by a baroque altar in the early eighteenth century. The problem of their date is still unsolved. As Professor Kingsley Porter wrote, they are "associated with the most poetic and venerable tradition of Compostela," for in the high altar which they supported was incorporated an older altar, closely connected with the story of St. James.²

The apostles represented on the Fogg column are St. Simon the Canaanite, St. Jude (Judas Thaddaeus), and St. Matthias. The two columns in Madrid show respectively St. Matthew, St. James Brother of the Lord, and St. Bartholomew (Fig. 2), and St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Andrew (Fig. 3). We do not know which were the apostles on the missing column. If we identify IACOBUS FR̄ DNI on one of the existing columns with James the Less, in accordance with common practice, it is likely that the missing figures were Philip, John, and Thomas.³ In this way, the twelve apostles would have formed a kind of guard of honor around the old altar of James the Greater, lodged within the main altar. However, the matter is complicated by the fact that, in medieval Spain, the appellation "Brother of the Lord" was used to designate both James the Greater, son of Zebedee, and James the Less, son of Alphaeus. For instance, at Santo Domingo de Silos, each of the pier reliefs of the *Ascension* and of the *Pentecost* represents James Brother of the Lord, and James the Less, as two distinct persons.⁴ Therefore, this leaves the possibility that IACOBUS FR̄ DNI on the San Pelayo column refers to James the Greater, in which case the last column would have had on it three of the four following: James the Less, John, Thomas, and Philip. While either of the alternatives is possible, the first is, on the whole, more probable. The figure of James is the only one holding a book in both hands; if it is intended to represent

* I wish to express my thanks to the following for having kindly allowed me to reproduce photographs: Miss D. Shipley and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figs. 5 and 6); Mrs. A. Kingsley Porter (Figs. 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, and 17); The Fogg Art Museum (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 14, and 15). Figs. 13 and 16 are from a photograph by Braun & Cie., Paris.

1. Height 1.1575 m. Grey marble with fine dark veins. Traces of polychromy. Published by A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, 1, 220, and vi, Pls. 705-708; *idem*, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, New York, 1929, 1, Pl. 59, and 11, 4 f.; *idem*, "Santiago Again," *Art in America*, xv, 1927, 96-113; J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, Munich, 1924, 1, 165, and Pl. 19; X. C. García, *Os piares do mosteiro de San Payo de Sant-Yago*, La Coruña, 1931; F. Camps Cazorla, *El arte románico en España* (Editorial Labor S. A.), 1935, p. 155 and Fig. 23 (the Fogg column is Fig. 23b, and not 23c as

stated); *Arts of the Middle Ages* (Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1940, no. 166 and Pl. xxii; Anon., "A Gift of Romanesque Sculpture from the Spanish Government," *Bulletin of the Fogg Art Museum*, III, 1934, 14-17; *Fogg Art Museum Handbook*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 36.

2. For an account of this altar, and of the inscription on it, see the article by A. K. Porter in *Art in America*, *loc. cit.*

3. The Catholic Encyclopedia, viii, 279; The Rev. Alban Butler, *The Lives of the Saints*, v, edited by H. Thurston, S.J. and Norah Leeson, London, 1936, 3; W. Patrick, *James, Brother of the Lord*, Edinburgh, 1906.

4. Fr. J. Pérez de Urbel draws attention to this (*El claustro de Silos*, Burgos, 1930, p. 54), and states that at the time, in Spain, both St. James were considered brothers of the Lord. His opinion is also found in H. Flórez, *España Sagrada*, III, 104-105, and in Z. García Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, Madrid, 1929, I, 63.

the Epistle of St. James, there can be no question but that the apostle is James the Less.

The chronology of Spanish Romanesque sculpture is still much debated, and it is, therefore, interesting to consider carefully any monument which might shed some light on the problem. As far as I know, the columns from San Pelayo are the only important examples of Romanesque sculpture from Santiago de Compostela which were never part of the cathedral. In a detailed article, Professor Porter came to certain conclusions on the basis of historical evidence.⁵ I will try to show that this evidence is, in fact, irrelevant to the problem, and that any opinion on the date of the columns must be reached by a comparative examination of their style, and of the character of the epigraphy.

Since the ninth century, the tomb of St. James, miraculously revealed to the hermit Pelayo on the spot where the cathedral now stands, had been held in great reverence. The monks of San Pelayo had long enjoyed certain privileges at the altar of the saint, and authority over the ground immediately to the east of it. When the bishop of Santiago, Diego Peláez (1070 or 1071-1088), planned the present great cathedral, part of the edifice was to occupy the monks' territory, and they were forced to move. Their interests, however, were safeguarded by an agreement which was signed both by the bishop and the abbot of San Pelayo, in 1077. In 1105, the bishop of Santiago (afterwards archbishop), Diego Gelmírez, overcoming the chapter's opposition, built a new high altar over the tomb of St. James in the cathedral. In 1122, the church of San Pelayo was rebuilt from the foundations.⁶ In 1135, a silver retablo was added by Diego Gelmírez to the cathedral high altar. In 1152, the monks of San Pelayo obtained redress of their grievances, which had arisen from the fact that the terms of the agreement had never been observed by the cathedral chapter.

These are the essential dates in an attempt to solve the problem of the carved columns of San Pelayo from historical evidence. The primitive altar contained within the high altar of the church of San Pelayo is mentioned in a catalogue of relics dating from the end of the fifteenth century. The same altar was seen in 1572 by Ambrosio de Morales, and in 1605, Castellá Ferrer wrote of the four sculptured columns of the high altar; this is the earliest mention of the four columns together.

Professor Porter was of the opinion that they could only have been made in one of two years, 1105 or 1135. His arguments are, briefly, the following: When the monks moved to their new buildings in 1077, they cannot have taken with them the primitive altar of St. James which was in later years to be seen in their church, because:

1. The twelfth-century *Historia Compostelana* mentions that Diego Gelmírez, shocked by the modesty of the cathedral altar, enlarged it in 1105 by adding a third marble slab, and made a silver frontal for it. The altar, therefore, was still in the cathedral, and not in San Pelayo, in 1105.

2. Furthermore, this same altar was seen in the cathedral by the author of the *Pilgrim's Guide*, written between 1122 and 1135. It may, therefore, have been in the cathedral as late as 1135.

Now, when the primitive altar in the cathedral was enlarged by the addition of a marble slab, continued Professor Porter, it is probable that four corner supports were added in order to relieve the excessive weight on the central shaft. Were these our columns, later transferred to San Pelayo together with the primitive altar? Or, if this was not the case,

5. *Art in America*, loc. cit.; also *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, II, 4 f. The above represent his last opinion.

6. H. Flórez, *op. cit.*, xx, 372: "Construxit quoque idem

Archiepiscopus Ecclesiam S. Pelagii de Ante altaria secus Ecclesiam B. Jacobi destructa vetustissima & ignobili Ecclesiola, quae prius ibi fuerat."

the year 1135 may provide an indication of the date, for a silver retable was then made for the cathedral. If the high altar had to be remodeled in consequence, the primitive altar may then have been sent across to San Pelayo. According to this theory, either the carved columns went with it, or, if they did not yet exist, were made on this occasion for the church of the monastery.

The validity of the evidence on which Professor Porter based his opinions depends on the presence, in the cathedral, of one primitive altar of St. James, and the transfer of this altar at some later date to the church of San Pelayo. However, it appears from the text of the *Historia Compostelana* that there were, in fact, two primitive altars, which differed sufficiently in size, shape, and material to enable us to distinguish between them with certainty.⁷ The older of the two, made by the disciples of St. James, according to the legend, consisted of a rectangular slab of white marble, a plain white marble capital, and a length of granite column. Later on, a second altar was made. The first of these always remained in the cathedral, was buried in the crypt when it was sealed up in 1138, and was recovered in the course of excavations carried out in 1878. The second altar, on the other hand, became the property of the monks of Antealtares.

Professor Porter's arguments, therefore, rest on mistaken identity. The existence of two altars absolves us of the necessity of accounting for the presence of *the* altar in the cathedral up to 1135, and its subsequent appearance in San Pelayo. The monks may well have taken their altar with them when they moved in 1077, after all. The connection with the carved columns is thus severed, and we are obliged to turn to the evidence provided by their style and the character of the epigraphy, in order to form an opinion of their date.

It is at once clear that the columns have a distinctive appearance. As so often happens in Spanish Romanesque, it is difficult to classify the style, or to determine from it the period it represents in the chronology of sculpture. Certain characteristics seem to be archaic; the uncertain articulation of the figures, the strange faces with staring eyes, and the nature of the stylization of the drapery all suggest an early date. On the other hand, these very features may be due to the persistence of early forms and conventions at a later date. They conflict with certain refinements of style, to which we shall return, which contradict the general asperity of the figures. The only way to come to some conclusion is to compare the style with that of monuments whose dates are at least partially known to us. We can then hope to establish a connection between them, which may reveal the place occupied by the columns in Spanish medieval sculpture.

The cathedral of Santiago provides us with an ensemble of Romanesque sculpture dating from the end of the eleventh century onwards. Among the earliest parts are the capitals of the ambulatory, of which an example is reproduced in Figure 9. The style is entirely different from that of the columns. Instead of the rounded surfaces and varied relief, the cutting is sharp, and the planes are simplified. The faces are full and somewhat monstrous, while those of the apostles are carefully modeled, and have a gentler, melancholy expression. It follows from this, that unless we take the columns to be earlier than the ambulatory capitals of the cathedral (an untenable theory from the point of view of style), they must be later. At all events, they have little in common with the first period of sculpture of the cathedral, which ended with the deposition of the bishop, Diego Peláez, in 1088.

G. Gaillard points out that there followed an interval of poverty at Santiago, during

7. The two altars are reproduced in A. López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa A. M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*,

1, Santiago, 1898, pp. 284 and 309.

which the work on the cathedral was interrupted.⁸ As soon as Jimenez was elected bishop, in 1100, he appears to have taken up again the construction of the building. The next group of sculptures to be considered in relation to our columns is the decoration of the doorway of the south transept, called the Puerta de las Platerías. Most of the sculpture is probably anterior to 1112; the doorway as it now stands represents, with a few exceptions, a reconstruction after the riots which occurred in 1117, when part of the cathedral was set on fire. In consequence, the Puerta de las Platerías lacks unity of style, for some of its elements probably come from other parts of the building. It is, nevertheless, representative of the different aspects of Romanesque sculpture at Santiago in the first two decades of the twelfth century. Does it provide points of similarity to the style of the San Pelayo columns?

On the right hand of the central figure of Our Lord, which stands above and between the two entrances of the Puerta de las Platerías, is a full length marble statue, in high relief, of St. James between two cypresses (Fig. 5). The inscription: ANF REX, must refer to Alfonso VI, who died in 1109. The statue, therefore, must be earlier than this date, unless we take the inscription to be commemorative, which seems unlikely for several reasons. In comparison, the style of the columns seems massive and clumsy. The movement of the figure of St. James, the position of the head, the execution of the drapery, all combine to produce an harmonious effect which the San Pelayo columns lack. Compared with the delicate features, hands and feet of St. James, those of the apostles are coarse and exaggerated. The combination of folds with curving planes, and the subtlety of the relief in the upper part of the figure, are factors in the impression of stylistic unity which it produces. On the other hand, the column figures present uncoördinated elements of style, which contribute to their peculiar character, whether primitive or retardatory, according to personal opinion. As an example of this may be noted the poverty of the folds on St. Matthew and St. Bartholomew (Fig. 2), or St. Paul (Fig. 3). The tension which the lines suggest is not expressed in the relationship between the plain surfaces and the anatomy of the figure beneath. The function of the folds appears to be misunderstood; they are rather used as inert linear decoration. The immobility of the figures, natural in view of the place they occupy, is neither relaxed nor tense; it is cramped, and often contradicted by the drapery, as in the case of St. James and St. Bartholomew (Fig. 2), where the hem of the garment is agitated in such a way as to lead one to expect motion in the figure.

The coarseness of part of the execution of these columns is accompanied by an apparently contradictory refinement of detail. The heavy ribbed folds, the massive anatomy, and the huge feet contrast strongly with the delicate rendering of the embroidery on the garments, with the detail of the faces, and the painstaking rendering of the bony structure of the toes.

These inconsistencies suggest that the true character of the sculpture we are considering is not primitive, in the sense of representing an early stage in the evolution of a style, but retardatory, in that it combines certain primitive conventions with other, later stylistic elements.

The decoration of the Puerta de las Platerías includes another figure, which, at first sight, appears to be connected with the apostles from San Pelayo. The St. Peter above the left doorway (Fig. 6), though of granite, has a certain similarity to our marble columns. While the eyes are not hollowed out, the shape of the face, the cutting of the eye-socket, the type of beard, and, above all, the characteristic line of the mouth, find a parallel in our

8. *Les débuts de la sculpture romane espagnole*, Paris, 1938, p. 162.

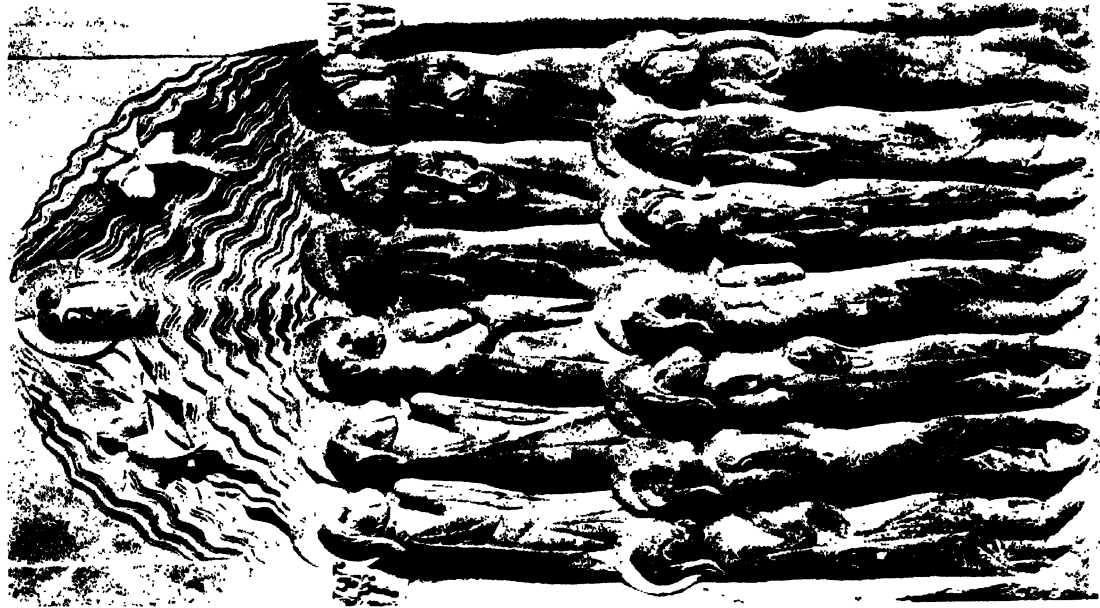


Fig. 4 S. Domingo de Silos, Cloister: Ascension



Fig. 5 St. James



Fig. 6 St. Peter

FIGS. 5 6. SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, PUERTA DE LAS PLATERÍAS: DETAILS



Fig. 7 S. Domingo de Silos, Cloister:
Pentecost



Fig. 8 S. Domingo de Silos, Cloister: Detail of Head of Disciple, Journey to Emmaus



Fig. 9 Santiago de Compostela: Ambulatory Capital



Fig. 10 Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum: Detail of Fig. 1, St. Jude

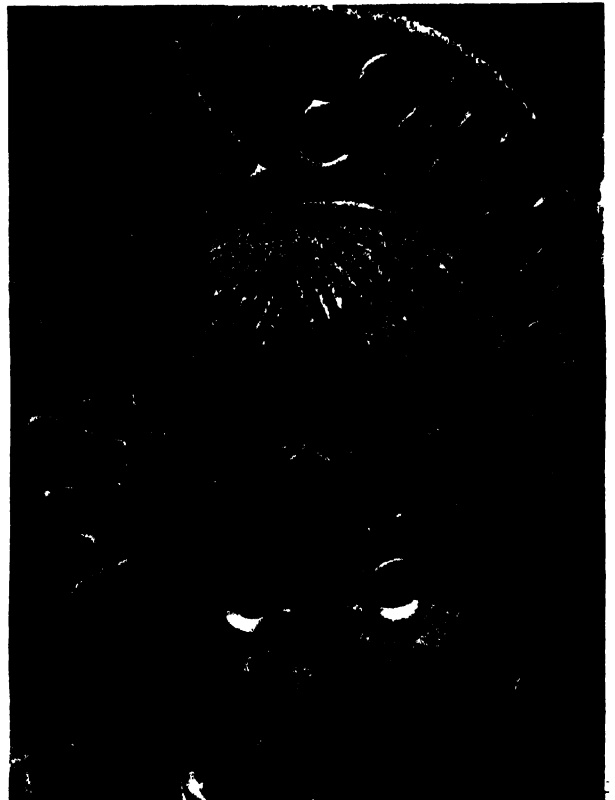


Fig. 11 Madrid, Archaeological Museum: Detail of Fig. 2, St. James (From a Cast)

figures. The general proportions are also comparable; but here the resemblance ends, and the real differences in the quality of the style are inescapable. The drapery of the St. Peter is handled with greater consistency than on the column figures; the folds are more varied, and are more successfully related to the figure itself. The relief is deeper; compare, for instance, the way in which the head stands out from the neck, and the more incisive carving of the hands on the St. Peter. The pose of the body is freer, and the proportions are less exaggerated. It is difficult to imagine that the same workshop could have produced the St. Peter and St. James of the Puerta de las Platerías, and the figures on the columns from San Pelayo. If we wish to regard these as earlier than the Platerías sculpture, it is necessary to produce comparable dated material before 1100. This has been found to be impossible, and what similarity of style exists between the Platerías doorway and the San Pelayo figures, points to a subsequent date for the latter.

However, if we accept the foregoing, the question remains: how much later? It would be easier to give an answer if the date of the pier reliefs of Santo Domingo de Silos were settled, since there appears to be some connection between them and the columns. Much has been written on the subject in the last forty years, but the problem of their date still arouses great divergence of opinion. Excluding arguments which seem to reflect a desire to defend or attack national prestige, we may take an article by G. Gaillard as the most convincing exposition of the arguments favoring a date in the second quarter of the twelfth century.⁹ The tendency of American scholars, following the revolutionary lead of Professor Kingsley Porter, has been to assign a much earlier date to the sculpture. It need hardly be said that this line of approach has been sympathetically received by Spanish archaeologists. In a recent article, Dr. Meyer Schapiro advocates a date between 1081 and 1118 (probably before 1109), for the six early pier reliefs.¹⁰ His conclusions, however, are based to a large extent on historical and iconographic evidence, which does not categorically exclude the possibility of a later date than he is, at present, willing to consider. No one will argue with his *terminus post quem* of 1081 (marking the introduction of the Roman rite in Silos) for the sculptures, but the arguments for a *terminus ante quem* of 1109 or 1118 hardly seem to outweigh those marshaled by Gaillard and the much-abused French "orthodox school."

In a forthcoming book, Mr. W. M. Whitehill, Jr., comes to the conclusion that "... the first cloister sculptor must either have finished his work and disappeared before 1100, or have begun it not earlier than, say, 1110."¹¹ If we accept Dr. Schapiro's estimate of the effect on the construction of the cloister of the period of poverty between 1109 and 1120 as well as Mr. Whitehill's arguments, the early group of sculptures is further relegated to the eleventh century.

One of the most peculiar features of the figures on two of the San Pelayo columns is the position of the legs, of which St. James (Fig. 2) provides the most striking example. The knees almost touch, the lower parts of the legs diverge, and end in huge feet which point inwards, so that the big toes meet. This X-form has no equivalent in any of the figures on the cathedral, and is not determined, in any way, by the function of the figure; on the contrary, it detracts from the vertical columnar effect.

Now, the closest parallel to this stance occurs in Silos, more particularly on the two

9. "L'église et le cloître de Silos," *Bulletin monumental*, xci, 1932, 39-80.

10. M. Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *ART BULLETIN*, xxi, 1939, 313-74 (especially notes 1 and 215).

11. *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century*, Oxford University Press. I wish to express my thanks to Mr. Whitehill for his kindness in allowing me to read and make use of the proofs of his book, actually in press (February 1941).

earliest reliefs: the *Ascension* (Fig. 4) and the *Pentecost* (Fig. 7). In the *Pentecost*, each of the six figures in the front row has its feet turned inwards, as on the San Pelayo column, with the important difference that, at Silos, the legs are actually crossed, so that what appears to be the right foot of each figure is, in fact, the left. In the scene of the *Ascension*, the legs of the third figure from the right are not crossed, and the position of the feet is natural. In spite of this the body is represented in a constrained pose, similar to that of the other figures, whose legs are crossed. This ambiguous tendency of the drawing at Silos, which has perhaps not yet been sufficiently considered in arguments on the date of the sculpture, finds its ultimate expression in the columns of San Pelayo. Here, as there, we see the same unstable pose, but the cross-legged stance has been misunderstood to an even greater degree. Not realizing that the legs were crossed, the artist of the San Pelayo columns retained only the visual impression of the position of the feet, and unconsciously rationalized what he saw, by placing the right foot on the right side, and the left foot on the left side. It is significant that the horizontal motion of the drapery is most pronounced in the figure whose pose is most exaggerated. The flow of the folds, originally occasioned by the crossing of the legs, contradicts the now static character of the figure.

Within the orderly composition of the Silos reliefs, which Dr. Schapiro has so convincingly analyzed and explained, there is further evidence to suggest a relatively advanced style, which has drawn on and transformed earlier models. Dr. Schapiro has revealed the origins of the style of the sculptures, which represents an interplay between Mozarabic and Romanesque elements. However, it would seem that still further examination of the reliefs, from the point of view of style, might help to determine the stage they represent in the development of Romanesque art.

It is interesting to compare the head of one of the pilgrims in the scene of the *Journey to Emmaus* (Fig. 8), with that of Judas Thaddaeus on the column in the Fogg Museum (Fig. 10). Taking into account the difference between a relief and sculpture in the round, similarity is apparent in the nose, in the treatment of the hair coming low over the eyes, and in the hair on the upper lip. The degree of the modeling is more pronounced on the column-figure, and the scale of the cutting is coarser than at Silos. Both figures have the curious parallel lines on the neck, evoking taut sinews; at Silos they are incised, whereas at San Pelayo they are rendered in relief. The deformed ears of the San Pelayo heads have no parallel in Silos, where representation of the ear hardly occurs. The treatment of the eye is also notably different. It is clear that at Silos, the pupil consisted of a lead or jet inlay. On our figures, however, the cavity itself is so enlarged as to constitute the whole eye, which thus acquires an illusionistic character of its own, through the play of light and shade on the concave surface (e.g., St. James, Fig. 11). It may be questioned whether the eyes were ever intended to be filled with lead or jet. The rounded rims of the "cups" and their sloping sides do not seem suitable for this. On the earlier sculpture at Santiago, the drill-hole is independent of the structure of the eye. For example, in the scene of the *Expulsion of Adam and Eve* on the Puerta de las Platerías, the convention is the same as at Silos. Similarly, in the *Betrayal of Christ*, on the tympanum of the Passion in the same doorway, there is a simple treatment of the eyes. The complication of this feature on the San Pelayo figures suggests an acquaintance with models other than the sculpture of the cathedral.

From this preliminary survey, our conclusions are, briefly, the following: there is no doubt that the San Pelayo columns are later than the early sculpture of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, and of the monastery at Silos. Their style appears to be indebted to both monuments, but principally to the latter, from which they do not seem to be sep-

arated by as long an interval of time as the chronology of Mr. W. M. Whitehill, Jr. and of Dr. Schapiro would require.

One of the refinements in the execution of the column-figures, to which I have already alluded, is the extraordinary painstaking rendering of the unpleasantly large feet. Toes of exaggerated length occur on some of the figures on the Puerta de las Platerías, such as the angels sounding a trumpet, in the spandrel between the two entrances. The drawing of the feet, however, is simpler, and the execution less realistic than on our columns. Even where attention has been paid to anatomy, as in the case of the saints on the niched columns flanking the entrances, the rendering is restrained compared with that at San Pelayo. On the other hand, the feet of the apostles from S. Etienne of Toulouse, dating from the second quarter of the twelfth century (Fig. 17), have this same grossness. The feet of the figures on the Silos reliefs are also treated realistically, with careful alignment of the toes, and an illusion of sinews under the skin.

The intricate pattern of the embroidered bands which run along the hem of the tunic of the column-figures, is yet another detail which contrasts with the primitive appearance of the sculpture. While the separate elements of which the design is composed are common to Romanesque art of an earlier date, their juxtaposition in bands on such a small scale does not occur, as far as I know, in early twelfth-century sculpture in Spain or France. However, the same apostles from S. Etienne, which presented a point of similarity in the treatment of the feet, also have heavy bands of embroidery, with almost identical patterns, round their necks and on their garments (Fig. 12). The same kind of decoration occurs on figures of the capitals from the cloister of the same church. The composite pattern consisting of a broken line between two pearl bands, on the hem of the tunic of Matthias (Fig. 15) is the same as that on the mitre of the seated archbishop on the fragment of the tomb of Odo, abbot of S. Remi, Reims, who died in the year 1151 (Fig. 13), while the pattern of the border of the robes of the same figure (Fig. 16) is the same as that on the hem of the tunic of Simon (Fig. 14).¹² This is not to imply that Reims and Toulouse exerted a direct influence on Santiago de Compostela in this particular case. However, the fact that the closest parallels to the decoration on the San Pelayo figures, which I have been able to find, come from relatively late examples of French Romanesque sculpture, is an additional argument in favor of a later date for the columns than their archaic character at first suggests.

The value of epigraphy as a factor in establishing the date of a monument is debatable. It may be said at once that the lettering on the columns does not enable us to come to definite conclusions about their date. As in the style, so in the inscriptions of these figures, there is much that recalls the eleventh century. It is my belief that the forms employed are retardatory in both cases, and this view finds support in an analysis of the letters. There are, in all, nine names (one on each halo), and an inscription on the scroll held by St. Paul. The names are sometimes preceded by a cross (James, Bartholomew, Peter, and Simon) or by a conjunction (Jude and Matthew). A punctuation sign occurs before Paul and after Andrew. It is surprising that punctuation and conjunctions should be employed on isolated figures. This suggests the possibility that the inscriptions were copied from, or inspired by, a monument on which the apostles were represented in sequence, or in pairs, on one plane.

The inscription on the scroll held by St. Paul reads as follows: EGO PAULUS CUPIO DISSOLVI ET CUXPOEE (CUM CHRISTO ESSE) MULTO MELIUS. The text is a paraphrase of part of verses 23 and 24 of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians which read: "Coarctor

12. *Catalogue de l'exposition des trésors de Reims*, Paris, 1938, no. 78 and Plate XIII; *Catalogue des chefs d'œuvre de*

l'art français, Paris, 1937, no. 951.

autem e duobus: desiderium habens dissolvi, & esse cum Christo, multo magis melius: permanere autem in carne, necessarium propter vos." The quotation on the scroll is incomplete, and the meaning is thereby altered. I have not been able to find another example of this text among the inscriptions held by St. Paul, nor does it appear to have been used in the Mozarabic liturgy.¹³ It is perhaps unnecessary to look for any particular significance in the choice of the text, which may merely allude to the humility of the saint.

The character of the lettering on the columns is complex. The forms include the Visigothic **ſ** (which does not appear at Silos) four times, no two being exactly alike. The square **T** is used twice. The letter *O* assumes a variety of shapes, including the bean-shaped **o** and **3**. The **ſ** (*M*) with the curving right leg contrasts with the archaic forms of other letters in the inscriptions. In short, these offer much variety, but, in the present state of our knowledge, we are unable to come to a definite conclusion as to their date. For our purpose, it is sufficient to note that, as far as one can tell, their character is not inconsistent with a date in the second quarter of the twelfth century.

I have attempted to show that the date of the San Pelayo columns must be determined by a comparison of their style with that of other monuments, since the historical evidence is inadequate. The figures have points of resemblance to the style of part of the Puerta de las Platerías, in Santiago Cathedral. However, the differences are too great to allow us to attribute the columns to the same workshop, which flourished in the first two decades of the twelfth century. The pier reliefs at Silos, on the other hand, are related to the columns in details of form and style. Such a relationship is difficult to account for if the early dating of Silos is accepted. If, however, the reliefs belong to the second quarter of the twelfth century, as Gaillard believes, their connection with the column-figures is explicable. The character of the epigraphy does not permit us to draw any positive conclusions, but it is compatible with a date in the second quarter of the twelfth century.

Thus, all the evidence we can muster seems to indicate that the columns were made between 1125 and 1150, and probably nearer the latter year. The retardatory character of the style of the sculpture suggests that after the second great building campaign of the cathedral, there was a period of stagnation at Santiago de Compostela. This inactivity, which we should expect from the troubled history of the times, lasted until the end of the twelfth century, when the workshop of Master Matthew erected the great west doorway, known as the *Pórtico de la Gloria*.

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13. For a bibliography and further details about the inscriptions of St. Paul, see pages 363-64 of the article on

Silos by Dr. Schapiro, to whom I am indebted for information on this point.



Fig. 12 Toulouse, S. Etienne: Detail of Embroidery
on Apostles



Fig. 13 Reims, Tomb of Odo: Detail of Head



Fig. 14 St. Simon: Detail of Hem



Fig. 15 St. Matthias: Detail of Hem

FIGS. 14-15 CAMBRIDGE, FOGG ART MUSEUM: DETAILS OF FIG. 1



Fig. 16 Reims, Tomb of Odo: Detail of Hem



Fig. 17 Toulouse, S. Etienne: Detail of Apostles



Fig. 1—London, National Gallery: St. Michael



Fig. 2 New York, The Frick Collection:
An Apostle (St. John Evangelist?)

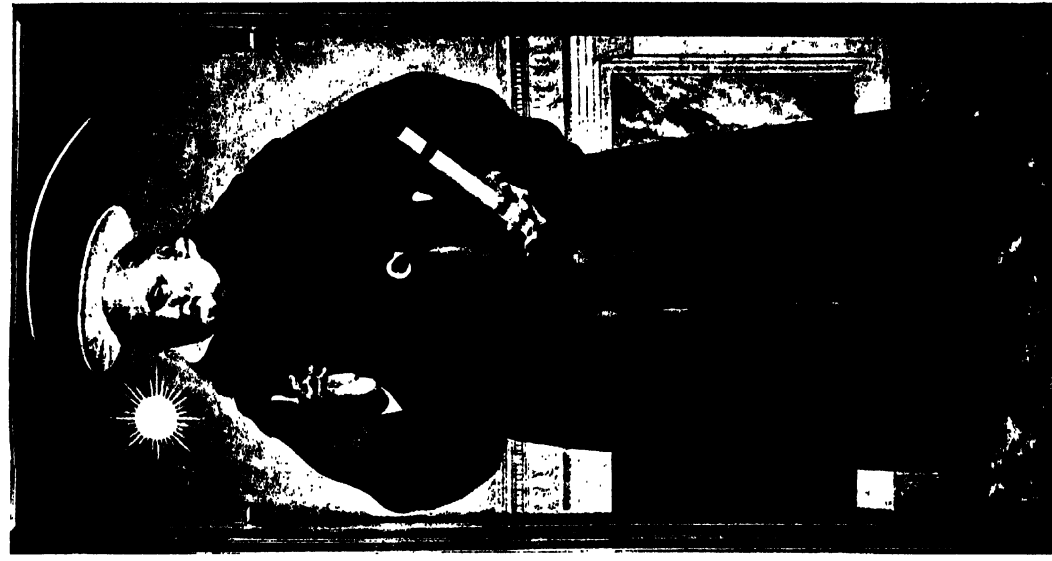


Fig. 3—Milan, Poldi-Pezzoli Museum:
St. Nicholas of Tolentino

FIGS. 1-3—PANELS OF A POLYPTYCH PAINTED BY PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA FOR S. AGOSTINO
SANSEPOLCRO, BETWEEN 1454 AND 1469

A DOCUMENTED ALTARPIECE BY PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA

By MILLARD MEISS

WHEN a panel representing a saint by Piero della Francesca (Fig. 2) emerged from obscurity and passed into the Frick Collection in 1936,¹ it was generally recognized to be part of a polyptych of which two other leaves were known, a *St. Michael* in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 1), and a saint usually called Thomas Aquinas in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum, Milan (Fig. 3).² For reasons of style, the panels in London and Milan have always been dated late in Piero's career, at the end of the 'sixties or in the early 'seventies.³ The only attempt to provide "external" evidence for their date, and also for their place of origin, was made some time ago by Tancred Borenius. In a footnote to a book review published in 1916,⁴ he remarked that the saint in Milan is not Thomas Aquinas, as was commonly supposed, but the popular Augustinian Nicholas of Tolentino, and that the panel, therefore, was probably part of an altarpiece painted in accordance with a commission given to Piero in 1454 by the church of S. Agostino in Borgo Sansepolcro. Subsequent writers on Piero have completely ignored Borenius' suggestion, but further investigation, with the additional evidence provided by the panel in the Frick Collection, can, I believe, transform it from hypothesis into fact. This study involves a reconstruction of the polyptych as well as a consideration of other late works by Piero and the possibility of their relationship with paintings by Jan van Eyck.

Reference to a painting by Piero della Francesca in S. Agostino, Borgo Sansepolcro, was first made by Giorgio Vasari: "Nel convento de'frati di Santo Agostino (in Borgo Sansepolcro) dipinse la tavola dello altare maggiore, che fu cosa molto lodata."⁵ The painting to which Vasari referred was, until the later nineteenth century, believed to be a panel representing the Assumption of the Virgin which stood on the high altar of S. Agostino.⁶

1. This study was prompted by an invitation of The Frick Collection extended to me and my graduate students at Columbia University to work, in the Collection itself, with one of the early Italian paintings. I wish to thank the Collection for facilitating study of the panel in various ways, and also for permission to reproduce the copyright photographs of the panel by Piero. Many of the problems which arose could not have been solved without the great resources of the Frick Art Reference Library. I am indebted for several valuable observations to two members of my class, Miss Morna Crawford and Mr. Charles Le Clair.

2. The panels in the Frick Collection and in London each measure 52½ by 23 inches (for the *St. Michael* in London, cf. *The National Gallery, Catalogue of the Pictures*, London, 1921, p. 106). The panel in Milan measures 53½ by 23½ inches (1.36 by .59 m.; cf. *Catalogo del Museo Poldi-Pezzoli*, Milan, 1911, no. 598). This difference of one inch in height is discussed below, p. 61 f.

3. All three of the panels were at one time in Milan. One is still there. The *St. Michael* was formerly in the Fidenza collection in that city, and then in that of Sir Charles Eastlake (cf. *Catalogue of the National Gallery, loc. cit.*). When the third panel passed into the Frick Collection, it bore on the back a seal with the Austrian double eagle and a medallion in the center containing the letters FI (probably Francis I of Austria, 1792-1835). The incomplete inscription

around the circumference of the shield can be completed, by comparison with similar shields, as G.R. ACADEMIA DI MILANO. A second shield on the back of the panel contains two oval cartouches surmounted by a count's coronet and on either side a small lion rampant. This has been identified almost certainly as the shield of a Spanish ducal entail, and although the charges on the dexter cartouche are almost entirely defaced, those on the sinister one belong to the Dukes of Cardona (eighteenth century). Just before the panel was acquired by the Frick Collection it belonged to the von Miller family in Vienna (Molly, August, and Arthur von Miller owning it in succession). For this information on the history of the Frick panel, and for the identification of the shields, I am indebted to the Director of the Frick Collection, Mr. Frederick Mortimer Clapp.

3. Cf. R. Longhi, *Piero della Francesca*, London, 1930, p. 113; R. van Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools*, The Hague, xi, 1929, p. 86.

4. *Burlington Magazine*, xxix, 1916, 162, note 4.

5. G. Vasari, *Le Vite*, 1st ed. of 1550, republished by C. Ricci, Milan (n.d.), II, 72; 2nd ed. (1568) edited by G. Milanese, Florence, 1878, II, 493.

6. Margherita Vedova Pichi, *Vita di Piero della Francesca*, Florence, 1835, p. 20; L. Coleschi, *Storia della Città di Sansepolcro*, Città di Castello, 1886, pp. 179-80 (Coleschi says that Milanese also believes the *Assumption* to be the

Recently this work passed into the Pinacoteca of Sansepolcro (Fig. 4). The inclusion of this panel in the œuvre of Piero seemed confirmed when, in 1885, Gaetano Milanesi published a document of commission to Piero for a painting for the high altar of S. Agostino, and also a payment to the painter in 1469 for this work.⁷ A few scholars, such as Lanzi and Rosini,⁸ had already doubted, however, that the panel could have been painted by Piero; and Cavalcaselle,⁹ with his usual acute perception, ascribed the work to a minor Umbrian master, either Gerino da Pistoia or, more probably, Francesco di Città di Castello, also called "Il Tifernate."¹⁰ Thereafter no student of the Italian Quattrocento attributed this mediocre painting to Piero himself, but a compromise with the older opinion was sometimes attempted. Adolfo Venturi,¹¹ for example, observing quite correctly that certain parts of the work, especially the low wall with panels of serpentine and porphyry, are reminiscent of Piero, suggested that the altarpiece was actually the one allocated to Piero, but that it was executed by the youthful Perugino, then supposedly an assistant in Piero's shop. Borenius¹² criticized Venturi's hypothesis by pointing to the fact that whereas the *Assumption* is now, and almost certainly always was, a single panel without any "wings," the commission clearly calls for a polyptych (*tabulam que est de tabulis compositam*).¹³ Despite this indication, and the fact that the commission does not specify the subject, the authors of several recent monographs on Piero state that the documents of 1454 and 1469 refer to an *Assumption of the Virgin*.¹⁴ Borenius further remarked that three of the four saints in the foreground of the *Assumption*—Francis, Clare, and Louis of Toulouse—are Franciscan, and that the iconography would therefore preclude the execution of this work for an Augustinian church. He suggested¹⁵ that, inasmuch as the church in question passed, in 1555, from the Augustinian order to the Clarissan, the nuns brought the *Assumption* with them from their former house in Sansepolcro (Monastero della Strada),¹⁶ and placed it on the high altar of their new church. The Augustinians, on the other hand, may have taken their altarpiece to their new church, the Pieve di S. Maria,¹⁷ which, from 1555 on, was dedicated to S. Agostino.

The style, date, and subject of the *Assumption* in the Pinacoteca at Sansepolcro conclusively eliminate it as the painting made by Piero between 1454 and 1469 for S. Agostino. But the panel apparently provides nevertheless a clue to the problem of the work which Piero *did* execute for this church. For the *Assumption* contains one form which seems

work of Piero, but others give it to Perugino); Passavant, *Raphael d'Urbino*, Paris, 1860, I, 394; Evelyn Marini-Franceschi, *Piero della Francesca*, Città di Castello, 1912, p. 75.

7. *Il Buonarroti*, Serie III, vol. II, Quaderno V, 1885, 141-42, and Serie III, vol. II, Quaderno VII, 1887, 218. The documents are reprinted from Milanesi's text in Appendix 2 to this article, together with a translation into English.

8. Lanzi, *Storia pittorica dell'Italia*, Venice, 1837, III, 152; G. Rosini, *Storia della pittura italiana*, Pisa, III, 1841, 38. Rosini referred the *Assumption*, quite correctly, to the school of Perugino, although he believed it to be the panel cited by Vasari. Milanesi himself, in a note in his edition of Vasari, published a few years before the documents (*Le Vite*, Florence, 1878, II, 493, note 3), said that without the testimony of Vasari one would believe the *Assumption* to be the work of a follower of Perugino.

9. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy*, ed. by T. Borenius, London, V, 1914, 18.

10. The attribution to Francesco da Castello is accepted by U. Gnoli, *Pittori e miniatori nell'Umbria*, Spoleto, 1923, p. 120, and questioned by van Marle, *op. cit.*, XIV, 1933, 450,

note 1. O. H. Giglioli, *Sansepolcro*, Florence, 1921, p. 52 calls the panel "Umbro-Tuscan." On Francesco da Castello, cf. also Bombe in Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, VI, 1912, 150.

11. *L'arte*, XIV, 1911, 53 and *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, VII, part 2, 1913, 460 and fig. 349. Venturi, in *Piero della Francesca*, Florence (n.d.), pp. 27 and 78, said that the *Assumption* was allocated to Piero but painted by others.

12. Borenius, *loc. cit.*

13. Cf. Appendix 2. Except for the significant phrase quoted above, the documents speak of the work simply as a "tabula," a term used to designate an altarpiece of wood, whether or not it consisted of more than one panel.

14. R. Longhi, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 140, 148, 157; Waters, *Piero della Francesca*, London, 1901, p. 50; F. Witting, *Piero dei Franceschi*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 4; also van Marle, *op. cit.*, XI, 1929, 6.

15. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, V, 1914, 18, note 2.

16. For the history of the Clarissans in Sansepolcro, cf. Coleschi, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

17. For the removal of the Augustinians, cf. Coleschi, *loc. cit.*

inharmonious with the late Quattrocento and Peruginesque elements that compose its style. The richly plastic low wall seems to reflect a different taste from the ferny or spider-like trees and the brittle surfaces and incisive linearity of the saints. Likewise its delicately shaded areas of white and its marble inlays are quite uncongenial to the sombre tones of the figures and the cool green-blue of the Peruginesque landscape.¹⁸ The wall does indeed, as Venturi remarked,¹⁹ recall Piero, but not so much the sarcophagus in Piero's *Resurrection*, to which he referred, as the wall in the panels in London, Milan, and New York (Figs. 1-3). The author of the *Assumption* very probably knew these panels, and since he was a minor painter who in all likelihood did not travel widely, his imitation of one of their forms in a work made for Sansepolcro would seem to indicate that Piero's panels were once in that region also.

If Piero's altarpiece was originally in the neighborhood of Sansepolcro, can we specify the church for which it was made? Borenus suggested, as we have already mentioned, that the saint in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum is not Thomas Aquinas but Nicholas of Tolentino. Students have continued, however, to call him Thomas,²⁰ and the only illustration which accompanies the discussion of this saint in Künstle's *Ikongraphie der Heiligen*²¹ is the figure in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum. There are, to be sure, reasons for identifying the Milan saint with the great Dominican scholar. He is dressed in grey-black, he carries a book, he is distinguished by a luminous symbol which might be the sun, and his ample proportions do justice to the known facts of St. Thomas' girth. The sum of these qualities and attributes is insufficient, however, to produce St. Thomas, because he invariably wears a Dominican habit²²—a black mantle which opens in the front disclosing a white tunic—whereas the habit of the saint in Milan is clearly Augustinian. It is the usual Augustinian black or dark grey²³ cowed tunic with no opening down the front,²⁴ and, most telling of all, it is drawn together at the waist by a black leather girdle fastened with a metal (here silver) buckle. This leather belt is the most distinctive feature of the Augustinian habit; it was, in fact, one of the articles of apparel enjoined upon the friars by a bull of Pope Gregory IX in 1241 for the very purpose of readily distinguishing them from members of other monastic orders, especially the Franciscans.²⁵ It appears in all representations of Augustinian friars, and Augustine himself, when portrayed as a bishop, frequently wears it under his cope.²⁶ There is a legend, too, that Augustine wore the black habit and the leather girdle at his baptism,²⁷ and the winding of the girdle around him is sometimes represented in art.²⁸

18. A wall of this character does not, of course, appear in any of Perugino's numerous representations of the *Assumption*, nor indeed in any of his works of whatever subject.

19. Venturi, *loc. cit.* The pose and expression of St. Louis in the *Assumption* also recalls Piero.

20. With the sole exception, so far as I know, of B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, London, 1932, p. 455. The saint is also called Thomas Aquinas in the recent catalogue of the museum: F. Wittgens, *Il Museo Poldi-Pezzoli*, Milan, 1937, pl. 15.

21. Freiburg i/B., 1926, pp. 558-59.

22. Cf., in addition to the very numerous Quattrocento representations of Thomas Aquinas, the collection of examples in P. L. Ferretti, *San Tommaso d'Aquino*, Turin, 1923. Künstle, *loc. cit.*, pp. 558-59, was troubled by the absence in the Milan figure of the typical Dominican habit, and attempted to account for it by claiming that the saint wears the robe of a professor. In addition to what is to be stated above about the dress, it should be observed that in the painting by the school of Fra Angelico which represents St. Thomas teaching (*Fra Angelico, Klassiker der Kunst*, 2nd ed., p. 151), the saint wears the Dominican

habit. Künstle explains the leather belt by claiming that "St. Thomas" here wears the miraculous protective girdle which, according to legend, was given to him by angels. This reference does not account for the specific form of the girdle, which is Augustinian.

23. Piero avoids black, and uses dark grey for this habit, as well as for other Augustinian habits which will be discussed later.

24. This habit was stipulated for the order at the Chapter of 1256. Cf. E. A. Foran, *The Augustinians*, London, 1938, p. 169. Borenus, in *Burlington Magazine*, xxi, 1916, 162, said that the white lining of the cowl of the saint in Milan is unusual, but it seems, on the contrary, to be quite common in the representation of Augustinian monks.

25. Cf. R. P. Hélyot, *Dictionnaire des ordres religieux*, Paris, 1847, I, col. 294.

26. Cf. the polyptych by Giovanni di Paolo, Metropolitan Museum, New York; panel by Botticini, Academy, Florence (van Marle, *op. cit.*, xiii, fig. 280).

27. Cf. Foran, *loc. cit.*

28. Cf. a late fourteenth-century fresco in the Eremitani, Padua, reproduced in *Rivista d'arte*, xii, 1930, 360.

The saint in Milan is undoubtedly Augustinian, and as a member of that order he can only be Nicholas of Tolentino. Nicholas, the most popular Augustinian saint after the founder himself,²⁹ is usually represented with a book and always with a luminous symbol which refers to the star that shone over Tolentino at his birth (Fig. 16).

The attributes, then, which seemed to refer to Thomas Aquinas are actually those of Nicholas, except for the stoutness of figure. In the Early Renaissance, however, ample proportions and even plumpness cannot readily be associated with any single saint. In this period artists, and especially Piero in his later works, tended to individualize saints not only in accordance with traditional characters, but with respect also to a single contemporary model. Furthermore, the fifteenth century, at least until about 1460, was not generally sympathetic to the ascetic ideal. It valued, and projected images of, full-bodied, physically powerful men; and among the sacred figures, where physical strength was traditionally lacking, it favored those who achieved a tangible triumph through cunning and courageous action. Thus David, among the masculine figures, and Judith, among the feminine, were very frequently selected for representation. Even monks, such as Nicholas of Tolentino, who had been revered for their abstemious life and the triumph of their spirit over a painfully weak body, acquired comfortable weight and vigor (Fig. 16). These ideals are highly developed in the later works of Piero della Francesca, whose Saints Anthony and John Baptist in the Perugia altarpiece (Fig. 5) and Francis in the Brera panel (Fig. 10) have the robust stature of a great hero of the period, Hercules, and whose Nicholas of Tolentino could be confused with the notoriously corpulent Thomas Aquinas.

The presence of Nicholas of Tolentino in Piero's altarpiece assures us that it was made for an Augustinian church,³⁰ and we have already seen that there is some reason to believe that this church was in the region of Borgo Sansepolcro. Before attempting to specify further the place for which the panels were made, it is necessary to determine their order in the altarpiece.

In the lower left-hand corner of the Frick panel (Fig. 2) there appears a block of brownish marble which covers part of the saint's right foot. A section of the upper surface of this plinth has been scraped bare of paint, and the vertical boundary of this section at the right can be traced, by means of a rather faint line and differences of surface on either side of the line, upward over the marble floor and into the extreme lower left part of the saint's drapery, and then diagonally off in a straight line to the left edge of the panel.³¹ These lines compose the profile of a second block of marble which rested upon the first, and even the line of junction of the vertical and horizontal planes of this block is visible. Whereas the lower block overlaps the saint's foot, this one overlapped a bit of the drapery and a considerable section of the white wall behind. These marble plinths are clearly the terminal sections of a construction—almost certainly the base of a Madonna's throne—which extended from the

29. Nicholas died in 1306 and was canonized in 1446 (cf. Künstle, *op. cit.*, p. 464). Before the canonization, however, he was commonly represented with a halo (cf., for example, Taddeo di Bartolo, panel in the Palazzo dei Priori, Volterra).

30. Nicholas of Tolentino is usually represented in Augustinian altarpieces, but very rarely in altarpieces of other orders.

31. The panel in the Frick Collection, like the other two extant panels of the altarpiece, has suffered considerable damage from the accidents of time and from repainting. Remarks on the present condition of the panels are made elsewhere in this paper (cf. above, pp. 61-62), but any at-

tempt at a precise account of the nature of the damage would necessitate a long and intricate description. It is useful to mention in the instance of the Frick panel, however, that very little original paint is left in the lower part of the wall behind the saint, and that only faint traces of the marble inlay between the pilasters are visible. Furthermore, the outermost molding of the upper frame of these inlays has at some later period been decorated with a continuous bead and reel motive which is carried over, and obscures, the abacus of both pilasters. In the figure, the most conspicuous area of damage and repaint is found in the horizontal folds of the mantle, just below the hands and the book.

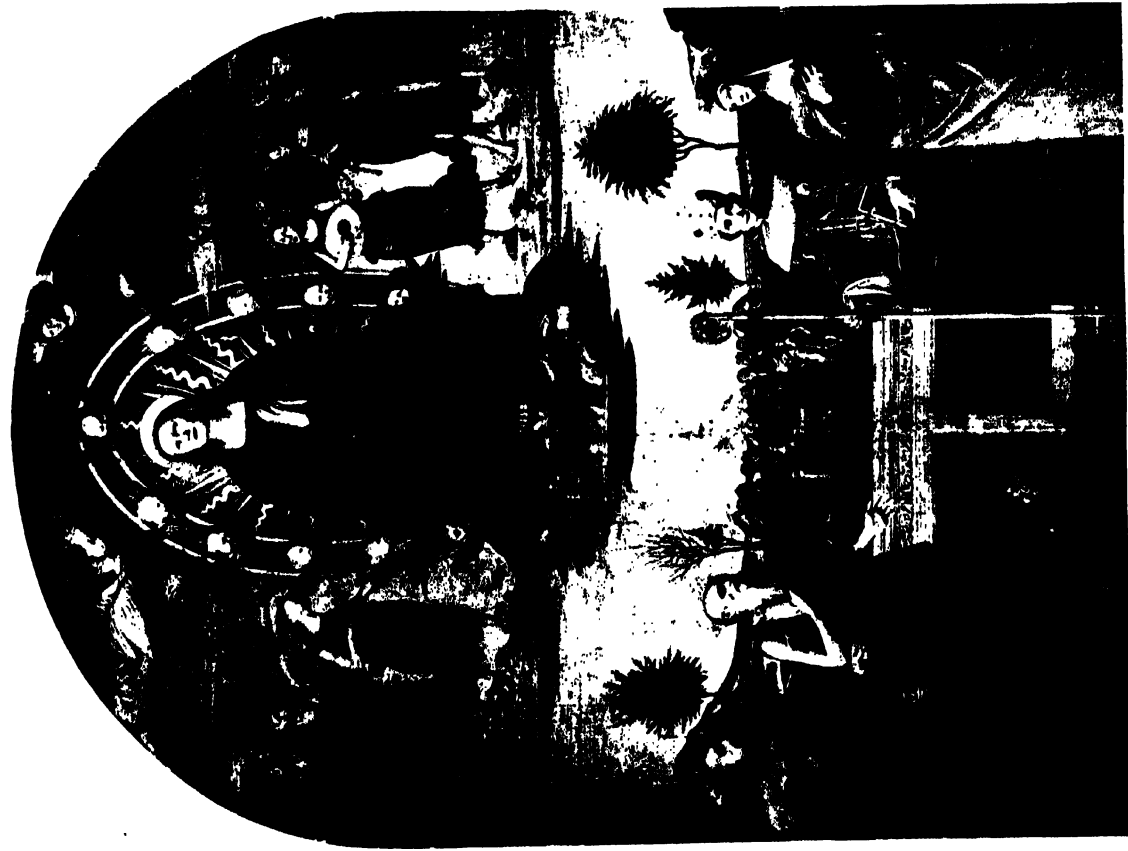


Fig. 4- Sansepolcro, Pinacoteca: Umbrian Painter, *ca.* 1500,
Assumption of the Virgin

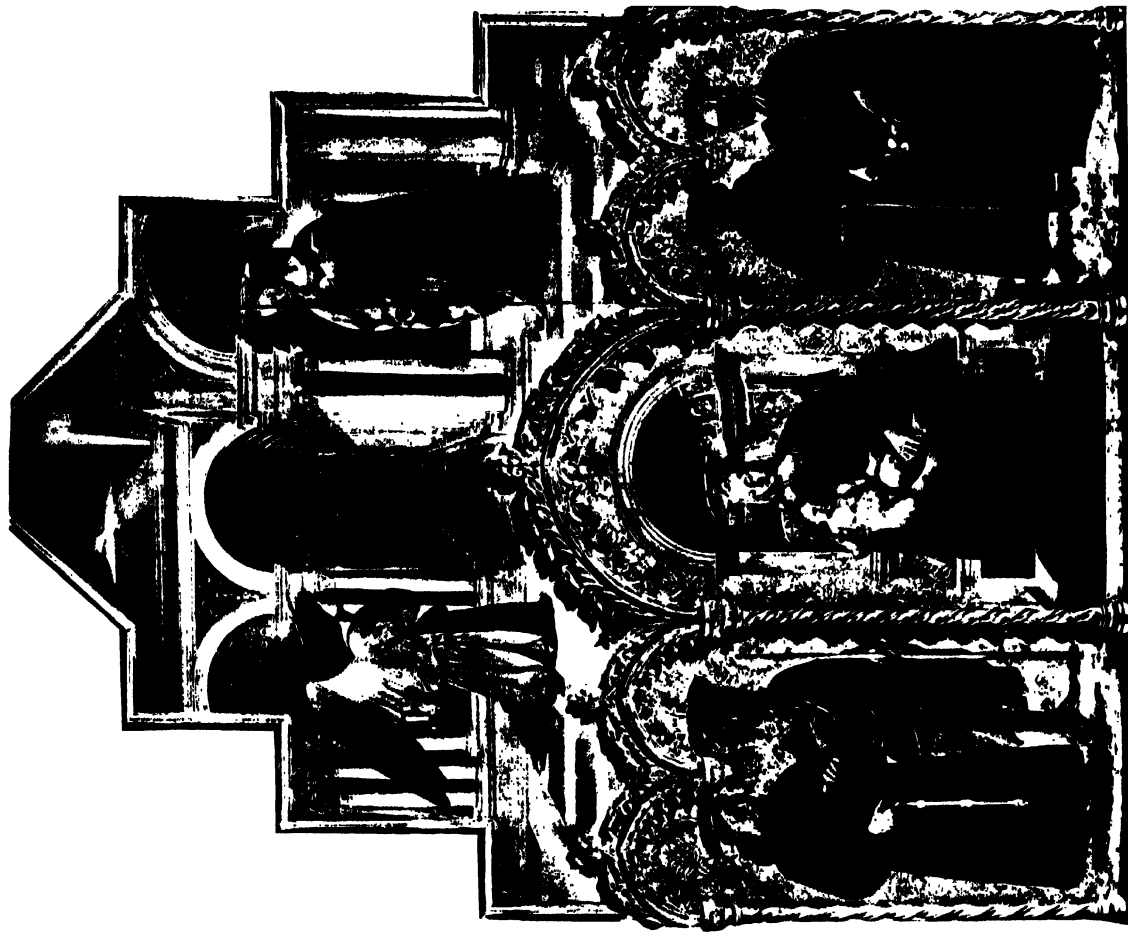


Fig. 5—Perugia, Pinacoteca: Piero della Francesca, Altarpiece



Fig. 6 Arezzo, S. Francesco: Piero della Francesca, King Solomon (detail of a fresco)



Fig. 7 New York, The Frick Collection: Detail of Fig. 2



Fig. 8 Urbino, Ducal Palace: Piero della Francesca, Madonna



Fig. 9 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: Jan van Eyck, Portrait of Niccolò Albergati

lost central panel of the altarpiece into the adjacent panel at the right. The base of the Madonna's throne in the altarpiece in Perugia (Fig. 5) shows a similar extension.³²

The saint in the Frick Collection, then, stood at the right of the lost central panel of the polyptych, and he turns slightly to the left in deference to the central figures, who were very probably the Madonna and Child. On the opposite side of the central image stood St. Michael. The floor on which Michael now stands, composed of geometric flagstones instead of the veined marble which appears in the other two panels, is not the original one. This is indicated by the character of the present surface, and also by the perspective. For just as Piero employed a single source of light for the entire polyptych, so also one would expect him to have used a single viewpoint; and the perspective of the marble blocks in the Frick panel, together with the arrangement of the veins of the marble in the floor of this and the Milan panel, prove that he did. The orthogonal strips in the floor of the St. Michael are, however, projected in accordance with a central point of view for this panel alone. Through the repaint on the floor there is still partially visible, even in a photograph,³³ a group of lines corresponding to those in the painting in the Frick Collection. The lower plinth, which in this panel has been completely scraped away or painted out, overlapped part of the decapitated dragon, and when the plinth was later removed, the dragon was extended further to the right. This addition to the dragon may possibly have followed an outline by Piero himself, for in the Frick panel the part of the saint's foot that is overlapped by the plinth is visible through the marble, and was therefore laid in by Piero before he painted the plinth—interesting evidence of his working method.³⁴ The original existence of the marble blocks in the lower right corner of the London panel is also proved by the effect of their restoration (in the reproduction) upon the design of the work. They fill a compositional void in this section: they balance the lashing tail of the dragon, and they provide a broader base for the figure and for the sword and dragon's head above.

St. Michael is turned a little to the right, corresponding to the turn of the Frick saint towards the left. Both these figures are enframed by a pair of pilasters on the wall behind, which are scarcely visible in the Frick panel because of damage and also because they are partly covered by the drapery of the saint. In the panel of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, only one pilaster is visible, along the frame at the right. This position of the pilaster, together with the slight turn of the saint towards the left, proves that the panel was originally placed at the right of the Frick saint, and was the extreme right leaf of a five-leaved polyptych.

The document of commission, dated October 4, 1454, does not specify the subject of the polyptych to be painted by Piero, although it refers to a prior agreement, embodied in writing, as to the images and figures to be represented.³⁵ The contract does, on the other hand, name the donor. The altarpiece was ordered by Angelus Johannis Simonis Angeli of Borgo, *ex devotione et pro satisfatione voluntatum Simonis sui olim fratris et domine Johanne olim uxoris supradicti Simonis ac sue ipsius dicti Angeli* and also *pro anima dicti olim sui fratris et dicte sue cognate et sua et suorum predecessorum*. Now it was common practice at this

32. In Piero's *Misericordia* polyptych in Sansepolcro, two figures extend from the central panel into the adjacent ones at the right and left.

33. I have not seen the panel itself since discovering these lines, and since the beginning of the war it has been completely inaccessible. The inked lines which appear in the reproduction (Fig. 1, and also in Fig. 2) have been made in accordance with the following scheme: unbroken lines represent lines which are in great part visible; lines composed of dashes represent lines which are only partly visible;

the dotted lines are not visible at all. The dotted line representing the top edge of the upper block in Fig. 1 (this edge is not visible in a photo of the panel) has unfortunately been inked in slightly too high.

34. Piero apparently preferred to work with an entire foot rather than a part, even though only a part would show in the completed painting. On the other hand, it is possible, though not likely, that he decided to introduce the plinth only after he had painted the figure of the saint.

35. See Appendix 2.

period to introduce the patron saint of the donor of an altarpiece in a prominent position in the work itself, usually in the most favored and most important place—at the Madonna's right hand. This position in our altarpiece is allotted to *Angelus Michael*, who was very probably the patron saint of the donor Angelus of Borgo. Furthermore the figure in London bears, on a band of his armor at the waist, the inscription: B(?) · ANGELUS · POTENTIA DEI · LUCHA. The use of *Angelus* and of this phrase instead of the usual *Sanctus Michael* would seem to indicate a desire to record specifically, and to honor, the name of the donor.

Angelus has perhaps another—a third—referent. For under the high altar of the present S. Agostino in Sansepolcro is buried the body of the Beato Angelo Scarpetti.³⁶ Angelo Scarpetti, a contemporary of Nicholas of Tolentino, was the most revered friar in the history of the Augustinians in Sansepolcro.³⁷ His life, distinguished by faith, humility, and chastity, and by the performance of several miracles, led to the growth of a cult immediately after his death, ca. 1306. He was buried in old S. Agostino, and when the monks moved to their new church in 1555 his remains were taken along and buried under the high altar. Although the place of burial of the Beato in old S. Agostino, at the time when Piero painted his altarpiece, is not specified, the selection of the high altar in the new church, together with the age and importance of the cult, render it likely that in the old church also he lay under the high altar. If this were the case, then the B which seems to appear before ANGELUS on the archangel's girdle might possibly be an abbreviation for Beatus, and it would then amplify the reference to the Beatus Angelus de Scarpettis.³⁸

Our panels meet the specific and partly unique requirements and conditions of the commission of 1454 so completely that there can remain, I believe, no doubt that they were made in accordance with it.³⁹ The establishment of this connection between the panels and the commission does not provide new facts of great significance for the study of Piero della Francesca, but it does illuminate to a greater or less degree a number of different problems. The payment of 1469, as well as the commission of 1454, was given to Piero alone; no mention is made of an assistant. The documents therefore do not, to say the least, strengthen the recently revived hypothesis that a second painter executed one of the panels, the St. Michael, and even proclaimed his independent authorship by inscribing his name at the conclusion of the tribute to the archangel. According to this hypothesis, the very puzzling LUCHA which follows B(?) ANGELUS · POTENTIA DEI is the signature of Luca Signorelli, at that time supposedly an assistant in Piero's shop.⁴⁰ This identification was, however, already

36. Giglioli, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

37. Cf. *Enciclopedia italiana*, s.v. "Angelo Scarpetti" (vol. III, p. 304); J. Lanteri, *Postrema saecula sex religionis Augustiniana*, Tolentino, 1858, pp. 60–61; and, most important, *Acta apostolicae sedis, commentarium officiale*, Rome, annus XIII, vol. XIII, 1921, 443–46.

38. This B has not been included in previous records of the inscription (cf., for example, *The National Gallery, Catalogue of the Pictures*, London, 1921, p. 106). It seemed visible in a photograph of the painting, and in a courteous reply to my request for a rereading of the inscription, a member of the staff of the National Gallery now quite independently reports its existence.

One must allow for the possibility that the B, instead of being an abbreviation, is the last letter of a word whose preceding letters are made invisible by the revolution of the plane (cf. below, note 40).

39. We know of no other commission for an altarpiece given to Piero by an Augustinian church.

40. This explanation of the LUCHA was tentatively proposed by Cavalcaselle (*Storia della pittura in Italia*, Florence, 1898, VIII, 274). Recently Longhi (*op. cit.*, p.

168) has stated that Berenson's attribution of a group of Madonnas to Signorelli's early years "may perhaps provoke a fresh examination" of this theory. The Madonnas in Boston, Oxford, and the Villamarina collection in Rome which Berenson ascribes to the youthful Signorelli (*Art in America*, XIV, 1926, 105), attributions which have been accepted by van Marle (*Development of the Italian Schools*, The Hague, XVI, 1937, 5 and figs. 1–2), are certainly not all by the same hand, and should any one of them actually be an early Signorelli, then it would be just as difficult to attribute to him the St. Michael in London.

The explanation of LUCHA which immediately presents itself is that it refers to the author, not of the painting, but of the phrase ANGELUS · POTENTIA DEI which precedes it. This phrase does not, however, appear in the most likely places, the Gospel of St. Luke or Acts. I should add that one passage in Luke, which was called to my attention by Prof. Meyer Schapiro, is often brought into relation to St. Michael and to the verses in the Apocalypse (12: 7) which speak of Michael's struggle with the dragon. This passage is Luke 10: 18–19.

The letters LUCHA extend to the very edge of the right

rendered highly dubious by the absence of any tangible traces of Signorelli's style in this panel, and also by the improbability of the insertion of an assistant's signature in one panel of an altarpiece, and in so unusual a place within the panel.

Two of the five panels of the polyptych are lost. The central one, as we have said, almost certainly contained a Madonna and Child.⁴¹ Inasmuch as the altarpiece was made for an Augustinian church, the extreme left wing probably represented St. Augustine himself. The identity of the saint in the Frick panel, who stood originally on the Madonna's right, is not clear. The combination of the book, the bare feet, the mantle (red) and tunic (green) indicates an apostle. But which one? Among Piero's repertory of saints, the only one who resembles the Frick figure closely is the apostle at the extreme right in the Brera altarpiece, and his identity likewise is problematic.⁴² In the later fifteenth century, and particularly in the late work of Piero, which, as we shall mention again, shows such a strong tendency toward free individualization and portraiture, it is extremely hazardous to identify saints on the basis of traditional facial types. The closest physiognomic relative of the Frick saint is, in fact, not even the figure in the Brera panel, but King Solomon in the Arezzo frescoes (Figs. 6 and 7), who has the same face, but certainly does not represent the same figure. In the solution of this problem of identity, the document of commission may be of some assistance. For Angelo of Borgo ordered the altarpiece not only for his own salvation, but in accordance with the wishes, and for the souls of, Simone his brother, Giovanna who was first his sister-in-law and then his wife, and his forebears, chief among whom would be his (and Simone's) father. Since his father was named Giovanni, and his wife Giovanna, we might expect to find St. John in the second most important place in the polyptych, at the Madonna's left. And the Frick saint, who stood in this position, might very well represent St. John the Evangelist. St. John commonly wears a red mantle over a green tunic, and though he usually carries a pen in his right hand, he is sometimes represented without it, reading a book (Fig. 15).⁴³

The polyptych which Piero painted for S. Agostino thus consisted of St. Augustine (probably), St. Michael, the Madonna and Child (almost certainly), the apostle in the Frick Collection (John the Evangelist?), and Nicholas of Tolentino, in that order. The frames of

contour of the figure, and this suggests the possibility that the word is not intended to be complete, but contains additional letters rendered invisible by the revolution of the plane. What this word could be, however, is equally a puzzle.

41. The Madonnas in Oxford and Boston by followers of Piero (cf. Berenson, *op. cit.*) both show a wall with marble panels behind the figures similar to the one in our polyptych, and therefore probably derived from it. In the Madonna in the gallery at Modena painted by Cristoforo da Lendinara in 1482 (cf. Venturi, *Storia*, VIII, fig. 391), a painting clearly dependent in many ways on a late work of Piero, the throne is raised on a large, severely geometrical stone base, and is perhaps related in this respect to the lost central panel of our polyptych or to a similar late work by Piero.

42. He has sometimes been called St. Andrew (cf. Longhi, *op. cit.*, p. 168 and Witting, *Piero dei Franceschi*, 1898, p. 138). Van Marle, *op. cit.*, XI, 88, identifies him as John the Evangelist. Piero's St. Andrew in the Misericordia altarpiece wears a mantle and tunic of somewhat different colors. The mantle of the Brera saint is rose, the tunic green (the same colors are used for the Frick saint), and the tunic contains an ornamented border in both panels. The only notable difference between the two fig-

ures is that whereas the hair-line of the Frick saint recedes deeply over the temples, the Brera saint has a bald pate. The identity of the saint in Milan might be solved if one could discover the patron saint of the Duke Federico d'Urbino, or the saint under whose care he placed himself between 1470-75. For the figure in the Brera panel, standing closely behind the Duke and looking down (though not directly at him), seems to show some special relationship with him. This hypothesis of a special relationship is perhaps strengthened if we recall the old opinion that this panel was an ex-voto of Federico, ordered on the occasion of the birth of a male heir and the death of his wife in 1472 (cf. I.: Pungilioni, *Elogio storico di Giovanni Santi*, Urbino, 1822, p. 53). If this is true, then the Madonna and Child would contain a reference to the Duchess Battista and her son, and the prominent position of the Baptist at the Madonna's right would be due to his relationship to the Duchess Battista. The saint in the corresponding position on the right, who so closely resembles the Frick saint, would thus be the patron of the Duke.

43. For another example of St. John reading, see the altarpiece by Cossa in the Gallery at Bologna. As mentioned in note 42, van Marle has identified as John the Evangelist the saint in the Brera panel who resembles the Frick figure.

the three extant panels are modern—the Gothic one around St. Michael objectionably so—but it is clear that the panels were originally surmounted by round arches, supported by Renaissance pilasters and capitals, which divided the panels from one another. As a polyptych, the altarpiece employs a form which had been generally superseded in Florence many years earlier. In the 'thirties and 'forties, Fra Angelico, Fra Filippo, and Domenico Veneziano had drawn the saints together into a single undivided space, and together with this spatial unification, had introduced a psychological one.⁴⁴ The sacred figures now commune with one another in a much more explicit and overt manner, so that these altarpieces are actually the earliest examples of the *Sacra Conversazione* in Italian painting. Piero's failure to keep pace with the Florentine development in this respect in the S. Agostino altarpiece may possibly have been due to ignorance of it; for, after a stay in Florence around 1439, this greatest of living Italian painters apparently never again returned, curiously enough, to that center. On the other hand, the new form had already been introduced before 1439 by Fra Angelico in the Annalena altarpiece and by Fra Filippo in his panel for S. Spirito, and it is much more likely that Piero maintained the older type in conformity with the conservative taste of his provincial employer. In the case of the Perugia altarpiece, which has Gothic frames, he must, I believe, have submitted to the wishes of the donors in selecting panels of this shape, or, more likely, he agreed to use panels which they already had on hand. He accepted, furthermore, other conditions which made the finished work, with its combination of Gothic and Renaissance forms, its two predellas (not shown in Fig. 5), its varying depths, and its enormous "gable," the strangest and most puzzling altarpiece of the Quattrocento.⁴⁵ He attempted, however, to deny the compartmentation of space produced by the polyptych form by placing the saints at different depths and behind one another, by giving them a common floor on which to stand, and by extension of the base of the Madonna's throne into the wings.

Because Piero's work seems, on occasion, to be determined to an unusual extent by the requirements and conditions of a commission, one more difficulty is added to the problem of the chronology of his paintings. The S. Agostino altarpiece must have been in every way a more consistent and more impressive work than the one in Perugia, partly because in the latter Piero, probably dissatisfied with the limitations imposed upon him, allotted a much greater share of the painting to assistants. Although the saints in the S. Agostino polyptych are each placed in a separate panel and not grouped two by two as in the partly subdivided wings of the Perugia altarpiece, a greater spatial continuity behind the frames is achieved by the further development of several devices introduced into that work. The floor, as in the Perugia altarpiece, is continuous, and the base of the Madonna's throne, which is larger and higher in our polyptych, extends further into the adjacent panels, overlapping part of the dragon and the foot of the Frick apostle. The spaces are, moreover, welded together by a beautifully designed low wall which rises behind the saints.⁴⁶ This form, which Fra An-

44. Fra Angelico: Annalena altarpiece, ca. 1435 (*Fra Angelico, Klassiker der Kunst*, 2nd ed., pl. 56); panel for the high altar of S. Marco, now in the Museo di San Marco, ca. 1440 (*op. cit.*, pl. 144); altarpiece for Bosco ai Frati, ca. 1450 (*op. cit.*, pl. 172). Domenico Veneziano: altarpiece in the Uffizi, ca. 1445. Fra Filippo Lippi: panel for S. Spirito now in the Louvre, 1437-ca. 1443. The new form is the product of an evolution which began in the later fourteenth century and in which even a non-Florentine painter like Gentile da Fabriano participated (cf. his panel in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, which, however, contains recollections of the Gothic division in the two trees

which separate the Madonna from the saints).

45. Some problems with respect to the present form of the Perugia altarpiece remain to be investigated. There is, however, evidence to prove that the *Annunciation* (but not in its present stepped-pyramid form?) was originally placed over the triptych, and Aubert (*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F. x, 1898-99, 263) and Weisbach (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1889, p. 72) have shown that the two predellas belonged to the altarpiece originally.

46. It is a curious and interesting fact that while Antonello da Messina's S. Cassiano altarpiece (1475) was

gelico had introduced on a smaller scale but for a similar purpose in his polyptych in S. Domenico, Cortona, does not appear in the Perugia altarpiece, where indeed its prominent horizontality would have contrasted too strenuously with the vertical movement of the Gothic frame. Although the saints of our polyptych show a greater freedom and individuality of movement than those in Perugia, they are also part of a larger pattern which transcends the single panel. The contour of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, who is a terminal figure, is firmly closed at the right; his sleeve forms an arc which swings towards the left (i.e., the center of the altarpiece) and which is repeated, on a larger scale and with more resonance, by the right contour of the apostle and by a large fold of his drapery. The same motive is developed inversely on the opposite side of the central panel by the arms of St. Michael. Furthermore, St. Nicholas is balanced bilaterally to a greater extent than the apostle, whose pose and book (which is shifted from the vertical axis of the panel) direct us decisively towards the left. Space within the figures deepens as one passes from St. Nicholas to the apostle, presumably climaxed by an even greater depth within the group of the Madonna and Child. This lateral progression towards the center of the altarpiece is accompanied by a kind of ascension and by an increase in the intensity of expression of the figures. The area of focus in the panel of the apostle, who raises his book and lowers his head, is higher and more concentrated than in the panel of St. Nicholas.⁴⁷ The greater elevation is prepared and enhanced by the diagonal relation of the fore-arms and hands of St. Nicholas. A similar ascension, as well as an increase in depth, is developed in the Perugia altarpiece. In this work it is accomplished by the slightly greater height of the two innermost saints and by relationships of hands and haloes. The inclination towards the center, however, culminates not in the Madonna and Child but in the beautiful half-dome of the throne. The Madonna appears, anti-climactically, below it. Her weary, uncertain pose detaches her from it and from the design of the altarpiece as a whole. In the S. Agostino polyptych, on the other hand, the two large plinths raise the throne very much higher, undoubtedly so that the Virgin and Child can appear, as majestic central figures, at the apex of movements generated in both wings of the altarpiece.

If this analysis of the S. Agostino altarpiece is correct, then there are additional reasons for concluding that two of the panels do not now possess their original length. According to the dimensions given in the catalogue, the Poldi-Pezzoli panel is a little longer than the other two, and at the lower edge of the floor there is a narrow strip whose surface differs somewhat from that immediately above it. At first glance, this strip seems to be a later addition, but closer study (although only of a photograph) reveals that it probably belongs to the original panel.⁴⁸ Furthermore, if a narrow strip were added to the panels in London and in the Frick Collection, several difficulties would be removed. The feet of both St. Michael and the apostle would be as far from the lower frame as those of St. Nicholas. Their present position, closer to the frame than are the feet of St. Nicholas, contradicts the increasing depth discussed above. The dragon in the painting in London would be

influenced by Piero's Brera panel, his triptych in Messina two years earlier (1473) resembles Piero's S. Agostino polyptych in two ways: the platform of the Madonna's throne extends into the wings, and a continuous low wall rises behind the figures.

47. It is, of course, difficult to know whether a similar ascension was developed in the left section of the altarpiece; the single extant panel (St. Michael) does not indicate it, but the tension of this figure is comparable to that of the

apostle. A thorough analysis of Piero's design, in all its complexity, lies beyond the scope of this paper. Certain forms—for example, the horizontal halo of the apostle compared with the inclined halo of St. Nicholas—function as counter-motives to the patterns and rhythms which we have discussed.

48. Cracks in the tempera extend continuously into the strip from the surface above it. Because of the war, I have not received information requested from the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum as to the state of the lower part of the panel.

entirely visible, not, as it is now, arbitrarily cut off at the lower edge of the panel. And finally, the lower plinth of the Madonna's throne, which is now not as high as the upper one—producing a relationship unusual for the Renaissance—would become approximately equal to it in height.

As we have mentioned above, the S. Agostino polyptych shows a higher and more consistent development of certain qualities of design than the Perugia altarpiece. The greater elevation of the Madonna, the more individual behavior of the saints, integrated at the same time into a pattern embracing the entire altarpiece, tend to indicate that the S. Agostino polyptych was designed later. Neither one of these altarpieces quite prepares us for the remarkable work that Piero painted for the Duke of Urbino in the early 'seventies. This altarpiece, now in the Brera (Fig. 10), was not made for a burgher or a church in a small Umbrian town, but for the prince of one of the most distinguished and cosmopolitan courts in Italy. In it Piero overleaped all intervening stages in the development of the altarpiece in Florence and created a new design which influenced profoundly the later history of the *Sacra Conversazione*, especially in the Venetian school.⁴⁹ The only earlier paintings which resemble it, so far as I know, are a fresco representing S. Giovanni Gualberto enthroned amidst saints and *beati*, painted by Neri di Bicci in S. Pancrazio in 1454/5, and possibly reflecting a lost work by a greater master, and Fra Angelico's altarpiece for Bosco ai Frati, wherein this painter's usual canopied throne has been so greatly enlarged that it resembles the domed apse of a church. In the Brera altarpiece Piero abandoned, in favor of a single rectangular panel, the polyptych form which he had preserved for so many years—perhaps he *had* to abandon it if the Duke of Urbino, as donor, was to be represented in the same scale as the saints, and in a very prominent position—and he brought the Madonna, saints, and donor together in the crossing of a Renaissance church. For the first time in Italian painting a church is introduced as the setting for the Madonna and saints. Piero's beautiful building rises high above the sacred figures and the donor, who are drawn closely together in a semicircle in the crossing, in front of the choir. The relation of the figures to the architecture is the reverse of the one that obtains in the S. Agostino polyptych, where the figures themselves tower like half-domes above a low wall which is introduced for the very purpose of enhancing their stature. The monumentality of the figures in the Brera panel is to some extent absorbed by the even greater monumentality of the church, and the new design involves, therefore, a partial loss of the heroic individualism of the saints of the S. Agostino polyptych.⁵⁰

Despite the great differences in general design between these two altarpieces, they are related in many ways—especially in the similar taste that informs the architecture, and the close resemblance between the wonderfully delicate details in the two works. The capitals are very similar, and the palmettes and other ornaments in the frieze of the polyptych reappear in almost identical form in the dome. These relationships, among others, suggest that the execution of the S. Agostino polyptych did not precede by a great many years the altarpiece for the Duke of Urbino.

The three extant panels of the S. Agostino altarpiece represent men of different ages, and we cannot fail to be struck by the way in which Piero, whose style is distinguished by

49. For the influence of Piero's panel on the Venetians, and for comments on the development of the altarpiece in the Quattrocento, cf. J. Wilde in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F. III, 1929, 70-72.

50. In this aspect of the design of the Brera altarpiece

is probably to be found the chief reason for the relative lack of interest in it of the Florentine painters, for the Florentines usually tend to subordinate the setting or environment to the figure.

generalizations of various kinds, has characterized them, so that, beyond their other connotations, they suggest a cycle typifying the ages of man. St. Michael is a youth. He is the most forthright and the least complex of all three. He has just been victorious in a fight, and he stands before us alert and tense, his head high in pride and defiance. St. Nicholas also looks out at the spectator, but analytically and with reserve. Carrying his large figure with quiet confidence and assurance, he represents a successful man in middle age. The apostle is an old man. Unaware of his audience and completely detached from the events around him, he stands inactive, rapt in grave contemplation of the contents of his book.⁵¹

Partly, perhaps, in order to develop the characterization of St. Michael as a militant youth, Piero has represented him in an unusual way. Instead of showing the saint, in the traditional manner, with his lance in the mouth of the dragon, Piero selected the moment just after he had cut off the head of the beast. In one hand he holds the head, in the other the sword. This motive for St. Michael seems to have been created in Tuscany in the fourteenth century (Fig. 14), probably on the basis of analogy with other figures such as David (Fig. 17) or even Perseus, who perform an act of decapitation and display the head as a symbol of victory.⁵² In this new type of St. Michael, the lance is replaced by the sword, a shorter weapon with implications of a struggle at closer range and of a more immediate physical contact. The saint himself has hacked off the head, picked it up, and carries it as a trophy in his hand. Piero has furthermore dressed the saint as a Roman soldier, with cuirass and lambrequins, an armor which he introduced also in the battle scenes at Arezzo and in other paintings.⁵³

While each of the saints of the S. Agostino polyptych has a typical character with respect to personality and age, one of them shows in a remarkable way the tendency towards individualization and portraiture which emerges in Piero's later style. St. Nicholas of Tolentino (Fig. 3) would seem to be impersonated by an acquaintance or friend of Piero, just as Luca Pacioli is represented as St. Peter Martyr in the Brera altarpiece. In richness of physiognomical detail and depth of expression, St. Nicholas is one of the most highly developed portraits that had been painted up to that time in Quattrocento Italy. For a comparable work of this or an earlier date, one must turn outside Italy to the Netherlands, and particularly to Jan van Eyck. The resemblances between the head of St. Nicholas

51. This recalls Alberti's interest in typifying the demeanor of man at different ages: "Siano i movimenti ai garzonetti leggieri, jocondi, con una certa demonstratione di grande animo et buone forze. Sia nell'huomo movimenti con piu fermezza ornati, con belli posari et artificiosi. Sia ad i vecchi loro movimenti et posari stracchi, non solo in su due piè, ma ancora si sostenghino su le mani" (Leone Battista Alberti, *Della pittura*, ed. Janitschek, Vienna, 1877, p. 129).

"The movements of youths should be light, pleasing, with a certain show of high spirit and strength. The movements of man should be imbued with greater firmness, with graceful and practiced postures. The movements of old men should be weary, and they should support themselves not only on two feet, but also with their hands."

52. For a Trecento example of this type of Michael, cf. the beautiful panel by the shop of Orcagna in the collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York City (Fig. 14). Cf. also St. Michael in a polyptych by Pietro da Montepulciano in Potenza Picena (van Marle, *op. cit.*, VIII, fig. 161). For medieval and Renaissance representations of Perseus cf. Panofsky and Saxl in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV, 1933, figs. 22-24c, and Jacopo Bellini's drawing in the Louvre (Golubew, *Die Skizzenbücher Jacopo Bellinis*,

Brussels, 1908, II, pl. 44).

53. As Professor Erwin Panofsky has pointed out to me, the function of the shoulder straps of the Roman cuirass or *lorica* (cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, s.v. "lorica") has apparently not been understood in the London panel. They do not (as in antiquity) support the *lorica*, which itself passes over the shoulders, but are merely metal bars affixed to it.

Mr. Stephen Grancsay has kindly informed me that he believes that armor imitating the antique was occasionally made in the fifteenth century.

Piero's St. Michael was imitated by Lorenzo di Alessandro da Sanseverino in a polyptych in the Pieve at Serapetrona (cf. van Marle, *op. cit.*, XV, fig. 29). Signorelli's paintings of St. Michael often followed Piero's example with respect to armor (cf. his altarpiece in the Uffizi, van Marle, *op. cit.*, XVI, fig. 56, and in the Metropolitan Museum, van Marle, *op. cit.*, XVI, fig. 32) and the Siennese painters of the late fifteenth century frequently adopted parts of it (cf. Neroccio, triptych in the Pinacoteca at Siena, van Marle, *op. cit.*, XVI, fig. 161, and Pacchiarotto, triptych in the same place, van Marle, *op. cit.*, XVI, fig. 285). The Florentines generally gave the saint armor of the usual contemporary form.

and the portrait of Niccolo Albergati in Vienna (Fig. 9)⁵⁴ suggest the possibility that Piero may have seen and studied a similar work by Jan. This possibility becomes more considerable not only because of Piero's connection with the Duke of Urbino, who showed an unusual interest in Flemish painting and who actually was said to have possessed a panel by Jan van Eyck,⁵⁵ but also because other late works by Piero likewise contain forms that recall Jan's paintings.⁵⁶ Piero's panel formerly in Sinigaglia and now in the Ducal Palace at Urbino (Fig. 8) represents the Virgin and Child in a domestic interior, a setting for this group which was common in the North, but which had appeared only once before, so far as I know, in Italian painting of the Madonna, and even then perhaps under northern influence—Fra Filippo Lippi's panel of 1437 in Corneto Tarquinia.⁵⁷ Certain other characters of the Sinigaglia Madonna, however, suggest a specific relationship with Jan van Eyck rather than with this Italian design or with works by Jan's successors in the North. The view into a second room, and the niche with its domestic articles, caskets, and the basket containing a cloth, remind us simply of Flemish painting. And while Piero's colors and luminary subtleties derive primarily from Domenico Veneziano, only the panels of Jan van Eyck show a comparable brilliance of reflected light, and only Jan's panels (especially in Melbourne and Berlin) could set a precedent for the pools of warm sunshine which lie on the wall and the window jambs, streaked by the shadows of the mullions.

It seems possible, too, that another aspect of the work was influenced by Jan. Piero's imposing design for the figures, inflexibly symmetrical, frontal, and vertical, shows no resemblance, but the way in which only sections of several objects, such as the door and niche, fall within the frame recalls Jan's method of enframing his representations. Piero's sections are much smaller than comparable ones in the work of Jan or other earlier painters, and he surpasses Jan, furthermore, by not representing completely any large form in the composition, except the Christ Child. The partially visible forms are also more formally arranged, but the method of "incomplete" representation is common to both painters and in both it is bound up with a highly developed optic point of view.

In the light of these affinities between the style of Jan van Eyck and the late work of Piero, similarities of another kind which might otherwise seem purely accidental increase the likelihood of a direct connection. The Brera altarpiece (Fig. 10) is, as we have mentioned, the earliest example in Italian painting of the Madonna and saints represented in a church. Outside Italy it was preceded by Jan's paintings, especially the Paele altarpiece of 1436 (Fig. 11).⁵⁸ The resemblances between the Paele and Brera altarpieces extend, furthermore, beyond the setting. For in Jan's panel, too, the architecture enfolds and repeats the semicircular figure composition, and by implication it extends forward beyond the frame, around and over the spectator, who stands within it. Most remarkable of all is the presence in both panels of a kneeling donor to the right of the Madonna—the Duke of Urbino in

54. Indicative of the difference between an Italian and a Flemish painter—even when their styles seem to converge—is the fact that St. Nicholas resembles even more closely Jan's silver-point study for the painting (Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett), which contains less detail than the painting and in which the volumes are more prominent and the light and shade broader.

55. Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. Milanese, Florence, 1878, I, 184: "Giovanni da Bruggia mandò al duca d'Urbino Federico II (sic!) la stufa sua." Cf. also on this panel Weale and Brockwell, *The Van Eycks*, London, 1912, p. 197, note 1.

Certain other Italian centers (especially Naples) were also interested in Flemish painting, but only Urbino, so far as we know, provided work for a major Flemish painter

—Joos van Gent—for any considerable length of time. It is scarcely necessary to mention here the well-known fact that the hands of the Duke of Urbino in Piero's Brera panel were painted—or possibly repainted—by a master (Berruguete?) whose style contains many Flemish elements.

56. Stylistic resemblances between Piero and Jan van Eyck have been alluded to especially by Longhi, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 117.

57. Cf. van Marle, *op. cit.*, x, 1928, fig. 248.

58. Cf. also the Dresden triptych, and the Berlin *Madonna in the Church*, although in the latter, an early work, no saints are represented.—I am able to reproduce the excellent photograph of the Paele Madonna through the kindness of Dr. Charles de Tolnay.



Fig. 10 Milan, Brera: Piero della Francesca,
Altarpiece for the Duke of Urbino



Fig. 11—Bruges, Museum: Jan van Eyck, Altarpiece for the
Canon van der Paele



Fig. 12 S. Monica



Fig. 13 A Holy Augustinian Monk

FIGS. 12-13 VIENNA, LIECHTENSTEIN COLLECTION: PANELS BY PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA AND ASSISTANT



Fig. 14



Fig. 15

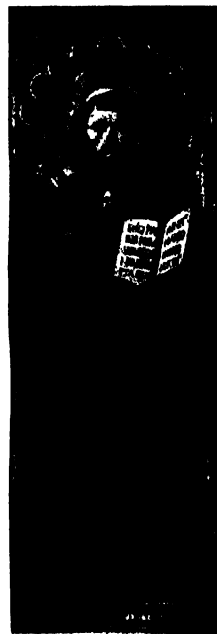


Fig. 16

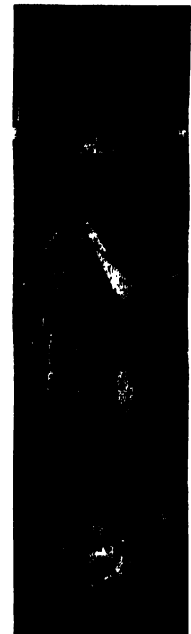


Fig. 17

Fig. 14 - New York, Philip Lehman Collection: Workshop of Orcagna, St. Michael (detail of a panel)
 Fig. 15 - Venice, Academy: Giovanni da Bologna, John Evangelist (detail of a panel)
 Fig. 16 - San Gimignano, S. Agostino: Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Nicholas of Tolentino
 Fig. 17 - Florence, S. Croce: Taddeo Gaddi, David

Piero's panel, and the Canon George van der Paele in Jan's. In the Brera panel, as in the Sinigaglia Madonna, the analysis of color and light, especially in the armor of the Duke and in the rich materials and precious stones—never before introduced in such number in Piero's work—draws the two paintings still closer together.

Similar coloristic and luminary refinements are evident in the S. Agostino polyptych—in the gleaming metal and glistening jewels of St. Michael's armor,⁵⁹ or the golden border of the apostle's tunic. These qualities, together with the portrait character of St. Nicholas and the form of the ornamental details of the wall, which we have discussed above, prove that the polyptych, which was contracted for in 1454, was for the most part painted in the 'sixties, not very much earlier than the Brera panel and the Sinigaglia Madonna, and around the time of the latest frescoes at Arezzo, which were finished by 1466. This is perhaps supported by the fact that, though the polyptych seems to be mentioned as a finished work in the document of 1469, Piero had not yet received all the money due him.⁶⁰

The polyptych, furthermore, contains signs of the dissolution of that remarkable synthesis which Piero had developed in the 'fifties in such works as the *Meeting of Solomon and Sheba*, a synthesis based on Domenico Veneziano's method of designing in color and light, as well as on Masaccio's rationalization of space through perspective and Uccello's rationalization of form through stereometry. Piero combines values of color, light, and volume in a composition which unfolds planimetrically as well as spatially with equal density and richness. In his later paintings, certain of these qualities are developed at the expense of others, light and color design at the sacrifice of formal pattern. The figures are no longer woven into a complex interplay of volumes, but tend to be placed frontally, in a regular and almost monotonous alignment.⁶¹ They become more massive and plastic, as though they were moulded rather than painted, and the rhythmic movement of forms is diminished. The very even distribution of interest over the entire design of the earlier works is now modified by the emergence of accented sections or details, and there is a tendency towards individualism of figure and what might be called particularism of object.

But through these changes Piero maintained his ideal of a composed and confident mankind, exalted by physical and intellectual vigor, and a firm will to move rationally through an intelligible world. Piero had inherited this vision from the great Florentines of the second quarter of the century; in the 'sixties, the time of the painting of the S. Agostino polyptych, it remained vivid for him alone. The world, as shown in painting, tended to become unfathomable or forbidding, and the people in it violent or pathetic, tense with melancholy emotion or mystical rapture.

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59. The golden inscription around the waist of the saint recalls the even more resplendent inscriptions on the figure of God in the Ghent altarpiece.

In connection with these relationships between the late work of Piero and the style of Jan van Eyck, the resemblances of Piero's Nativity in London with the Portinari altarpiece painted for Florence by Hugo van der Goes should be mentioned. The wide interval in Piero's Nativity between the frame and the figures, and between certain figures, recalls Hugo's panel. The child in the London painting is unusually small and infantile for Piero, and the

way in which the Madonna's mantle is wrapped around her may perhaps be related to Hugo's painting.

60. See Appendix 2. Several students, including Milanesi himself, erroneously regard the payment of 1469 as a final payment. Cf. Milanesi, in Vasari, *Le vite*, Florence, 1878, II, 493; Venturi, in *L'arte*, XIV, 1911, 53; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Storia della pittura in Italia*, Florence, 1898, VIII, p. 203.

61. Cf. the Brera and Sinigaglia panels, and the *Nativity*, National Gallery, London.

APPENDIX I

THREE PANELS IN THE LIECHTENSTEIN AND LEHMAN COLLECTIONS

The reconstruction of the S. Agostino altarpiece would seem to be completed by demonstration that it was a five-leaved polyptych, that the central panel almost certainly represented the Madonna and Child, and that the missing panel at the extreme left probably contained an image of St. Augustine. The altarpiece cannot be dismissed, however, without some consideration of three additional panels, whether or not these were painted entirely by Piero himself. Two of these are in the Liechtenstein Collection in Vienna (Figs. 12 and 13), a third, representing St. Apollonia, is in the collection of Mr. Robert Lehman in New York City. The dimensions of all three panels are the same,⁶² and it is generally recognized that they belong together. The monk in the Liechtenstein Collection has usually been identified as Dominic⁶³ or as a Franciscan saint.⁶⁴ He wears, however, the black tunic and leather belt which, in the discussion above of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, have been shown to be Augustinian. He must, therefore, be a *beato* or saint of that order. The female saint in the same collection, usually called simply a "holy nun," has in several instances been identified as Clare,⁶⁵ but Clare is not traditionally represented as an aged woman. Furthermore the Liechtenstein nun, dressed in a violet tunic and grey-black mantle, wears the Augustinian leather girdle, and it seems very probable that she is St. Monica, the mother of St. Augustine, one of the few female saints who are represented in old age. She holds a scroll as the putative founder of the order of Augustinian nuns.⁶⁶ St. Monica is an important figure in Augustinian iconography, and there can be no doubt that the three panels were painted for an Augustinian church.

The Liechtenstein panels have been tentatively identified by Borenus and Longhi⁶⁷ with two of the four panels which Milanese and Cavalcaselle said

were in the Marini-Franceschi collection in Sansepolcro. Milanese⁶⁸ described the four panels as "quattro quadretti dell'altezza di circa due terzi di braccio con San Niccolo di Bari, Santa Apollonia, una Santa Monaca ed un Santo Vescovo," and Cavalcaselle as "quattro tavole, in mezzo figure di facia e alquanto inferiore al vero, S. Chiara, Sant'Antonio, Sant'Apollonia e un altro Santo."⁶⁹ Any doubt that the Liechtenstein panels are identical with Cavalcaselle's St. Clare and St. Anthony of Padua⁷⁰ or Milanese's "Santa Monaca" and either his "Niccolo di Bari" or "Santo Vescovo" is removed by the comparatively recent discovery of the Sant'Apollonia, who is mentioned by both writers.⁷¹ Our panels were thus, a century ago, in the possession of Piero's descendants in Borgo Sansepolcro. The Marini-Franceschi may have acquired them from the church of S. Chiara (formerly S. Agostino), for in the early nineteenth century this church possessed some "quadretti in tavola" attributed to Piero della Francesca.⁷² If, on the other hand, the Marini-Franceschi panels are not identical with these "quadretti," it seems likely that they were once in, or destined for, this church, because there was only one Augustinian foundation in Sansepolcro. With greater or less certainty, then, they would seem to be connected with the same church for which our altarpiece was made. The style of the Liechtenstein and Lehman panels, furthermore, places them in the latter part of Piero's career,⁷³ so that if they actually were in S. Agostino, we are faced with the alternative of adding them to our altarpiece, or assuming that Piero painted, at very nearly the same time, another altarpiece for the same church. Judgment of the precise relationship in style and date between the

68. In Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. by Milanese, Florence, 1878, II, 488, note. Milanese himself did not see the panels; a description of them was given to him. The panels were also mentioned (with S. Apollonia called S. Apollinare) by G. F. Pichi, *La vita e le opere di Piero della Francesca*, Sansepolcro, 1892, p. 116.

69. *Storia della pittura in Italia*, Florence, 1898, VIII, p. 249.

70. Indeed Berenson, as we have mentioned above (notes 64, 65), calls the saints Franciscan.—I have not been able to discover just when the two panels entered the Liechtenstein Collection. They are not mentioned in the 1780 catalogue (cf. *Description des tableaux et des piéces de sculpture que renferme la galerie de son altesse François Joseph chef et Prince regnant de la Maison de Liechtenstein*, Vienna, 1780).

71. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, XI, 92, note 3, rejects the identification of the Liechtenstein panels with those formerly in the Marini-Franceschi collection.

72. "Nel parapetto del coretto delle monache (in the church of S. Chiara, formerly S. Agostino) vi sono alcuni quadretti in tavola alcuni de' quali sembrano di mano di Pietro della Francesca" (Giacomo Mancini, *Istruzione storico-pittorica per visitare le chiese e palazzi di Città di Castello*, Perugia, 1832, II, 272). That Mancini knew what a painting by Piero looked like, or at least was well informed as to current opinion, is shown by the fact that, immediately preceding this statement, he wrote that the *Assumption* on the high altar is attributed by some people to Piero, but seems rather to belong to the school of Perugino. Longhi, *loc. cit.*, has already suggested that the panels mentioned by Mancini might be the ones which Milanese later reported to be in the Marini-Franceschi collection.

73. A. Venturi, *loc. cit.*, relates the Liechtenstein panels to the Sinigaglia Madonna; R. Longhi, *op. cit.*, p. 167, and R. van Marle, *op. cit.*, XI, 85, find them similar to the Perugia altarpiece.

62. The Liechtenstein panels measure 39 by 28½ cm. and 39 by 28 cm. (cf. *Führer durch die fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Gemäldesammlung in Wien*, Vienna, 1931, pp. 170-72). The S. Apollonia measures 38.5 by 28 cm. (cf. *The Philip Lehman Collection*, Paris, 1928, no. 68).

63. Cf. A. Venturi, in *L'arte*, XXIV, 1921, 152-54; R. Longhi, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 167, and pl. 153; van Marle, *op. cit.*, XI, 85. Borenus (in Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy*, London, V, 1914, 32, note) calls him Dominican.

64. Cf. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 456. In the Catalogue of the Philip Lehman collection *loc. cit.*, he is identified as Anthony of Padua.

65. Venturi, *loc. cit.*; *The Philip Lehman Collection*, *loc. cit.* Berenson, *loc. cit.*, calls her Franciscan, but Borenus (*loc. cit.*), on the other hand, calls her Dominican.

66. For representations of St. Monica in Italian painting cf.: altarpiece in S. Agostino, Teramo, by Jacobello del Fiore, where the saint holds a scroll (van Marle, *op. cit.*, VII, fig. 229); panel by Botticini in the Capponi Chapel, S. Spirito, Florence (representing Monica giving the rule—written on a scroll—to Augustinian nuns); panel by Botticini in the Academy, Florence (van Marle, *op. cit.*, XIII, fig. 281); altarpiece by Zanobio Machiavelli in the National Gallery, London (no. 586); altarpiece by Benvenuto di Giovanni in the Fogg Art Museum; Crucifixion by Perugino in S. Agostino, Siena; panel from the school of Antoniazio Romano, S. Agostino, Narni. It is probable that the unidentified saint at the extreme left, next to St. Augustine, in Giovanni di Paolo's polyptych in the Metropolitan Museum is Monica.

67. Borenus, *op. cit.*, p. 26, note; Longhi, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

large panels and the smaller ones is made difficult by differences of quality and of condition—both are damaged, but the smaller panels more so. But inasmuch as several of Piero's works—especially the *Misericordia* altarpiece—were painted over a long period of time and show wide differences of style, and inasmuch as eight years were allotted, and probably more taken, for the execution of the S. Agostino altarpiece, the problem cannot be solved on stylistic grounds. If the small panels belonged to our altarpiece, what position in it did they occupy? They are a little less than a third as high as the larger panels.⁷⁴ Their proportions seem to preclude their use in a predella or one above the other in vertical bands (in which case there would originally have been a group of three panels at each end of the altarpiece), and it is difficult to conceive of them as "pinnacles" for a Renaissance altarpiece. Two of Piero's altarpieces, however, are so strange in design that suppositions of this sort, based on the usual form of the altarpiece at this period, are not conclusive. The most cogent

reasons for rejecting the three panels as parts of our S. Agostino altarpiece are that the figures, unlike those in the larger panels, have no haloes,⁷⁵ and the backgrounds are not painted as in the larger panels, but gilded. There remains, then, the other alternative—that the three small panels belonged to another work which Piero executed for S. Agostino at around the same time. Some of the reasons for dissociating the panels from our altarpiece would, however, apply equally to any other altarpiece. It should be mentioned, furthermore, that the three saints were probably not the main panels of an *ancona*, because polyptychs with half-length figures were extremely rare in the late Quattrocento. The panels might, on the other hand, have been made for insertion into some kind of furniture. Finally, we must recall that the connection of the panels with S. Agostino in Borgo Sansepolcro is probable but not certain, and we must allow the possibility that they were made for an Augustinian church in some other city.

APPENDIX 2

THE DOCUMENTS

THE COMMISSION TO PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA OF AN ALTARPIECE FOR THE HIGH ALTAR OF THE CHURCH OF S. AGOSTINO, BORGO SANSEPOLCRO

October 4, 1454

Pateat omnibus evidenter presens publicum Instrumentum inspecturis, qualiter convocatis et coadunatis et congregatis ad capitulum Priore et fratribus ecclesie et loci fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini de burgo Sancti Sepulcri ad mandatum per infrascripti Prioris, in sacristia dicte ecclesie ad sonum campanelle ter facte pulsari, ut moris est: in quo capitulo interfuerunt religiosus vir frater Franciscus Nicolai de Burgo ordinis predicti et prior loci et capituli et conuentus et frater Julianus de Fulgineo lector et predicator, frater Petrus Johannis et frater Johannes Johannis de Alamania, facientes et constituentes capitulum in dicto loco—et prudentes viri Nannes Cischii et ser Vghuccius Nofri de Luzimborgho operarii ecclesie loci predicti—ac etiam Angelus Johannis Simonis Angeli de dicto Burgo, ex devotione et pro satisfatione voluntatum Simonis sui olim fratris et domine Johanne olim uxoris supradicti Simonis ac sue ipsius dicti Angeli—locaverunt—magistro *Petro Benedicti Petri* de dicto Burgo, pictori presenti et conducenti tabulam ecclesie et altaris maioris ecclesie loci predicti, ad pingendum et ornandum et deaurandum cum illis ymaginibus, figuris, picturis et ornamentis de quibus remanserunt et asseruerunt esse in plena concordia, et apparere inter eos posse et debere quandam scriptam, sive appodissam manu dicti Ser Uguccij et subscriptam manu dicti Prioris ac Nannis alterius operarii, et dicti magistri *Petri* pictoris—pro pretio,

salario et seu mercede florenorum tercentorum viginti ad rationem librar. Quinque corton. pro quolibet floreno. De quo salario et mercede, et pro parte dicti salarii et mercedis dictus Angelus sub dictis intentionibus et amore dei et pro anima dicti olim sui fratris et dicte sue cognate et sua et suorum predecessorum dedit et tradidit et numerare promisit dicto magistro *Petro* in pecunia numerata florenos centum ad dictam rationem—in una parte, et in alia parte dedit—in solutionem et pagamentum—dicto magistro *Petro*—unam petiam terre laboratorie in districtu Burgi in contrada Pelani? Abbatie Burgi iuxta rem dicte Abbatie et vias a duobus et rem dicti Angeli—Et ultra etiam dictas quantitates dictorum centum florenor. et summam ad quam adscendet extimatio et pretium dicte rei in solum concessa, promisit ipse Angelus—dicto magistro *Petro*—dare—et numerare sibi, post tamen complementum dicte tabule, florenos quinquaginta ad rationem suprascriptam, et reliquum dicti salarii et mercedis dicte picture et ornamenti usque in dictam summam florenor. trecentorum viginti promiserunt supranominati Prior et fratres conventuales et capitulares dicti loci et cum eis etiam suprascripti Nannes et Vghuccius operarii—solvere hic eo tempore dicte picture et ornamenti perfecto et completo—Et ultra etiam—consignaverunt dicto magistro *Petro* dictam tabulam sic pingendam et ornandam et figurandam que est de tabulis compositam et laboratam de lignamine in dicta sacrestia solum et factam fieri et fabricari per dictum Angelum—Et hoc fecerunt quia dictus magister *Petrus* pictor—promisit—dictam tabulam—pingere et imaginari et ornare de bonis et finis coloribus et auro et argento et aliis ornamentis et de illis ymaginibus et figuris de quibus scriptum est et esse dixerunt sigillatum in dicta appodissa—et dare eam fulcitam et completam per hinc ad annos octo proxime futuros—tantum ex latere anteriori uersus altare respiciens

74. There is no indication, so far as I can see, that the original size of these small panels has been altered.

75. The saints in Piero's latest paintings—the altarpiece in the Brera, the *Nativity* in the National Gallery, and the *Madonna* from Sinigaglia—have no haloes.

et non ex latere posteriori, quia sic in plena concordia fuerunt contrahentes predicti dictis nominibus.

Archivio Generale dei Contratti di Firenze. Rogiti di Ser Mario di Ser Bartolomeo de' Fedeli dal Borgo S. Sepolcro. Protocollo dal 1454 al 1455. (Reprinted from Gaetano Milanesi, in "Il Buonarroti," Serie III, vol. II, Quaderno V, 1885, 141.)

"Be it known to all who shall examine the present official instrument that when the Prior and the friars of the church and of the foundation of the monks of Saint Augustine of Borgo Sansepolcro had been called together and assembled and gathered together in the chapter, by the order of the Prior mentioned below, in the sacristy of the said church, at the sound of the bell which was struck three times according to custom, in which chapter there were present the pious man friar Franciscus Nicolai of Borgo of the aforementioned order, and friar Julianus of Foligno, reader and preacher, friar Petrus Johannis, and friar Johannes Johannis of Germany, all making and constituting the chapter in the said place—and the honorable men Nannes Cischii and Ser Ughuccius Nofri of Luxembourg, *operarii* of the church of the aforesaid place—and also Angelus Johannis Simonis Angeli of the said Borgo, through devotion and in fulfillment of the wishes of Simone his late brother and *donna* Johanna, formerly the wife of the above-mentioned Simone and now the wife of Angelus himself—(they) allocated to master Petrus Benedicti Petri of the said Borgo—a painter who was present and accepted the commission—the altarpiece (*tabula*) of the church and of the high altar of the church of the said place for painting and decorating and gilding with those images, figures, paintings, and ornaments concerning which they continued to be and declared themselves to be in full agreement (and they agreed also) that a certain writing or record, signed by the said Ser Ughuccius and counter-signed by the said Prior and Nannes the other "*operarius*" and by the said master Petrus the painter, could and ought to appear among them⁷⁶—(the said work) was allocated for the price, salary, and/or remuneration of 320 florins at the rate of five Cortonese pounds for each florin. Of which salary and remuneration, and as part of the said salary and remuneration, the said Angelus, for the said purposes and for the love of God and for the soul of his aforementioned late brother and of his aforementioned kinswoman, and for his soul and the souls of his forebears, gave and transferred and promised to pay out to the said master Petrus 100 florins in cash at the said rate—this for the first part, and for another part he gave to the said master Petrus in settlement and payment a piece of arable land in the district of Borgo and contrada Pelanus(?)⁷⁷ next to the property of the said abbey and the roads from the two and the property of the said Angelus—and also beyond the said amounts of the said 100 florins and the sum to which the appraisal and price of the said property granted in payment shall come, Angelus himself

promised to give to the said master Petrus and to pay out to him, after the completion of the said altarpiece (*tabula*) however, 50 florins at the rate indicated above, and the remainder of the said salary and remuneration for the said painting and decoration up to the said sum of 320 florins was promised to him (Petrus) by the above-named Prior and the conventual friars and the chapter members of the said place and with them also the above-mentioned Nannes and Ughuccius "*operarii*"—to be paid here at the time when the said painting and decoration have been completed and finished—and beyond this also they consigned to the said master Petrus, for painting and ornamentation, the said altarpiece (*tabula*) in the said sacristy which is composed of panels (*tabulae*) and worked in wood and which has been paid for and constructed at the order of the said Angelus—and this they did because the said master Petrus the painter promised to paint and decorate the altarpiece with images and to embellish it with good and fine colors and with gold and silver and other materials and with those images and figures which have been set down in writing, which they said was sealed in the said record, and (Petrus promised) to turn it over in its position on the altar and completed eight years from now, with respect only to the front side of the altarpiece facing the altar and not the back—because the contracting parties mentioned above by name were thus in full agreement."

A PAYMENT TO PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA
FOR THE ALTARPIECE FOR THE HIGH ALTAR
OF S. AGOSTINO, BORGO SANSEPOLCRO

Nov. 14, 1469

Magister Petrus benedicti petri pictor de burgo Sci Sepulcri —fuit confessus—habuisse et recepisse et sibi solum fuisse—operariis opere loci et conventus (Fratrum S. Augustini), predictorum pro parte pretii tabule altaris maioris dicte ecclesie, pictae per dictum magistrum Petrum, ducatos viginti venetos in decem florenos largos et bologninos decem adscendentes ad summam librarum ducentarum decem denar: cortonensium—reservato sibi magro Petro iure in residuo pretii dicte tabule—quod residuum est, facto calculo inter eis, librar. trecentar. septuaginta den. cortonensium.

Archivio Generale dei Contratti di Firenze. Rogiti di Ser Leonardo di Mario Fedeli dal Borgo S. Sepolcro. Protocollo del 1469. (Reprinted from Gaetano Milanesi, in "Il Buonarroti," Serie III, vol. II, Quaderno VII, 1887, 218.)

"Master Petrus Benedicti Petri, a painter of Borgo Sansepolcro, acknowledged that he had had, and had received, and that there had been paid to him by the *operarii* of the *opera* of the foundation and the monastery of the aforesaid friars of St. Augustine, as part of the price of the altarpiece (*tabula*) of the high altar of the said church, painted by the said master Petrus, 20 Venetian ducats equivalent to 10 florins *largos* and 10 Bolognini amounting to the sum of 200 Cortonese pounds and 10 Cortonese *denari*—the right having been reserved to master Petrus to the remainder of the price of the said altarpiece (*tabula*)—which remainder is, a calculation having been made between them, 300 Cortonese pounds 70 *denari*."

76. The Latin is rather obscure here, and I wish to thank Dr. Edith F. Claffin of Columbia University for assistance in the translation of this and other passages of the document.

77. Milanesi's question mark, though not in parenthesis, was probably intended to indicate that he was doubtful about the reading "Pelanus."

NOTES AND REVIEWS

AN̄N ĪCARNĒ IHV X̄PM̄TH̄NO
 N̄ĀO Q̄URTODIE OCTAVO ĪCHOAN
 TEMEN̄SOCTVB̄TP̄RVITAE
 FALETRIDVCIS



Venice, S. Marco: Fragments of an Eleventh-Century Byzantine Ivory Box (after an engraving)

NOTES

FRAGMENTS OF A BYZANTINE IVORY BOX

By MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

The study of the history of the Byzantine minor arts is considerably impeded due to our lack of a sufficient number of objects that can be associated with any particular date. In their excellent corpus of Byzantine ivories of the tenth to thirteenth century, Professor Adolph Goldschmidt and Dr. Kurt Weitzmann¹ have brought together a body of material with which we are able to work. To the information gathered by these two scholars, I would like to add one more ivory with a probable *ante quem* date that bears out their revised dating of the boxes with animal decorations.

On May 9, 1811, there was found underneath the altar at St. Mark's in Venice, fragments of an ivory box of the "animal-type." With it were another Byzantine box, a pectoral cross of a kind that originated in or near Syria, some coins of the Emperor Henry, and a plaque in lead inscribed with a date and the name of Doge Vitale Faliero, all apparently placed there in 1094. The description of the ivory fragments and the lead plaque by Count Leonardo Manin² is roughly as follows: "Next to this box on the gospel side was discovered, reduced into pieces, another small box, covered with scraps of the same material, which the bigger box had covered and which as far as could be judged from the two visible sides . . . was of a square shape with two lateral handles, one of which is still preserved and is of beautifully worked bronze. The interior of the box

still shows signs of having been gilded and on the outside it was decorated with a meander design, with ornate Greek panels, and with little squares representing the hippogriff, the eagle, and the lion, and other animals ideal and fantastic in a bizarre and arbitrary style such as was quite habitual in ancient times, all of ivory and fastened with ivory pegs: ornaments that well display what still remained, in those days, of the good taste of the most ancient times, in fine elegant design, exact contours, and raised intaglio, in perfect style. Among the fragments of this box a leaden plaque was found, on which is to be read, incised in an ancient manner, the following: *In the year of our Lord, 1094, the eighth day since the beginning of October in the time of the Doge Vitale Faliero.* The characters of this inscription are those generally seen in the eleventh century, preserving for the most part the purity of Roman letters which could be drawn on the plaque with the point of an iron tool. This plaque indicates the date at which the box was placed there and, corresponding completely to common tradition, affirms all the deductions made about the epoch from the entire discovery."

From the coins found with these objects, of the Emperor Henry who is known to have been in Italy at the time and who the chronicler Dandolo says visited San Marco, we have confirmatory evidence for the inscription on the plaque giving the date 1094. The lead plaque according to the *procès-verbal* of the finding of these objects was discovered inside the remains of the ivory box. From this it seems highly probable that these objects were placed in San Marco in October, 1094, and hence we have an *ante quem* date for the fragments of this Byzantine ivory box.

Although the ivory fragments were replaced under the altar in 1811, the engraving (see Figure) leaves very little doubt as to their character. They were obviously part of a box like those that Goldschmidt and Weitzmann describe as "animal-boxes."³ In their catalogue they list nine complete boxes or pieces thereof.⁴ The San Marco box seems closest to the one now in the cathedral treasury at Würzburg.⁵ A box⁶ in San Giovenale at Orvieto has a combination of rectangular panels with birds and animals, fantastic and natural, and others with interlacings, but there are no panels with rosettes. The box at Würzburg has the combination of all three and so seems the closest. The panel with the racing animals seems to tie this group to another of the same period with antique motives.⁷

The discovery of this box in Venice, where it appears to have been since the eleventh century, does not destroy the theory that these boxes were made in Constantinople. Such small objects were doubt-

1. *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrhunderts: Erster Band: Kasten*, Berlin, 1930.

2. *Memorie storico-critiche intorno la vita, translazione e invenzioni di S. Marco Evangelista*, Venice, 1835, pp. 20 ff.: "Vicino a questa cassa dal lato del Vangelo si presentò alla vista, ridotta in pezzi dal fatto lavoro, un'altra piccola cassetta coperta da quazzeroni dello stesso tessuto, che la gran cassa copriva, la quale per quanto può congettuarsi dai due lati, che si osservarono, e sono tuttora custoditi nelle scatole, di cui si farà parola nell'Appendice, era di quadrata figura, con due manubrij laterali, uno de' quali tuttor conservasi di bronzo elegantemente lavorato. Nell'interno di questa rimane ancor qualche mostra di essere stata dorata, e nel di fuori era ornata con riporti di meandri, di greche ornate fascie, e di piccoli quadretti rappresentanti l'ippogrifo, l'aquila e il leone, ed altri animali ideali e fantastici, di uno stile bizzarro e arbitrario, assai usitato presso gli antichi tempi, tutti d'avorio ed assicurati con chiodetti della stessa materia: ornati che fanno bella mostra di ciò che ancor rimaneva a que' giorni del buon gusto de' più vetusti tempi, per gentil disegno eleganti, ne' contorni esatti, e nel lavoro d'intaglio rilevati e forbiti. Fra i rottami di questa cassetta si è una lamina di piombo ritrovata, sulla quale da uno stilo inciso si leggono le seguenti parole: *Anno Incarnatione Jesu Christi Millesimo nonagesimo quarto die octavo inchoante Mense Octobris tempore Vitalis Falieri Ducis.* Li caratteri di questa iscrizione sono quali generalmente veggonsi nelle iscrizioni dell'undecimo secolo, conservando in gran parte la purezza de' romani caratteri, e quali si poteano segnare sopra una lamina con la punta di un ferro. Questa lamina indica la data di tempo in cui fu quivi riposta, e corrispondendo interamente alla tradizione comune, assicura dell'epoca nella quale fu riposto tutto ciò ancora che dalla stessa coperta era involto." The illustration to this section, Plate IV, is reproduced here.

3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

4. Nos. 106-114.

5. No. 107, Pls. LXII, LXIII.

6. No. 112, Pl. LXIV.

7. Ravenna, Museo Civico. Cf. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, no. 60.

less often made for export as well as for the local market. Venice was in the eleventh century in close relationship with Constantinople. Besides, the bronze cross found along with the ivories was from Constantinople or the Near East, and the second box has the name of St. Anthony inscribed on it in Greek,⁸ thus pointing to a Byzantine origin. In fact the discovery of these Byzantine objects along with the ivories seems to confirm the attribution of the boxes to Byzantium.

Thus although these objects were buried again in

San Marco and are not available to modern scholars for study, the description and the engravings made at the time enable us not only to relate them with other examples of Byzantine minor arts, but are an aid in establishing the hypotheses of Goldschmidt and Weitzmann as to the dating of Byzantine ivories. We need no longer hesitate about ascribing the group of "animal-type" boxes to a date at least before 1094 A.D., and thus giving weight to the revised dating of them, by these authors, in the eleventh century.

8. Manin, *op. cit.*, Pl. v.

EXHIBITIONS AND COLLECTIONS

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT AT THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

By HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK

This past winter's exhibition of the work of Frank Lloyd Wright at the Museum of Modern Art—November 13, 1940 to January 5, 1941—was certainly the most important architectural exhibition that has been held there since the international exhibition of Modern Architecture of 1932, with which the Museum's activities in connection with architecture began. In the catalogue of that exhibition I wrote, "There is already no question that Wright is one of the greatest architects of all time." It is unnecessary to repeat that statement today. As all the reviews of the current exhibition indicate, his stature is at last widely recognized by his compatriots. But it is only fair to admit, before speaking further of the present show, that Wright's work was not very adequately shown in that first exhibition.

The year 1932 was a difficult one in which to show sympathetically the work of Wright. Although Bruce Bliven Jr.'s statement in the *New Republic*¹ that Wright did not build a "sizable structure" in the United States between 1914 and 1937 is incorrect, it is at worst only an exaggeration. After the completion of the Californian group of cement-block houses in 1922 and until the Lloyd Jones house in Tulsa was built in 1931 Wright had executed practically nothing.² These years included, paradoxically enough, the most active building boom this country has ever had. Of course there were many large projects prepared by Wright in these years, in some of which appeared the seeds of later achievements: in 1929, that for St. Mark's Tower in New York, from which a large hotel in Washington may now be growing; in 1930, that for the Capitol Journal Building in Salem, Oregon, from which in 1937-38 grew the Johnson Building in Racine, Wisconsin.

It was easy at that time to see Wright chiefly as an old master, his life's work done, filling out his years by lecturing and writing his reminiscences;³ inveigh-

ing at the audacities of the young and bemusing himself and the world with occasional projects of an apparently quite fantastic character. Then it was all but literally true, as it is very far from being now, that there were no buildings of his further east than Buffalo;⁴ and eastern critics had some reason for confessing, as they have none today, that they had never seen an actual building by Wright. In such an atmosphere, and with the awkward relationship between the work of Wright and the younger Europeans in the show, justice was hardly done to a great American.⁵

The size of the present show⁶ is worthy of Wright's importance. But its intelligibility is inadequate. The chief critical problem the show raises is: Why does the work of Wright remain so hard for most people to understand; and how might it be made, if the phrase will be pardoned, as well known as it is famous? If there is confusion in the present exhibition—and it is found there not alone by critics and the general public, but by Mr. Wright and the organizers of the exhibition as well—that confusion is not wholly a matter of installation and presentation. To our apprehension today the finest architecture of Wright offers itself in two more or less separate ways. On the one hand the early work, prior to 1910 (Fig. 1), has joined the corpus of historic monuments about which every one knows something, even if no one knows enough.⁷ On the other hand the work of the revival of Wright's activity (Figs. 2-4), largely produced since 1932, is with very few exceptions the most exciting and perhaps the finest contemporary building that has been done in an architectural world stricken with depression and sliding downhill toward war. Only in England or in Finland was any work of comparable interest and scale produced in the mid and late 'thirties. It is very difficult to fuse the historic and the actual into a single homogeneous exhibition.

Between these two major groupings of Wright's work, which impinge upon most people's minds with almost the difference of a generation, lie the very decorative work of the Midway Gardens before the war, the Imperial Hotel built in the war years in Tokio, and the series of Californian houses of the early 'twenties, almost all of which work has been

1. Vol. 103, no. 24, Dec. 9, 1940, p. 791.

2. Within this period fall only the rebuilding of the Nathan J. Moore house in Oak Park (1923-24); the D. D. Martin house, at Wanakah, N. Y., on Lake Erie (1924), unsupervised and more or less disowned by Wright himself as an inferior work; the beginning of the rebuilding of Taliesin, his own house, in 1924, one of his finest things; the now destroyed Ocatilla Desert Camp, at Chandler, Arizona, 1927 (these last two are both exceptional, as work done by an architect for himself must always be); and the gallery added from Wright's design in 1930 to the Millard house in Pasadena (executed by his son Lloyd Wright).

Although they never came to execution, the skyscraper project for the National Life Insurance Company, on which work continued into 1924, and the resort project for Alexander Chandler (San Marcos in the Desert, 1927-28) were serious large scale commissions of great importance.

It is not irrelevant to point out that the most difficult period of Wright's private life fell in the mid-'twenties and for several years made architectural work all but impossible.

3. *Two Lectures on Architecture*, Chicago, Art Institute, 1931.—*Modern Architecture, being the Kahn Lectures for 1930*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1931.—*An Autobiography*, London,

New York, Toronto, Longmans, Green and Co., 1932.—*The Disappearing City*, New York, William Farquhar Payson [c1932].

4. To refer to another inaccuracy in the review cited in note 1. This review, like most which have appeared of the exhibition, is neither unintelligent nor unappreciative, but its inaccuracies indicate the inordinate difficulty of getting the facts about Wright straight, and the extent to which even the highly educated are affected by Wright's personality, which attracts extravagant publicity as a lightning-rod attracts atmospheric electricity.

5. For some discussion of Wright's relation to the "international style" see my article, "Frank Lloyd Wright's Influence Abroad," *Parnassus*, xii, December 1940, 11-15.

6. The exhibition was planned and the installation supervised by Mr. Wright himself. *Ed.*

7. Open planning, horizontality, grouped windows, etc., all important elements of the early work but nowhere near the whole story, as the more professional reviewers such as Talbot Hamlin in the *Nation*, vol. 151, Nov. 30, 1940, pp. 541-42, recognize.

disowned rather too hastily by critics of the 'twenties and 'thirties as unworthy of the earlier Wright. There come also the projects of the late 'twenties, which still seem excessively fantastic, except where they have come to fruition in somewhat altered form in later years. Mr. Wright's tentative organization of his work, "In the nature of materials," is not in this exhibition carried far enough to weld all these things together. I do not say that a classification of that order could not do so; but it would have to be subtly combined with some more or less chronological sequence.

A very great part of the difficulty of comprehending Wright's work as a whole lies in its vast extent both chronologically and geographically. There are major individual virtues to be appreciated in all his work from the first houses of the early 'nineties, executed while he was still in Sullivan's office, down through five decades to the present. And for all Mr. Wright's own ability, on a theoretical or even a metaphysical plane, to see a half century of activity as essentially a unity, the mind of the public, and *a fortiori* of the historical critic, craves some visual thread of continuous development, some breakdown into periods, which might help us, section by section, to grasp an integrated whole and not merely to be amazed at the almost infinite variety of the total *œuvre*. Moreover, while architecture which belongs in familiar categories can be studied effectively in photographs and diagrams, an architecture like that of Wright, so consistently original, and as different from its general American surroundings in the 'nineties as in the present decade, needs to be seen in actuality, at least in a few examples, before diagrams or even photographs and models are really intelligible at all.

It is difficult or impossible to see all of Wright's work, since one of his major monuments is in Japan, and since examples today exist all the way from Amherst, Massachusetts, in the Northeast to Florida in the South and California in the West. Wright's total production, including buildings completed within the year 1940, but not those still in construction, amounts to about 180 executed commissions. Between fifteen and twenty buildings are under way at the present time. Buildings by Wright exist today in Japan and Canada and in the following states: Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, New York, Kentucky, Kansas, Nebraska, California, Arizona, Oklahoma, Florida, Alabama, and Pennsylvania. Others are now nearing completion in Missouri, South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and Massachusetts.⁸ Once the major part of his production lay within a hundred miles of Chicago, but that has hardly been true for twenty-five years. In those days it was not so hard to grasp at first hand the full range of his talent, when the range in time and space was so much smaller. Of the 110 commissions, more or less, which Wright executed before 1910, some sixty-five were

in the near vicinity of Chicago and nearly ninety in the three states of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana; indeed, counting those in Minnesota, Michigan, Iowa, and Ohio, almost a hundred were in the Middle West within the Chicago region. These, with the four important buildings in Buffalo, obviously represent the bulk of the early work. This geographical distribution remains more or less constant through 1915; of the thirty or more executed commissions completed in the years 1910-15, all but seven are in the Chicago region. But after this none was built there for twenty years. This fact is generally, but perhaps exaggeratedly, attributed to the tragedy of 1914 at Taliesin and the outrageous repercussions of proto-tabloid publicity.⁹ The total production of the years 1916-22, chiefly in Japan and California, was for whatever reasons very low, some ten buildings; but of course this total includes the Imperial Hotel in Tokio, Wright's largest work, on which he was engaged from 1916 through 1919. These are all to the eastern critic very far away.

Today several new Wright buildings exist within range of New York, but as they have been in existence only for a year or two, or are actually still in construction, few even among those particularly interested have yet seen them all. None perhaps has had the opportunity to become fully familiar with them; at least not in the way of those who over the years have sought out the early work in the Middle West and really grasped the significance of Wright's first period of maturity. It is for this reason, as for many others, a great pity that the plan of building a real house at full scale in the garden of the Museum of Modern Art could not be carried out.

A further major difficulty exists in comprehending Wright's work. In this exhibition and in most books by or about Wright published in this country a great part of the work is shown in perspective sketches, semi-working drawings and such, rather than in photographs and plans especially prepared for reproduction or museum display. These original drawings which are usually published and shown in exhibitions have a great appeal to the connoisseur of Wright's personal graphic technique; but they are, though often charming, largely unintelligible not only to the general public but to many serious students. The models in the show are delightful; and for the simpler types of edifice, particularly when also illustrated by good photographs, comparatively easy to read (Fig. 2). But some of those which are intrinsically the finest have all the subtle complexity of abstract sculpture and are equally impenetrable to many willing minds (Fig. 4).

As to the early work, which was so well covered in foreign publications and which had so marked an influence abroad between 1910 and the mid-'twenties,¹⁰ the books in which it appeared are now very difficult to obtain. They are also most carelessly put together, particularly as regards chronological se-

8. These data and the rest of the statistical material in the following paragraph are derived from my own current list of Wright's work, based on that prepared by Miss Henrietta Calloway of the Museum of Modern Art for the catalogue of the exhibition which was not issued. I have made many emendations myself, and others I owe to Mr. Grant Manson.

9. Of this, of course, there was a later and even more severe outbreak in 1925-26. The rebuilding of the Nathan J. Moore house in Oak Park in 1923-24 after a fire is hardly a real exception to the preceding sentence in the text.

10. See my article in *Parnassus* cited in note 5.

quence; and, worst of all, they are full of curious inaccuracies. Plans are wrongly labeled and shown with the wrong views. And there are minor puzzles as well. How many American students must have wondered how you get into the Frank Thomas house of 1901,¹¹ or whether the kitchen in the Isabel Roberts house of 1909 is really all one gigantic *Heizkörper*!¹²

For the new work of the last few years, the special Frank Lloyd Wright number of the *Architectural Forum*¹³ offers some assistance; but here also there is much to confuse even the most enthusiastic and intelligent student.

At the request of Mr. Wright I am attempting to produce a book, announced for publication in the fall, largely of photographs and simple redrawn plans with brief explanatory captions, which will serve to cover in a selective way the whole of his fifty years of architectural production. But such a work, necessarily summary, is only one of the historical and critical studies which are badly needed. Fortunately Grant Manson has already completed, as a doctoral dissertation at Harvard, a more detailed historical study of the work of Wright before 1910. This, it may be hoped, will also soon be published. Furthermore, a new edition of Wright's *Autobiography* is announced for the late summer which will include his own account of the last ten years.

This brings up the question of Wright's own books and their usefulness to students. From the days of his early articles in the *Architectural Record*,¹⁴ through the pieces he supplied for the foreign publications of his works, down to the *Autobiography*, the books of published lectures, the pamphlets and whole magazines of the last ten years, Wright has been amazingly articulate.¹⁵ As is often the case with visual artists who are also adept at writing, much of his writing must be read purely for its own sake. It tells us a great deal about Wright as a man, it suggests a great deal about Wright as an architect, but it is far from answering all our questions. Partly this is because much of his "writing" was actually spoken in lectures, and is full of the rhetoric of the spoken word. Partly it is because Wright is too broad a thinker to stick close to the story of his executed work. That seems to most of us a great enough story, but Wright as a prophet aims at more utopian goals. Very probably the anthology of Wright's most important written statements which F. A. Gutheim will publish shortly will be of the greatest value in this connection. The reader of the *Autobiography* loses his way in a fascinating personal history, the audience at a Wright lecture is warmed or frozen by an unusually

powerful personality. If we are properly to understand and not merely to be swayed toward or away from Wright's written message, it is most desirable that it should be somewhat pruned or codified as Mr. Gutheim will doubtless do.

These three new books which I have mentioned by no means exhaust all the kinds of study which may profitably be focused upon Wright's work. Within the field of Mr. Manson's general historical study of the early work there are many topics which he will hardly be able to exhaust. I shall suggest here only four: 1) The relation to Wright of other innovators of the period between the death of Richardson and the war, notably the Chicago School and men on the West Coast such as Maibek, Gill, and Greene and Greene.—2) Wright as an abstract artist, the parallel development of abstract ornament in his work and in Europe before 1914.—3) The relation (which has undoubtedly been crudely exaggerated) of Wright to non-European art, particularly Japanese prints¹⁶ and the early architecture of the Americas.—4) The complex reasons for the unacceptability of Wright's work in the East in the early twentieth century, despite its presentation in the *Boston Architectural Review*, the *Ladies Home Journal*, the *Architectural Record* and other eastern magazines.

These four are but a few of the topics related to the early period which deserve exploration. They would all, moreover, have their counterparts in the later periods. I have summarized elsewhere¹⁷ the story of the influence of Wright abroad between 1910 and 1925. But it is a matter which ought to be pursued much further. Of even greater importance today is the question of the extent to which, at long last, Wright has now come to have a general influence in his own country. It would also be of real value to examine and consider the relative merit of the followers who through the decades have left Taliesin to practice on their own, usually after a few years never to be heard of again. How effective in actual results is the training the master has given his disciples? Why have they, at least up to now, usually failed in the end, while he enjoys renewed success?¹⁸ Such problems are already partly historical; and for our judgment on the critical issues involved in the present and for the future we need now to have the historical evidence gathered and evaluated.

This brings us to the final question in regard to the architecture of Wright, a question raised both by the present exhibition and as yet unanswered by all the current study of his work: what is the relation of the *œuvre* of Wright to the whole of American architecture? Is his architecture, whose relative power and distinction few would wholly deny, the necessary capstone of our architectural past and the probable guiding thread of our architectural future? Does this architecture, which apparently breaks with that of

11. See plan in the present writer's *Frank Lloyd Wright*, Paris, Cahiers d'Art [1928]. This plan, of course, originally appeared in the first German monograph, *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe*, Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth A. G., 1910, pl. xviii.

12. See plan in [C. R. Ashbee] *Frank Lloyd Wright Ausgeführte Bauten*, Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth A. G., 1911, p. 68.

13. Vol. LXVIII, January 1938.

14. "In the Cause of Architecture," *Architectural Record*, vol. XXIII, 1908, 155-221; Vol. XXXV, 1914, 405-413, continued in the 'twenties.

15. A full bibliography of Wright's writings will appear in Frederick A. Gutheim's *Frank Lloyd Wright on Architecture*, announced for publication this spring. The chief bulk of his existing writing in book form is covered in note 3, above, with the exception of the London lectures, *An Organic Architecture*, London, Lund Humphries and Co., Ltd., 1939.

16. It is not as widely known as it should be, considering the frequency with which he has been accused of copying Japanese architecture, that Wright is a collector and student of Japanese prints of the first rank. See his book, *Japanese Prints, an Interpretation*, Chicago, The Ralph Fletcher Seymour Co., 1912.

17. See my *Parnassus* article cited above, note 5.

18. Alden B. Dow, of Midland, Michigan, who was never as a matter of fact very long at Taliesin, is something of an exception. John Lautner, one of the latest to "graduate" from Taliesin, has shown very considerable talent in his first independent work.

the national past quite as sharply as did that of Inigo Jones in seventeenth-century England, open the road as in that case to a national architecture destined to grow richly and naturally for many generations? Or is the work of Wright, like that of Michelangelo, a superb sport of genius, full of an inspiration which is dynamite to lesser men and only generally useful when blended with more humdrum ideas? No historical studies will provide a complete answer to such a question. But if we could see Wright's work decade by decade over half a century (which is difficult enough), clearly set forth against the background of American architecture and world architecture for the same half century, perhaps then we should come to have more complete assurance as to its permanent value. The material in this New York show cries out against almost all the architecture of New York of the last generation and a half to which it runs parallel. Does it really indicate the broad road to which in one way or another all our architecture has long but imperceptibly been tending and into which it will all eventually flow? Or is it rather a cul-de-sac leading through dazzling scenery of prairie and wood and desert to end upon a mountain top, where only Wright and his Maker may stand, with all the rest of the workaday world left far below, lost to dreams perhaps, but headed forward in a realm of greater reality?

The illustrations which accompany this review present some items which suggest these two possibilities. The *Ladies Home Journal* house, published in 1901, seems to us today a perfectly acceptable model from which a universal American domestic architecture might have been developed (Fig. 1).¹⁹ It marked a step of crucial importance in Wright's development and was the basis of his most successful and prolific domestic production in the following decade; why did it not represent any step at all in the general development of the American house in the early twentieth century? In our own day Wright is beginning to have almost as much success again with a type of construction and plan which appears first, I believe, in the model made in 1932 (?) for the Willey house in Minneapolis (Fig. 2).²⁰ But are others than he going to build like this? Are the structure and the plan concept going to be nationally influential, as the *Ladies Home Journal* house was certainly not? It seems at last possible.

On the other hand the Rose Pauson house in the grounds of the Arizona-Biltmore Hotel outside Phoenix, just now completed but not yet photographed (Fig. 3), is obviously a unique work of genius adapted to the environment of a winter resort in the desert and nearly as detached from the everyday reality of

most parts of the country and most ways of contemporary life as Wright's own superb camp in the desert nearby. Such a work by its intrinsic perfection can serve as a profound inspiration, but it can hardly provide the mold for a general architectural way of life. The same is true of the model of the Ralph Jester house project of 1938 (Fig. 4). With several other projects of the last three years, none yet executed, it suggests an architecture unlike any in the civilized world, based like certain primitive types of building entirely on the circle. For all its breathtaking beauty as a model, it is as fantastic to assume the potential normality of such a project, as to assume that some one of the non-Euclidian geometries should entirely take the place of that of Euclid in the elementary schools.

Wright, however, is never wholly fantastic. These projects are related to ways of construction eminently practical for the locations and to the general circumstances of particular clients. On the other hand, the most minimal of his executed works among the smaller "Usonian"²¹ houses or the clustered "Suntop" houses in Ardmore, Pennsylvania, have also their share of breathtakingly fantastic elements. And thus far in America the intensity of these elements, perhaps their very quality of timeless genius, seems to have inhibited any wide acceptance of Wright's influence, despite the relatively wide American response to comparable elements in the work of modern European architects.

But to face intelligently these critical questions of the present and future influence of Wright we still need to know more about his past work and its relations to his American cultural surroundings. Near though all this is to us, there are perhaps no problems of American art history which are at once so difficult and so deserving of examination. May we hope that the very weaknesses of the present Wright exhibition, by calling our attention to all the labor of presentation and explanation and appreciation which has yet to be done, will serve the ultimate purpose of Wright and of the Museum of Modern Art in offering the show.

For all Wright's fame, we are still to a large extent entertaining an angel unaware. Even if in the end this architecture or at least some parts of it may prove to be too angelic for our everyday uses, the least we can do is to try to understand it. And to understand this architecture, as to understand any other aspect of the world of art, we must study it for its own sake, relate it to its background, and finally come to know the direction in which it leads. The œuvre of Wright bulks too large in the total artistic treasure of America to be merely taken for granted. Either finally to accept it wholly; or, if necessary and partially, to reject it, we must learn in the fullest historical and critical way what it is. For that this exhibition offers an important beginning.²²

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21. A word Wright likes to use instead of American and which he applies more specifically to his later houses which approach a standard type.

22. The photographs here reproduced as Figs. 2, 3, and 4 were taken by Mr. Harvey A. Weber, Hollis, New York; I am indebted to him and to the Museum of Modern Art for permission to use them here.

19. Vol. xviii, February 1901, p. 17; reproduced here by courtesy of the *Ladies Home Journal*. This project also appears in *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe*, Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth A. G., 1910, pl. xiii, xliii. It is labeled with characteristic confusion *Prairie-haus für die Prairie-Gemeinschaft*, with no reference to the *Ladies Home Journal* or the date and tiny plans which do not appear to correspond. In the list of plates the title however is again something else: *Typisches Haus, das Modell des Quadruple Block Plan!*

20. This house was not executed until 1934 and then in a form distinctly different from the model. But the model rather than the executed house opened the new series of house designs of the 'thirties.

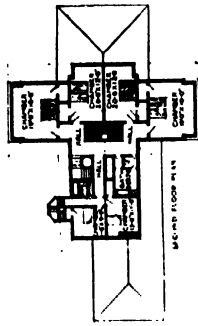
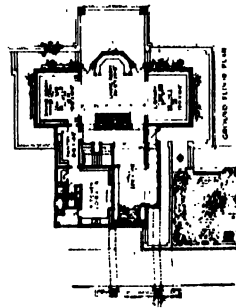


Fig. 1—"A Home in a Prairie Town," Perspective and Plans.
Project for \$7,000 House by Frank Lloyd Wright, 1901



Fig. 3—Phoenix, Arizona: Rose Pauson House by Frank Lloyd Wright,
1940. Perspective Rendering in Colored Crayon

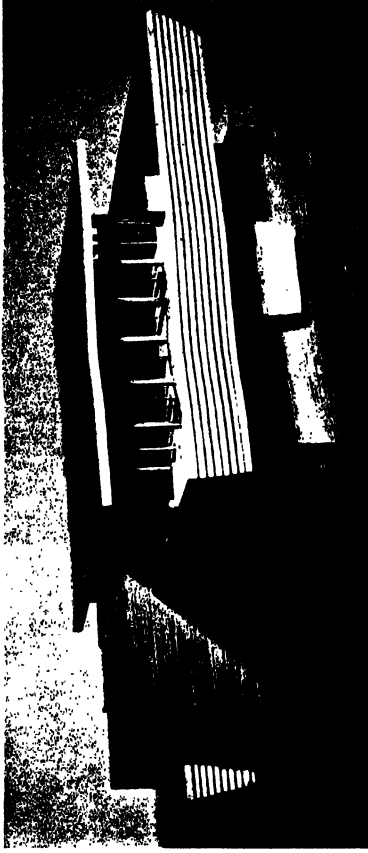


Fig. 2—Minneapolis, Malcolm Willey House by Frank Lloyd Wright:
Model of First Project, 1932 (?)



Fig. 4—Project for Ralph Jester House by Frank Lloyd Wright, 1938.
Model Prepared for Exhibition, 1940



Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Madonna between Two Saints.
Byzantine Ivory, *ca.* 1000

THE DUMBARTON OAKS COLLECTION

By HANNS SWARZENSKI

The Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Washington, D. C., which Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss have recently conveyed to Harvard University, is a princely gift which includes the residence of Dumbarton Oaks with its gardens, and the recently completed additions to the house containing the research library and collection—a collection which both in content and in underlying conception is unique not only in the United States but also in Europe. For, with the single exception of the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, this is the first museum in the history of collecting to emphasize in its presentation the purely artistic importance of material which the old historical museums arranged so unattractively in dusty, overcrowded cases that it would tend to frighten and bore any visitor except the scientific specialist. And it is material which our modern art museums—in the choice of their acquisitions necessarily, but unfortunately, disciplined by many not purely artistic responsibilities and considerations—generally do not collect.

It would be a difficult task to comment adequately in such a short note as this on the cultural significance and the potentialities of Dumbarton Oaks or on the objects in the collection. Perhaps its characteristic and controlling interest may be expressed in a general phrase: the spiritual and artistic continuity of Mediterranean culture. On a wall which the visitor must pass, has been painted a map more illuminating in its graphic presentation than many words, or than discussions which at the present moment of our knowledge can concern only the expert and specialist. This impressive map shows not only the extent of the Byzantine Empire at the time of Justinian, but the vast territory extending from Spain to Persia, from North Africa and Arabia to the Danube Valley and the Black Sea. It thus stands as a symbol of the whole range of interest of Dumbarton Oaks, as well as of the special emphasis which it gives to the Byzantine and medieval periods.

It has been the desire of Mr. and Mrs. Bliss to make Dumbarton Oaks a center for humanistic studies. A specialized research library has already been assembled and has become an indispensable part of the foundation. Among the resources of the library are a copy of the Princeton Index of Christian Art, and the Dumbarton Oaks Census of Early Christian and Byzantine Objects in American Collections. Moreover, either in the house itself or in smaller houses on the estate, living accommodations for resident scholars will be provided. In the gift to Harvard University have been included pictures, sculptures, and objets d'art of other periods than the Byzantine, for example French, Flemish, and German tapestries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a Madonna by Riemenschneider, Italian, Flemish, and German primitives, and paintings by El Greco, Carel Fabritius, Hubert Robert, Daumier, and Degas. These works of art which adorned the home of Mr. and Mrs. Bliss will not go to the Fogg

Museum of Harvard but are to remain in Dumbarton Oaks. In these dignified and stimulating surroundings, detached from the curriculum of university life, students may discuss their problems and ideas in an atmosphere where they will be less likely to lose sight of the vision of the *Universitas* and *Humanitas* of our humanistic profession, so frequently endangered by the specialization and mechanized perfection which is so inevitably imposed by modern scientific apparatus. Such a background will perhaps appear to some people to be too romantic for a modern scientific institute, or even a little dangerous for the student. But it should be clear that for the really devoted art student, contact with originals will always be the first and last source of inspiration. After all, it did not do the Florentine youths any harm to have the privilege of working and walking in Lorenzo de' Medici's Accademia!

The Dumbarton Oaks Collection, as such, is comparatively little known, although students as well as amateurs have always been welcomed in the most liberal and hospitable way. But the attentive visitor at the more important art exhibitions of the last fifteen years has always been attracted by the unusual objects loaned by Mr. and Mrs. Bliss—objects which evidenced a peculiar personal certitude of artistic taste and judgment. Among these may be cited the famous turquoise-colored bronze wine-vessel in the form of an owl (Ch'ou Dynasty, 1122?–722 B.C.), which was exhibited with other important loans from the Bliss collection in 1929 at the great international exhibition of Chinese Art in Berlin;¹ or the English embroidery of the early fourteenth century, exhibited in 1930 at the important exhibition of English Mediaeval Art in the Victoria and Albert Museum;² or, again, the golden jewels and jadeite masks and figures in the exhibition of Pre-Columbian Art, held early in 1940 at the Fogg Museum.³

But it was largely through the exhibitions of Byzantine Art in Paris in 1931, and of the Art of the Dark Ages in Worcester in 1937, that a greater public first became aware of the importance and scope of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. In each of these unforgettable exhibitions the Collection was represented with about a dozen fascinating and unique items, some of which may even be counted as indispensable links in the chain of our present knowledge of these periods. Such are, for instance, the two great Egyptian wool tapestries of the late fifth and sixth centuries from Akhmin, the earlier one representing Europa and the Bull and a Nereid, the other the "much-blessed Hestia," personification of the home; the famous paten from Riha, near Antioch, in black nielloed silver with a gilded representation of the Communion of the Apostles in repoussé; the ivory pyxis of Moggio, near Udine, with subjects from the Old Testament (very likely Egyptian sixth century); the Visigothic fibulae in the shape of an

1. Reproduced in *Ausstellung chinesischer Kunst*, Berlin, 1929 nos. 6, 29, 48, 127, 460.

2. Reproduced in *Arts of the Middle Ages*, Boston, 1940, Pl. L.

3. Reproduced in the catalogue of the *Exhibition of Pre-Columbian Art*, Cambridge, 1940, nos. 43, 48, 123, 136, 154, 155, 158, 169, 178–80, 268.

eagle;⁴ or the gilded and nielloed Merovingian "chalice of Grimfredus," found at St. Martin des Champs.⁵

Thanks to the excellent and intelligent installation, one is able today to grasp the whole artistic impact of the Collection, whose stimulating and bewildering variety will repeatedly amaze the visitor. Fortunately, and advantageously for its future development, the Collection does not claim to give an exhaustive survey of the "Dark Ages" or of Byzantine art; although it includes some outstanding specimens of the recently excavated mosaics from Antioch of the third to sixth century, as well as Coptic and Byzantine stone sculptures from the sixth to the twelfth century; East Christian, Langobardian, and Migration jewelry (finds from Italy, Egypt, Syria, South Russia, Prussia, and Spain);⁶ Byzantine gold coins, and even some of the finest Byzantine ivories (see Figure), cloisonné enamels, and gem carvings of the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁷

On the contrary, the very importance and the personal character of the Collection lies rather in the variety of its material, which always threatens to break the narrow boundaries of our professional interests. And thanks to this catholicity, the Collection includes also extremely fine and rare specimens of old-Egyptian and Greek archaic statuettes (e.g., the Epimetheus of the Warren Collection),⁸ the portable altar of the monastery of Melk of the eleventh century with ivory carvings and copper champlevé enamels,⁹ and even a great art-historical surprise: a male figure in pure gold of a hitherto unknown atelier, probably Merovingian, and excavated near Le Mans,¹⁰ which in its fascinating archaic monumentality may give us a faint idea of the possible sub-Latin and sub-Byzantine elements contributing to the creation of Romanesque sculpture in France. One may merely state that the principle behind the choice of objects is based upon an interest in monuments which contribute to our knowledge of the formation and the development of Christian art. In this respect, the entrance room to the Collection appears to be quite symbolic. It is built around a splendid and delicate mosaic pavement of the fifth century from Antioch, representing, in the center of a purely geometric rhythmical pattern, a female bust. This figure is labelled "Apolausis" (Enjoyment), but it foreshadows in the spiritual expression of the face the image of a Christian saint.

There are other monuments which also show either in artistic attitude or in iconography the curious and fascinating ambiguity so characteristic of the shift from antique to medieval art: the fourth-century Roman Barberini Sarcophagus with representations of the four seasons and with the unfinished portrait busts of the deceased couple surrounded by a circle of zodiacal signs; or a bronze ewer of Pompeian style,

probably from Egypt (Alexandria?). The meaning of the decoration of this vessel in nielloed silver, representing a nimbed nude youth between winged, nimbed sphinxes, together with waterbirds, is still unexplained and seems to be highly important for the historian of the syncretistic religions and transcendental mystery-cults of late antiquity.

Documents of the remarkable continuation of pagan motives and pagan feeling in Egypt in the later Christian centuries are the Coptic tapestries already mentioned, and the delicate and refined sixth-century necklace of gold and lapis lazuli which was admired at the Byzantine Exhibition in Paris.¹¹ The pendant of this necklace bears a representation of the Aphrodite Anadyomene on the shell, which occurs as a *Leitmotiv* again and again in Coptic art, and can also be seen on one of the stone carvings in the Collection. But in the peculiar sensuality of the interpretation one may even feel a certain relation with Indian art. A glazed mug (probably of the fifth century) with a Dionysian procession in relief is an unexpected surprise, equally important for the formation of Coptic style and the history of Coptic pottery. A specially symptomatic document of this ambiguous character of the first Christian centuries is a magnificent gold belt, found in Syria, of medallions with bronze figure representations. Two of these medallions represent Christ standing between a married couple, though the others are decorated with busts of pagan deities. The colossal statue of Barletta of the fourth century may best illustrate the way such belts were worn. The drapery style of the Christian medallions with the narrow rigid pleats still reflects the style of the fourth century. And it seems to be not entirely out of the question to consider this belt a document of Constantinopolitan style, of the period shortly before Justinian.

What this style became in the sixth and seventh centuries in Egypt is shown by a gold pectoral cross, a counterpart of which exists in the Museum of Cairo.¹² But to make clear how difficult it still is to differentiate between an Egyptian, Syrian, and often even West Roman style in these periods, we need only mention a few more examples from the Collection: a magnificent bronze horse from Yemen, a worthy descendant of the horses of San Marco in Venice (first century? labeled without sufficient reason as Parthian in the Persian Exhibition at New York last year); a noble bronze statuette probably representing the Good Shepherd (fourth to fifth century); a bronze patera of the fifth to seventh century, said to be from Asia Minor, with engraved sprinting tigers, stylistically related to objects found in Hungary, South Russia, and Germany;¹³ and a crystal cup of the sixth century with engravings of angels and apostles.

Although every object in the Collection reveals the closest and most serious contact with contemporary scholarly interests, the Collection as a whole has the charm of an obvious personal passion and devotion. A marked preference and interest seems to prevail

4. Reproduced in the catalogue of *The Dark Ages*, Worcester, 1937, nos. 57, 58, 86, 115, 138.

5. Reproduced in *Pantheon*, xv, 1935, 138.

6. Some are reproduced in *Ipek*, xii, 1938, 178, Pls. 60, 61; *The Art Quarterly*, iii, 1940, 222.

7. Duthuit-Volbach, *L'art byzantin*, Paris, 1930, Pl. 55c; *Arts of the Middle Ages*, Boston, 1940, Pls. 1, iv, v.

8. Reproduced in *Die Antike*, 1930, Pl. 1-iv.

9. *Arts of the Middle Ages*, Pl. xiv.

10. *Ipek*, xii, 1938, Pl. 58.

11. Duthuit-Volbach, *op. cit.*, Pl. 49.

12. Reproduced by Werner in *Semin. Kondakow*, viii, 1936, 183.

13. Cf. *Germania*, xvii, 1933, 37.

for goldsmiths' work, textiles, and animal representation. The collection of textiles and jewelry is in its way outstanding. One need only refer to such things as the two gold finger rings (seventh century) inscribed with the names of the Lombard Queen Gundoberga (from Avenay, near Reims) and of Abbo (manager of the workshops of Limoges); two wheel-shaped jewels from the find of the Piazza della Consolazione in Rome, which already foreshadow the eleventh-century brooches from Thornbridge and Mainz (the so-called jewels of the Empress Gisella); a great and unique Coptic wool tapestry of the sixth century in dark green, blue, and red, decorated with stripes of horses, birds, and lions, and with horsemen and lions with flaming manes in medallions in the border, which certainly will become a great stimulus for future research. In the choice of such objects one may recognize the personal taste of the donors. But on the other hand, metalwork and textiles reflect more clearly than any other medium the various complicated but permanent entanglements and cross-connections between East and West from the earliest high cultures down to the Middle Ages. The chronological range appears to be here even more bewildering than the geographical. *Cum grano salis* one may even speak of an Animal-Migration! The predominant importance of animal representation, from early oriental bronzes through the buckles and fibulae of the Migration periods to its final function as the most expressive and essential part of medieval ornament, can be demonstrated by a long sequence of objects in the Collection: the partly unique "Scythian" and Arabian bronzes of stags and deer from the sixth to the second century B.C.;¹⁴ a silver spoon and fork from Niniveh with heads of deer at the top of the handle, whose shape is the same as those of the Christian eucharistic spoons from Syria in the Collection; a bone-carving of a tigress, probably Mesopotamian and connected with the earliest monuments of Olympia; gold earrings with heads of horned lions (late fourth century B.C., from the Antioch excavations);

two Roman bronze pantheresses with Bacchic vine-leaves around their necks (one of the first century, the other¹⁵ in its strange stylization seeming to be of a rather later period, perhaps fifth century); a golden bracelet in the form of two panthers (Egypt, sixth century); the lions and boars in an Antiochene hunting mosaic and on silk textiles from the fifth to the sixth century; the eagles among the Sasanian, Byzantine, and Spanish textiles and among the fibulae with garnet inlay (*verroterie cloisonné*) from South Russia, Prussia, and Spain, in the style of the treasure of Childeric (d. 480); finally, exhibited in a special room, the early Romanesque Italian marble reliefs with winged horses, sea-monsters, ducks, and eagles from the ateliers of Aquileia and Campania, in which the ancient oriental and Mediterranean formulations of animal representation found a new and ultimate solution and application.

It will be one of the tasks of Dumbarton Oaks to enlarge our knowledge of these periods through a careful study of the newly presented material with which the Collection abounds. It is to be hoped that such studies may find a permanent record in publications.

The importance and the far-reaching possibilities of Dumbarton Oaks as a great cultural institution will be broadened by its being in Washington, which is rapidly becoming one of the great art centers of this country. Owing to the close proximity of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, the Baltimore Museum, the National Gallery, and the Freer Collection of Near and Far Eastern art in Washington itself, as well as the unique Textile Museum of the District of Columbia, and the Phillips Memorial Gallery, Dumbarton Oaks will have every chance of developing into an outstanding center for scholarship, thanks to the broad vision and cultural responsibility of its donors.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY,
PRINCETON, N. J.

14. Reproduced in *Ausstellung chinesischer Kunst*, Berlin, 1929, no. 127 and in *Guide to the Exhibition of Persian Art*, New York, 1940, p. 317.

15. Reproduced by L. Curtius as first century in *Pantheon*, xxi, 1938, 147.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir:

In his most generous and understanding review of my book *The Arts and the Art of Criticism* (ART BULLETIN, XXII, 1940, 274 ff.), Professor Edman questions my formulation and defense of the critical category of artistic truth. This is not the place for us to enter into a technical philosophical discussion of this problem. We both believe, however, that the question at issue is of vital importance for art criticism. It is a question, furthermore, which we philosophers would very much like to see discussed by art critics. I am venturing to challenge the validity of Professor Edman's position in the hope, which I know Professor Edman shares, that a restatement of our disagreement may impel some of your readers to discuss this problem as critics and interpreters of the fine arts. For lack of space I shall have to state my case very bluntly and schematically.

1. Professor Edman and I agree in rejecting the purely formalistic interpretation of art. A work of art is not *merely* a pleasing "aesthetic surface." In Professor Edman's own terms, it "says something"; it has "the character of insight"; it is "true to our experience," "poetically true"; it is an "embodiment of revelation." What is said, i.e., these insights and revelations which are poetically true to our experience are, of course, expressed in the language of art, that is, via artistic form; the "aesthetic surface" of the work of art is of the utmost importance both as a source of intrinsic delight and as a vehicle of artistic communication. But the point to notice is that Professor Edman and I both believe that this surface *is*, in all expressive art, really communicatory of revealing insights. This conviction of ours is certainly in accord with the main critical tradition. Do contemporary art critics and historians agree with this basic conception of art?

2. Having freely admitted what I am most concerned to urge, Professor Edman now proceeds, rather surprisingly, to question my use of the term "artistic truth." (Incidentally, he usually capitalizes "truth" in his review, thus suggesting that I wish to defend the absoluteness of artistic truth. I do *not* believe that artistic insights are any more absolute or final than are insights in any other universe of discourse. Here, as elsewhere, Absolute Truth is merely a point of reference, an ideal which finite mortals seek to approximate but never reach. The artistic truths with which the artist, critic, and philosopher are concerned are finite, not absolute.) He notes my reiterated insistence that artistic truth is not identical with the truth of metaphysics, or the truth stated in logical terms. But he feels that my use of the term "truth" is "somewhat unfortunate"; it is not "very helpful"; "it might be better all around for critics and for philosophers if the term truth were not used too omnivorously."

In answer, I should like to ask Professor Edman, and any of your readers who are disposed to agree with him, these questions: (a) Why capitulate to

the modern rationalistic tendency to make philosophers and scientists the only custodians of truth? Granted this tendency, is it philosophically or historically justifiable? What a priori or practical reason is there for denying that a work of art may, in its own way, express as true insights and revelations as a scientific or a philosophical theory? (b) How can Professor Edman, in the light of his own admission that art can "say something," "express insights," and have "the character of revelation," deny that what is said is more or less true or false, that the artist's insights are or are not true insights, his revelations genuine (i.e., true) or spurious (i.e., false)? What term would Professor Edman substitute for the term "truth"? And would not any alternative term be merely a substitute, a synonym, for "truth"? If so, why the objection to the term which, he admits, is sanctioned by common usage? ("A work of art is, as we say, 'true to our experience,' or, like certain myths and metaphors, 'poetically true'.") Why is he so determined to repudiate this term and to deny the inescapable implications of his own assertions concerning artistic insight and revelation?

3. Finally, Professor Edman objects to my account of the nature and criteria of artistic truth, first, because it is not the only possible account (Professor Edman prefers the pragmatic), and, second, because I do not use the terms "consistency" and "correspondence" as logicians use these terms. In answer to the first criticism, I welcome the suggestion that the nature and criteria of artistic truth might be restated in pragmatic terms, i.e., in terms of "working hypotheses" and "empirical verifiability," and I very much hope that Professor Edman will attempt such a restatement. If pragmatism can offer an adequate and coherent account of truth, a pragmatic account of artistic truth should be possible. Meanwhile, I freely admit, indeed insist, that artistic (i.e., stylistic) "consistency" and artistic "correspondence" cannot be wholly identified with purely logical, i.e., abstract and conceptual, consistency and correspondence. But I would also insist that both terms are relevant to art and that their meaning, in art criticism, is a specification of their generic meaning. Once again, why are the logicians alone entitled to use these terms, and why must their quite legitimate though restricted definitions be the *only* acceptable ones? I cannot here attempt to defend or elaborate my own use of artistic consistency and correspondence; I can merely say that I would cordially welcome a discussion of this problem by art critics and art historians.

Whatever your readers may think of this friendly argument between Professor Edman and myself, they will, we both sincerely hope, agree that the issue is a vital one. Is art, as some would claim, merely a pleasing pattern? Or can an artist achieve and express genuine insights—insights which complement the insights of the scientist and the philosopher? If so, what are the nature and criteria of

these insights? In an age as scientifically minded as ours and as disillusioned concerning man's ability to apprehend and communicate those values which alone can give meaning and direction to human life, the essential nature and function of art must certainly concern us deeply. We philosophers are doing what we can to clarify this problem, but we need the assistance of art critics and art historians. Will not some of your readers give us the benefit of their experience and wisdom?

Respectfully yours,
THEODORE M. GREENE
Princeton University

[After having read the above letter, Professor Edman wrote the following rejoinder.]

Sir:

As my review indicated—and, I gather, to Professor Greene among others—I am in complete sympathy with the general empirical intention of his analysis. Professor Greene keeps his eye on “the work of art,” and has perfectly direct and illuminating points to make, points which operate as instruments to sharpen and clarify appreciation.

In one sense, with respect to ‘truth’ (in obeisance to Professor Greene I now spell it with a small letter) our differences are verbal, but they are only partly verbal. For though Professor Greene spells “truth” with a small *t*, I cannot help getting the impression that he thinks of it with a large *T*, and that to him the Truth which art reveals is one aspect of an Absolute spelled with a capital *A*, and a Reality spelled with a capital *R*.

I shall try to answer Professor Greene's specific questions, addressed to me and to other readers of the *ART BULLETIN*.

a) It is not I, I think, but Professor Greene who is capitulating to a modern rationalistic tendency. For truth seems to me clearly in the realm of concepts, and though Professor Greene likes to describe a work of art as a non-conceptual proposition, I confess that when he uses such a term he seems to me to be moving in the realm of square circles and triangular ellipses.

b) I recognize Professor Greene's telling point against me: that I myself admit that works of art

“say something,” “express insights,” and have “the character of revelation.” I am in complete agreement with him that a work of art cannot be exhaustively defined in terms of mere surface or technique. But to say something, even to say something moving, is still, to my mind, not to say something true, in the sense of either logical consistency, correspondence, or pragmatic verification. Professor Greene asks me what term I would substitute for the term “truth,” and, if I may say so, without waiting for a reply implies that any term I might think of would simply be a substitute or synonym for “truth.” I am not yet prepared to find another word, but I am certain even in advance that what I would intend by it would not be a substitute or a synonym for “truth.” Professor Greene asks in effect why it is necessary to leave the word “truth” to the logicians and scientists. My answer is that it is simply because it is perfectly clear in most logicians' and scientist's theories of truth what they mean by the term, and public norms can be established. Whatever term I should arrive at to denote what I think both Professor Greene and I find in works of art would point in the direction of vividness and persuasiveness. A work of art enchants, rather than convinces. Its technique is not induction or deduction, but seduction. Frankly, I do not think that the expressiveness of works of art is commensurable in the possibility of verification with scientific statements.

It seems quite clear to me that the issue upon which Professor Greene and I differ indicates a difference in ultimate philosophy. Art, science, and practice are for Professor Greene three different perspectives upon the same reality. Perhaps this difference between us cannot be settled without our stating our ultimate metaphysics, and obviously the *ART BULLETIN* is no place to do that. Perhaps, also, Professor Greene's last sentences are the most crucial ones. He writes: “We need the assistance of art critics and art historians.” If we are to clarify this particular point of difference much further, the place for us to do so is in a journal of philosophy, for it is not with respect to art but with respect to metaphysics that we seem to differ.

IRWIN EDMAN
Columbia University

BOOK REVIEWS

A Survey of Persian Art. From Prehistoric Times to the Present. Arthur Upham Pope, Editor; Phyllis Ackerman, Assistant Editor, New York, Oxford University Press, 1938. 6 volumes (3 volumes of plates). \$210.

The *Survey of Persian Art* is one of the few modern attempts to organize the knowledge of a large field of the history of art on an encyclopaedic scale. Books of this kind are increasingly necessary for the investigator as well as the general reader, but pose such formidable problems, economic and scientific, that they are rarely undertaken. The present *Survey*, which treats the whole of Iranian art from the prehistoric period to the last century, is the work of seventy scholars and appears under the auspices of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology. It was initiated and completed through the labors of Arthur Upham Pope and Dr. Phyllis Ackerman, who not only edited and translated articles of their collaborators, adding numerous paragraphs and notes, but contributed almost one half of the text themselves. Their task was enormous and the result is a monument to their enthusiasm and perseverance. As the product of scholars actively engaged in research, including pioneers of Iranian studies, like Sarre, Arnold, Herzfeld, and Contenau, and also talented younger men whose activity promises a rapid growth of this new field, the *Survey* reflects the intense ferment in the study of Persian art and the great advances made during the last twenty years. The many objects shown for the first time in the international exhibits of Persian art, the results of the expeditions of the American Institute and of the studies pursued at home by its staff (especially by the editors and by Mr. Schroeder, Drs. Ettinghausen and Bronstein), have been incorporated in this imposing book. Of the 2800 pages of text a considerable part consists of fresh, first-hand contributions which could be reprinted as independent monographs. The sections on architecture, for example, are more detailed than any single monographic book on the same fields, and constitute in themselves the most comprehensive and informative treatment of their subjects available today, with many drawings, photographs, and documents reproduced for the first time. The chapters on ceramics, textiles, mural painting, illumination, calligraphy, symbolism, and ornament have a corresponding novelty. The illustrations alone, which are often of superb quality, form the largest existing body of published reproductions of Iranian art and are an indispensable reference work.

The *Survey* is further distinguished by the unusual variety of the subjects treated, beyond that of any corresponding history of art. Not only the common categories of painting, sculpture, ornament, decorative arts, and architecture, and the arts of special materials, like metal, textiles, enamel, wood, stucco, but calligraphy, tents and pavilions, standards and badges, gardens, city-plans, music, and the astrolabe are treated in separate chapters. Within the larger

historical framework are articles on the functions, techniques, and materials of an art; articles on single works of art; reports on new archaeological sites; tabulations of works or dated examples; studies of a single problem or a type of object, or of the relations of two fields (religion and art, geography and art, etc.), or of iconography; a résumé of political history; articles on the "aesthetic character" of an art, as distinct from the historical account of that art; and finally, comprehensive chapters on the art of a period as a whole.

I cannot undertake to evaluate the single articles as contributions; that is a task for specialists in the various fields covered in the *Survey*. But I wish to comment on the *Survey* as a synthetic work, which presents problems that face students in all branches of the history of the arts. Errors of fact, false deductions, are inevitable in a work of this size, but they are unimportant beside the immense mass of material made available for the first time, and the advantages of so comprehensive a presentation of the field as a whole. And we may pass over also the evident defects of plan, the lack of a norm of presentation, the unsystematic, miscellaneous,¹ or superficial character of some of the chapters, the frequent repetition, the lengthy descriptions of single works when tabulations of examples and their elements would have been enough; these seem to flow from the ambition of the editors to produce an all-embracing work and to satisfy the interests of all who might be concerned with Persian art—the collector, the museum official, the traveler, the excavator, the aesthetic critic, the designer, and the historian of art, religion, and culture in general. We have to ask, however, what advances have been made not only in the organization of this knowledge but in the ideas which direct further research. And here I must say that although the *Survey* seeks to modernize the study of Persian art, the editors have not given enough thought to the larger aspects of their field and have preserved viewpoints rightly rejected by critical historians and investigators of art.

Characteristic in this respect is their attitude to aesthetic problems. The editors are much more concerned with aesthetics than most writers on Persian art and speak with emphatic conviction about the qualities of this art. Recognizing the inadequacy of the usual archaeological treatment of the same objects, they have found it necessary to include sepa-

1. It is hard to understand why a chapter of thirty pages should be devoted to the astrolabe, especially since there is included no general account of intellectual and scientific history. It is true that the oldest preserved astrolabe, a Greek invention, is a Persian work of the tenth century and the majority of surviving examples are Persian. But little is said here that bears on artistic problems, although the operation of the instrument is described in detail. Let the reader imagine a corresponding chapter on the steam engine in a *Survey of English Art* in order to grasp the arbitrariness of this choice. The two instructive essays on music, concerned very largely with reports about musicians and entertainment, have also no apparent necessity in the *Survey*. The literature of Persia might more profitably have been described for the general reader.

rate chapters on the "aesthetic character" of certain arts. The chapter on the "aesthetic character," however, is sometimes an historical article with the common descriptive approach and contains little analysis of style and expression; where it is restricted to art criticism, the result is usually an essayistic article of slight value to those who can fruitfully read the more solid sections of the *Survey*. For example, the lengthy chapter on the aesthetics of Achaemenid architecture is less penetrating than the incidental remarks on the qualities of space in the same buildings in the more descriptive archaeological chapter. Throughout the *Survey* there is a tendency to regard value-judgments of skill, naturalism, and relative adherence to rules of art as adequate interpretations of style.² The editor criticizes works as imperfect because they lack qualities of opulence and repose which he considers to be norms of Persian art (cf. pp. 2338, 2339). Nor is anything added to our understanding by the recurrent fulsome expressions of admiration, the slighting remarks about non-Iranian arts, and by the bizarre tone of passages like this: "Their airy liquid quality would seem wanting in that solidarity which is a primary requisite of architecture" (p. 1363). It is mainly in the chapters by Dr. Bronstein and, to a somewhat less extent, by Mr. Schroeder, that I find a sustained effort to apply modern concepts of style and formal analysis. But an embracing vision of Persian art as a whole in terms of stylistic development and in relation to the large outlines of Persian history one looks for in vain.

The editors have tried indeed to unify their vast material by general characterizations of a Persian spirit. But these characterizations are often merely rhetorical. For Professor Pope, the Persians are the Greeks of Asia; he cannot find enough adjectives to describe the logic, the rationality and naturalism of this favored people. When he asserts (p. 107) that "Persian art throughout its whole history has been distinguished by clarity and exactness," it is not evident what his standard of clarity and exactness is, in what sense the ornament he admires for its intricacy (he speaks elsewhere, p. 1096, of its "unfathomable complexity") is more clear or more "exact" than the Romanesque ornament which he condemns as confused, and finally, whether in singling out these virtues of Persian art he is describing qualities he anticipates in all great art, or qualities peculiar to the best Persian work of all periods. In any case, these terms are not made explicit in analyses and comparisons of concrete works.

Such broad characterizations of an art may be useful, if they consistently translate and summarize more detailed descriptions and comparisons of forms and if their application to specific, well-delimited groups of works has been brought into harmony with the use of these terms elsewhere in the same field. In the *Survey*, as in so much of modern literature on art, these conditions are not satisfied or even present

to the thought of the writers (with few exceptions). The broad terms, by which they hope to embrace a long history and many styles, are banal; they have already been applied to classic and medieval art and have therefore lost their power of distinguishing one art from another; they have been fatally tied, moreover, to ideas of the psychological constancy of racial and national groups and to the concept of a group personality as a fixed, inherited mode of response, which few if any modern psychologists will take seriously. Several of the writers speak as if the qualities of styles were permanent biological products of a Persian species of man.³

How far the *Survey* is from a unified conception of Persian art is apparent from the discrepant characterizations made by scholars who otherwise agree on so many matters that have required refined methods of research. His conviction about the distinctively "logical" nature of Persian art does not keep Professor Pope from finding basic affinities of Persian and Gothic architecture (even in the verticality of the latter), or Dr. Ackerman from writing of Persian music as communicating "the heart-beats of God" to the "Persian who is likewise a mystic, as so many of the cultivated have been" (p. 2816). Mr. Schroeder discovers an expression of "infinity" and a "forest-space" in contiguous domical vaults (p. 994), and observes elsewhere, in disregard of Professor Pope's confidence in the incomparable logic of Persian art, that "a sense of unity is perhaps not in most periods a conspicuous merit of the Persian architect" (p. 937). In this judgment he is supported by Dr. Reuther (p. 517) who designates the façade of Taq-i-Kisra (which he dates, incidentally, in the sixth century) as baroque in its "complete disregard of the principles of balanced proportion and vertical coincidence." Professor Pope himself asserts that the Sasanian stuccoes of Kish have no "really organic union" with the architecture as in Romanesque and Gothic; his specialist on Sasanian stucco ornament observes, on the contrary, that this ornament expresses, accentuates, and reinforces the architectural structure and in these respects anticipates Romanesque architectural ornament, which ultimately radiates from the Sasanian (pp. 627 ff.). Thus some of the writers emphasize the inherent rationality of Persian art, others the irrationality, some the persistent naturalism, others the abstractness and geometrical spirit, usually without disengaging the historical contexts in which the forms designated by these terms emerge. Sarre, for example, distinguishes Persian from classic and Western art by its emphasis on magic rather than reason or nature (p. 596), and says of the Sasanian reliefs at Taq-i-Bustan that they were "official monuments intended to extol the monarchy, but unlike the Parthian monuments, they expressed also in a large degree the mentality of the people, the psychological character they still exhibit, even now" (p. 600). Another writer, the late Professor Orbeli, speaking of Sasanian metalwork, indicates that the "characteristic features of the style are

2. I will cite two examples. On p. 2678 the editors tell us that "a totem pole rarely attains aesthetic significance" because beauty requires "adjustment to the visual and intellectual norm"; and on p. 640, Professor Pope says of a work: "Here is life and energy, but combined with a certain universality and monumentality which are the appropriate aims of sculpture."

3. The opposite view is stated in the *Survey* by Dr. Bronstein: "Naturally there is no question here of making a definite distinction between an Eastern and a Western mentality, an historical prejudice or superstition of which modern critical science would be well rid as promptly as possible" (p. 2586).

found in objects produced beyond the boundaries of the empire" and that these objects were made chiefly for the aristocracy and not the whole people. The classical scholar, Casson, who is convinced of the irrationality of Persian Achaemenid architecture, in which immense pillars support wooden roofs ("a group of palaces on which the eye and not the mind should feast"), nevertheless can speak of the "absolute clarity" of this architecture (p. 335), thereby sundering Professor Pope's inseparable twins of logic and clarity.

The facility of confusion latent in this language of art criticism appears in the fact that one author can speak of the "geometric mind of Asia" in contrast to Greek naturalism, whereas another can argue for the classical, intellectual spirit of Persian art by pointing to its geometrical and logical forms. The distinction is blurred between the various senses of "geometrical" as designating (1) a class of shapes, like triangles, circles, squares; (2) certain relationships of points, lines, and areas studied by geometers; and (3) a mode of demonstration or reasoning from axioms. In their efforts to establish the intellectual worth of Persian art and to "classicize" it for European taste, the editors have played loosely with the terms of logic and mathematics. In treating Persian ornament they have not been satisfied to identify motives, to classify and to trace the types of combination, and to seek out the possible meanings that the ornament once possessed; they wish to assure us also of the profoundly philosophical nature of this ornament and the mathematical knowledge of the artists. Dr. Ackerman (who capitalizes Ultimate and Reality as proper nouns) tells us in a mysterious note on early Iranian symbolism that "space is thought of as one-dimensional like time, in the sense that two objects cannot be in one space simultaneously" (p. 837, n. 2). Iran is not only the cradle of man, the home of agriculture and metallurgy, but the early Iranian designs, which she interprets as moon symbols, are "the first step in logic and science and at the same time the adumbration of poetry." "The geometric ornament of Iran," says Professor Pope, "is not the product of mere craftsmen, but, in the finer examples, is evidently the direct issue of mathematical discipline. . . . This origin gives to the Iranian inventions greater variety and strength" (p. 2744).

Are we to suppose that Persian artisans, unlike those of other countries, were trained in the methods of mathematical proof? But the editors do not distinguish Persian ornament in principle from Western Islamic or European ornament, nor do they offer the slightest evidence of a special origin in mathematical science. It would indeed be interesting to know how much mathematical knowledge was used in laying out the patterns or in deriving new ones and to what extent the devices of layout required more than the ruler and compass constructions of modern ornamental designers and craftsmen. The editors of the *Survey* seem to confuse the empirical, handicraft determination of shapes and groupings, and the intuitive grasp of connections and formal possibilities, with the theoretical propositions and demonstrations about such forms; as if a seamstress with her fine stitching and a sailor with his cunning in loops and

knots were masters of topology. Professor Pope would have us believe that this ornament goes even "deeper" than mathematics. "Since each of these designs," he writes, "is a network of cogent relations derived from predetermined concepts and categories, 'logic made visible,' their comprehension necessitates an awareness of that logic" (p. 2745). The term "logic" here seems to be more than a metaphor of artistic consistency, for "these patterns are the objective and visual records of laws embedded in the mind itself, logic expressed in linear relations" (p. 2753). Since the Persian artisans comprehended their own designs, which they derived from "predetermined concepts and categories," we must also suppose that they were trained logicians. But if these designs are "records of laws embedded in the mind itself," then they are not uniquely Persian (unless we assume that the logical principles and the rules of inference of the Persians are contrary to our own—in which case we could hardly be certain that Persian ornament is "logical" and mathematically disciplined), and the author is merely telling us that ornament has a formal pattern and that patterns are invented by the mind rather than copied from external nature. If they are indeed special discoveries of the Persians, what a windfall for modern philosophers, logicians, and psychologists! How deeply indebted we would all be to the editors of the *Survey* for even a schematic statement of the "cogent relations," the "predetermined concepts and categories," and the logical "laws embedded in the mind itself" that they have found in their study of Persian ornament. But all this solemn talk about logic, mathematics, Reality and the Ultimate is only a rhetorical expression of their enthusiasm for Persian ornament, which they have reproduced so beautifully in their illustrations. It is a poor substitute, however, for the analysis of a great rug, which Professor Pope regrets he cannot give us for lack of space.

I do not believe that these defects of the *Survey* are due simply to the undeveloped character of the studies in this field or are intrinsic in the elusive, variable qualities of the objects themselves. For behind these weaknesses we see also assumptions about history and art and uncritical, analogical methods of thinking, which a careful reader could correct on the basis of the abundant facts presented in the *Survey* and a comparative knowledge of the arts of other regions. The concept of the Iranian or Persian, for example, has two senses in the writings of the editors (and several of their associates), neither of which is brought into harmony with the data of the *Survey*. The Iranian, on the one hand, is a linguistic and geographical-political term, relating to the present region of the political entity, Iran, and its language; it designates whatever is produced distinctively on this land or by its people. On the other hand, the Iranian is an art "homogeneous through common qualities." The fact is, however, that these supposed qualities are attributed also to objects outside the geographical-linguistic region of Iran, and that within the latter appear opposed qualities, not only at different periods, but in the same historical moment. Professor Pope himself distinguishes two poles in Iranian "animal style": naturalism, which he explains by a recurrent "influence from the Northwest, the Persian

mountains and adjacent ranges," and abstraction, which is indigenous to the central plateau. If we localize the objects reproduced in the *Survey* as examples of Persian art, we see that they include (1) works found on the modern Iranian plateau; (2) works found in bordering or even fairly remote countries, resembling objects of the first class, or associated with Iranian names; (3) objects of varying style from foreign regions controlled by Iranian rulers; and (4) objects in styles historically connected with those of the first three groups. The importance of the regions of Van and East Anatolia, of non-Persian sites like Susa, Elam, and Anau in the earliest periods, the concept of a Caspian and later of a Parthian culture, the wider Islamic contexts of medieval Persian art, the inclusion of an Outer Iran, extending from the Black Sea to Mongolia, in the history of Persian art of the Parthian and Sasanian periods (cf. pp. 684 ff.), the admissions of various writers that arts cited as distinctly expressive of a Persian spirit are foreign importations (the art of Susa, Elam, and Luristan being Mesopotamian; of the Achaemenid period—East Anatolian; of the Parthian—Hellenistic and Bactrian; of the Sasanian—Hellenistic and Mesopotamian)—all this indicates how unsubstantial must be the assumptions of a constant Persian quality rooted in the so-called psychology of the people. Although Dr. Ackerman tries to characterize and to distinguish Sasanian textiles by the psychology of the Iranian spirit, she has to admit the Syrian origin of the art, the activity of Antiochene weavers in Persia, the very similar productions in Central Asia, and the difficulties in isolating Sasanian silks from Syrian and East Mediterranean work (p. 710). And as Orbeli says, the term "Sasanian cannot properly be restricted to those works actually made within the Sasanian empire, for characteristic features of the style are found in objects produced either beyond the boundaries of the empire or after it had ceased to exist as a political entity" (pp. 716 ff.).

The concept of the Iranian does not define a fixed qualitative entity, but refers to a continuous historical process with changing boundaries and relationships to neighboring cultures. The judgment that a given work is relevant to the *Survey of Persian Art* is not deduced from assumptions about a constant Persian quality of style or a uniform Persian racial mentality. It is rather in terms of problems that arise in the study of the historical, stylistic, and cultural continuity of the arts practiced in the region now called Iran that the arts of other regions become part of the history of Persian art and the concept of the Persian or Iranian is expanded, narrowed, or modified. The distinction between the Iranian and the non-Iranian is to that extent conventional and depends on the tasks of defining and explaining certain continuities and connections, which are themselves isolated according to our ideas about art and history, and are everywhere affected by classifications of objects belonging to the histories of adjacent cultures. In one period, Persian art is found almost everywhere but in Persia; in another period, what is found in Persia is typically foreign or diverse. As the late Laure Morgenstern, one of the most talented writers in the *Survey*, summarizes her chapter on

mural art: "Irano-Occidental in the Sasanian period, Irano-Chinese in the Timurid period, and Irano-European in the Safavid period, Persian mural art was at all times highly decorative" (p. 1390). If there is indeed a heritage common to all Persian art, it has to be ascertained by the same methods by which the common character of a more restricted group is defined, and it has to be specified in such a way that we can identify it unequivocally and distinguish it from other arts. And what is constant may also be unimportant or unoriginal, may be typical of all Western Asia, or of a level of culture shared by other peoples.

What an interesting chapter the editors would have contributed if they had added to their familiar eulogistic characterizations of the Persian spirit a study of the recurrent features of Persian art. They might have asked themselves, on the basis of the data in the *Survey*, not only what materials and techniques, but what forms of space, what proportions, what colors and schemes of coloring, what motives of ornament and types of pattern-structure, what peculiarities of representation and expression, have persisted throughout Persian art. And they might have tried to account for these constants by peculiarities of the history, society, and environment of Persia, and controlled the explanation by comparisons with other cultures and their arts, as well as with the more variable conditions of Persian art. There is an example of such an empirical approach in an incidental remark of Professor Pope's (it is a footnote added to an article by Orbeli, p. 723, n. 2), but, lacking just this comparison with a larger field, it ends in a doubtful conclusion. He asserts that the facial impassivity of the kings in Sasanian art is "characteristic of all the historical periods of Persian art, reflecting the national ideal of decorum in behavior and restraint in artistic expression," and cites the relief of Persepolis in which the king shows no emotion in fighting with a "terrifying monster." This is a familiar misunderstanding of the principles of archaic (so-called "conceptual") representation, in which the more clearly defined, substantial, durable aspects of objects predominate over the psychological signs and changing aspects; it is well-known to us in the most diverse cultures and in home-made paintings at the present day. The rendering of terror and rage on the human face would be as unlikely here as the rendering of highlights and cast shadows in primitive painting. It was already recognized in late antiquity that the rigid hands of archaic statues were not representations of psychological states, but characteristics of a style, of a way of rendering the body. When the thaumaturge, Apollonius of Tyana, was told by the good people of Olympia that the rigid pose of an old statue represented moral firmness, he replied that this was simply the style of the ancients (Philostratus *Vita Apoll.* iv. 28). The error of the citizens of Olympia still haunts the *Survey of Persian Art*, although it has been corrected by the observations of historians, ethnologists, and psychologists for the past fifty years.

The criticism of the general ideas of the editor has taken up perhaps too great a part of this review. He has himself for years rightly called attention to the need of a more critical examination of concepts and

procedure in the history of art. I hope the reader will not regard these pages as a judgment of the content of the whole *Survey*, which I could hardly summarize or evaluate, and which includes articles written from different viewpoints. Its importance as a work on Persian art is guaranteed by the distinction of so many of the contributors, by its very scope and material, and by the new facilities for study it offers to students of the ancient and medieval art of the Near and Middle East.

MEYER SCHAPIRO
Columbia University

Note: The June issue of *Ars Islamica* (VIII, 1), we are informed, will be given over almost wholly to reviews of various phases of the *Survey of Persian Art*. Ed.

TALBOT HAMLIN, *Architecture Through the Ages*, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940. Pp. 680; 91 plates+117 figs. \$6.00.

Anyone who has gone over even part of the material covered by Mr. Talbot Hamlin's book will know that *Architecture Through the Ages* is a superb job. For he has not merely handled in one volume a theme of the broadest scope, which would ordinarily take two or three volumes; but he has done this with a sureness of touch, with a wealth of detail, that makes this one-volume work the most adequate summary of architectural history with which I am acquainted.

This story begins with primitive architecture, and it ends with those new primitives of the Machine Age who have started modern architecture off once more on a fresh career. Though the emphasis of the book is on Western Europe, the architecture of Islam and China is not forgotten. I hesitate to dissect a book that is so thoroughly unified by the spirit of its author. For this is no specialized study that never trespasses beyond the sticks and stones that are used in buildings: the very value of this treatise is that Mr. Hamlin glides, with assurance and discretion, from facts of construction to insights into the society that produced the constructors. He juxtaposes plan against photograph; and he throws the building as a whole back against its economic and its social background. This is history that is criticism; and criticism that is a rational reflection upon history. A book like this is an ideal meeting place for an architect and his contemporaries.

The latest man in a field like this has a far harder job than earlier scholars, like Fergusson. For one thing, our standards of historic appreciation and insight have gone so far in the way of historical sympathy, that it is impossible for a self-respecting writer to skip over a whole period, or to blacken its character, without convicting himself of barbarism. But even more difficult, for one who would tell a pithy and coherent story, is the superabundance of data that now exists in many departments. Year by year our knowledge of the existing monuments increases; archaeology, travel, photography have given the historian more material than, as a rule, he knows what to do with; and since generalization rests on the ability to forget, the very wealth of souvenirs has often kept the historian from giving it any sort of rational form. Our best histories have been special

studies of a period, a style, a city, or a country: that holds true for Ruskin to Kingsley Porter or Dehio.

Mr. Talbot Hamlin has overcome these handicaps as only one to the man born would be able to do. To achieve this even competence and this unwavering assurance one must be born within the province one treats; one must be baptized, so to say, at the architectural font, one must have studied architecture for the purpose of practicing it, and one must have practiced architecture for the sake of studying it further. This, indeed, if I may intrude an item of biography, has been Mr. Hamlin's good fortune; and it accounts for his success. His father was a Professor of Architecture, whose two-volume work on ornament was a genuine contribution to that field; and when Mr. Hamlin speaks of a building, he speaks of something he himself has touched, labored over, lived with, and followed through from the first opening of the earth to the last polish of the woodwork. Those who lack that experience, no matter how rich or wide their historic scholarship, cannot presume to rival one who has it, provided the practitioner is equally the scholar.

Apart from the breadth of reference in this history, Mr. Hamlin's great contribution is his persistent sense of the social setting—not merely the economic conditions but the spiritual and intellectual activities that characterized the architects and the communities with which he deals. He has gone so far in this direction that I could wish he had carried his insight even one step further: this perhaps is the only general criticism I should wish to make of his work. Architecture primarily concerns buildings; and therefore a history like this may properly leave out, or include only by allusion, a great store of material that comes within the province of the economic or the cultural historian. But for the most part, in the illustrations even more than in the text, Mr. Hamlin confines himself to isolated buildings; and he makes no special effort to present the structure itself against the natural landscape or the city with which it formed a partnership. The building is present: present as a structure, as a feat of technics, as a work of the imagination; but the landscape, the park, the other buildings, the roads and the streets, in short, all the surrounding structures that modified it aesthetically no less than socially are absent. I do not suggest that the emphasis need be equal: it remains for the historian of cities to redress the balance. But I do suggest that in very explicit terms the urban and natural environment should be present.

The matter is important because every one—and our architectural schools are not the least sinners—continues to think of buildings as sovereign and independent structures: done on a particular lot, for a particular client; and except perhaps in the case of country houses, the surroundings are usually more or less treated as a vacuum. The result is disjointed buildings and inadequate designs: designs that lack urbanity or harmony; and even when the architect has a broader opportunity to design setting and structures together, he often muffs it because his whole training, in both appreciation and design, has been centered on the individual building: he does not see his building against a street or a skyline, in a park or as a part of a field, a hill, or a garden; and as

a result, he has no sense of collective responsibility and makes no effort to invoke a collective discipline for himself and his colleagues who will build in the same neighborhood. Various attempts to achieve harmony by zoning laws are confessions of the imaginative weakness and social irresponsibility of the architectural profession itself. Mr. Hamlin's book is by nature so organic in conception, so sympathetic to the point of view I have set forth here, that I regret that the illustrations did not make this point of view more explicit.

But if this is a fault of omission, it is more than compensated for by all the positive virtues the author has brought to this book: social sympathy and aesthetic understanding, technical perceptiveness and above all that quick pleasure in beautiful form which, on almost every page, he communicates to his reader. I would emphasize, at this cruel moment in the world's history, when the self-styled beast of prey, beloved of Spengler and Hitler, is at work spreading destruction and terror, that it is in the presence of beauty, as in the presence of love, that men of all characters and minds recognize what it is to be human. In this fine study of architecture Mr. Hamlin never lets his reader forget that fact.

LEWIS MUMFORD

CHARLES SEYMOUR, JR., *Notre Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century. A Study in the Early Development of Gothic Architecture*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. xvii + 202; 117 illustrations, largely collotypes; fold-out plan. \$7.00.

This, the first number of a series of Yale publications on the History of Art under the direction of the Department of History for the Graduate School and the School of the Fine Arts, marks an auspicious beginning. The editors have chosen an excellent format, a good paper, a readable type, and an attractive, as well as economical and practical scheme of illustration. Neither the academic organisms concerned nor the august parents of the author (the President of Yale University and his wife, to whom the book is dedicated) need feel concern for the reception which will be accorded this monograph, for Mr. Seymour is an active and able investigator whose abilities have been developed by excellent academic discipline and by conscientious field work.

The book is loaded with facts and has its tissue of arguments, its panoply of footnotes, and its bibliographical notices, as all monographs must have, but it is very cleverly arranged for two planes of reader interest. This is true of both text and illustrations (general and detail photographs, geometrical elevations, analytical plans, and details). The technical and general reader will both enjoy the Introduction, which is developed as a history of the social ambient of the Cathedral, giving a lively account of the surging political, ecclesiastical, and commercial situation during the period when the church edifice came into being. Political orientation to the south, towards the Île de France, explains the architectural orientation towards St. Denis rather than Tournai, though the Cathedral there has similarities to the one at Noyon. In the ecclesiastical world a royally-connected and ambitious prelate (count-bishop with extended tem-

poral power, worldly enough to be singled out personally for reproof by St. Bernard); a town of five thousand souls, flourishing through commercial contacts along the Flemish trade route, and by communal action; considerable tax resources and famous relics (of St. Eloi) to stir popular devotion, form the background of the new Cathedral. In the descriptive chapters following the Introduction, the general reader will find apt summaries which will save him many grey hairs, while the archaeologist who uses the book as source material will find them helpful as an extended index. The chronology of the church is established as follows, in six divisions, "moments," or phases: (1) ca. 1145-50 to 1155-60, general plan, construction of outer parts of the sanctuary; (2) ca. 1155-60 to ca. 1170, bay and towers east of the transept, also inner parts of the sanctuary; (3) ca. 1170-85, transept and easternmost bay of the nave; (4) 1185-ca. 1190, adjoining nave bay; (5) ca. 1190-1205, remainder of nave; (6) ca. 1205-35, western transept and porch. There were changes and additions of importance in every succeeding century—the most important being consequent on a fire of 1293 which entailed works of repair for forty years and more. The old high vault (supposedly sexpartite) was replaced by quadripartite vaults in pairs over the original alternating system of the nave in this period. The original vaults performed their function well: they served as a protecting platform on which the old roof burned away, so that the architecture of the interior of the church was preserved, and in the fire of 1918 the newer vault served the same purpose. It was repaired in the recent restoration. One of the basic merits of Gothic architecture is that it presents the relatively cheap and easily replaceable protective vaulting shells at the point of greatest danger in the building, beneath the trussed main roof. These trusses were inefficient according to modern standards, employing huge masses of timber which became tinder-dry with the passage of time, and consequently very hazardous. They have been replaced at Chartres and Reims by modern fireproof construction—but this, of course, makes the Gothic stone vault unnecessary and thus stultifies, to some extent, the whole functional system which supports it.

Mr. Seymour gives an interesting reactionary position to the architect of the choir at Noyon. His design has "mural values" as opposed to the ethereal openness of St. Denis which, though earlier, is more Gothic in feeling. The progressive side of the architect of Noyon is shown in his Gothic four-story interior elevation, the earliest now extant. (Tournai is half-Romanesque, and St. Denis destroyed.) The light construction and the four-story elevation came together in the transept at Noyon, which is a very remarkable piece of architecture; but it must be admitted that this scheme reaches its high point in the Cathedral of Laon (begun about 1160). In passing it may be remarked that the fire of 1293 resulted ultimately in the amputation of two towers flanking the sanctuary at Noyon. These were of Rhenish inspiration, like the more elaborate tower system of Laon. Mr. Seymour in his discussion of origins calls attention also to gaps in our knowledge due to the destruction of northern centers like Têrouanne, Dommartin, and twelfth-century Amiens. Thus it

would appear that there was surely northern influence in the creation of Noyon. Perhaps the Germanic delight in stout masonry walls has something to do, directly or indirectly, with the "mural values" of Noyon.

Many readers will dislike the free use of French cognate words in the text ("vessel" for nave or aisle, "siege" for see, and so forth), but the English terminology is admittedly incomplete, and Mr. Seymour's work of exposition is notably well done.

KENNETH JOHN CONANT
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FISKE KIMBALL, *Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver, the Architect of Salem*, Portland, Maine, the Southworth-Anthoensen Press (published for the Essex Institute of Salem, Mass.), 1940. Pp. xiii+157; frontispiece+373 illustrations. \$12.00.

It is good to have at last a careful, thoroughly documented study of the architecture, the furniture, and the sculpture of Samuel McIntire, the "wood carver of Salem." McIntire is important not only because of the high quality of his own work, which goes far to make Salem the beautiful town it is, but also because he was one of that skilful group who, alike in New York, in Pennsylvania, and in New England, began the Americanization of architecture and the decorative crafts. Born in 1757, the son of a "housewright" or contracting and designing builder, Samuel McIntire's architectural education must have been completely within the tradition of the strict, rather conservative Colonial of pre-Revolutionary Salem, founded on English ways and English tastes, and known through the engravings of Swan or Langley or Ware.¹

His earliest important work as an independent designer and carver—apparently independent, though nominally as a part of a firm which included his brothers Joseph and Angier—came just as the Revolutionary War was dying away to its close, and this work is itself still largely controlled by the earlier, grave, Colonial dignity. Yet there is in it, here and there, a new and prophetic note. There is a new monumentality and correctness in the pilasters of the Jerathmeel Peirce house; and the designs for the Derby house "by the wharf," of 1780, though still English, have a new flavor, a new dignity, that seems almost a foretaste of Latrobe. Ten years later a second change has come; to the dignity and restraint of this early work have been added the delicacy of detail, the elegance, the richness which distinguished the purely American "Federal Style."

Of course the foundations of this style are still English. In it, the Adam style and the Pain books had exerted an obvious influence. Yet it is not like English Adam work, and there is a quite different feeling from that which characterizes the Pain plates. The final liberation of American architecture from the leading-strings of England was only to come a quarter century later, with the Greek Revival, but the beginning of the process is here, clear to see, in

McIntire's Nathan Read house mantels of 1793.

How conscious was this process of the Americanization of detail is an interesting question. Later, at the time of the Greek Revival, it became most vocal; architecture was to be American. Yet in its early stages it must have occurred unconsciously or, at most, because of a consciousness of the difference between English and American materials and methods of building. Asher Benjamin so speaks of it in the Preface to his second book, *The American Builder's Companion*, published in Boston in 1806; Owen Biddle uses similar words in his Preface of about the same date in Philadelphia.² And, once the break with English books had been made, emphasis on the American quality was natural. It is all part of the cultural exuberance that was so marked a factor in American life in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first three of the nineteenth. The eagles which flourished so ubiquitously on china, textiles, and in carvings were expressions of that new pride, and McIntire himself carved many eagles of a characteristic type from 1793 on. The portrait of Washington which he carved for the gate of Salem Common is evidence of this new nationalism of taste, and the popularity of such patriotic expressions is indicated by the fact that the inventory of McIntire's estate shows eight Washington medallions as part of his shop stock, and one large Washington head was advertised for sale by his widow.

The architectural books listed in the inventory are significant: a Palladio, a Ware, a Langley, a Pain, and "two volumes of French architecture." Fiske Kimball has sought, by an examination of executed work, to identify them, successfully so far as three of them are concerned. Could it be that the Palladio listed was Pain's *British Palladio*, the plates of which contain several motives similar to those used most commonly by McIntire? If not this book, it is likely to have been the Leoni translation, with Inigo Jones's notes. The Palladio, the Ware, and the Langley may well have come down to Samuel McIntire from his father; certainly the quiet conservatism of his earlier work indicates the continuity of source and tradition.

What, then, accounted for the sudden change in McIntire's approach in the 1790's? So far as planning and exterior composition are concerned, the influence of Bulfinch, as Mr. Kimball points out, is unquestionable. But with the McIntire type of

1. Especially: Abraham Swan, *British Architect, or Builder's Treasury of Staircases*, London, 1745; American edition, Philadelphia, 1775. Batty Langley, *City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs*, London, 1750. Isaac Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture*, London, 1756.

2. From the Preface to Asher Benjamin's *The American Builder's Companion*: "The style of building in this country differs very considerably from that of Great Britain, and other countries, in Europe, which is partly in consequence of the more liberal appropriations made for building in those countries, and of the difference of materials used, particularly in the external decorations. The American Mechanic is, therefore, in purchasing European publications, under the necessity of paying two thirds the value of his purchase for what is of no real use to him." And from the Preface to Biddle's *Young Carpenter's Assistant*:—"Having been for some time past in the practice of teaching the Rudiments of Architecture, I have experienced much inconvenience, for want of suitable books on the subject. All that have yet appeared, have been written by foreign authors, who have adapted their examples and observations almost entirely to the style of building in their respective countries, which in many instances differs very materially from ours. Hence the American Student of Architecture has been taxed with the purchase of books, two-thirds of the contents of which were, to him, unnecessary; when, at the same time, in a large and expensive volume of this kind, he has not always been able to find the information wanted."

lavish yet refined interior detail the problem is different, for Bulfinch's interior detail tended always toward austerity and restraint. Kimball would seem to find the answer in the Pain illustrations, and thinks also that McIntire knew and used the first two Benjamin books, the *Country Builder's Assistant* of 1796 and *The American Builder's Companion* of 1806. He reproduces here several of the Pain plates as "prototypes" of McIntire designs.

Now this is an accepted part of present-day methods of writing, and of conceiving, critical art history. Between two works of art, one earlier than the other, resemblances are found. The first is therefore the "source" of the other. Sometimes enlightening results are obtained from this analogy and "source" analysis. But the dangers in such a method are enormous; it often more beclouds the origin and nature of a work of art than clarifies it. By reducing the role of the creative artist to that of a sort of mechanical adding machine, and the art work to an arithmetical sum (Influence A + Influence B . . . and so on), this whole system of art history has gone far to produce that often complete failure to understand the artist as creator which so frequently characterizes alike the scholar, the connoisseur, and the museum curator. And, in this analysis (or lack of analysis) of McIntire's creative contribution to the American art tradition, it seems to me that Kimball's book has occasionally fallen into this common and fashionable error.

Of course no artist works in a vacuum, completely independent of predecessors and contemporaries. But, in a consideration of an artist's work, what is truly important is not its *similarity* to "sources" or prototypes, but its *difference* from them. There is another danger latent in the usual method. Certain forms and ways of designing are, as it were, current and generally accepted words in the language of art at any given time. They are known to every practitioner, and used by each as he pleases. They exist in book illustrations of the time also. Yet, because they are shown in the books, one can scarcely call the book illustrations their "sources"; it is perhaps the other way around.

Let us take some examples. Figure 49 shows the side porch of the Boardman house; Figure 50, a plate from Langley's *Treasury of Designs* that is called its "prototype." The porch is Doric, the plate Ionic. The porch pediment is much higher than that of the plate. The porch projects—this is its main break with tradition—but the plate indicates merely a flat applied motive. Almost the only resemblance between them is the fact that in both, within the pilasters and entablature, and framing the door, rustication is indicated. Rustication in wood as a decorative feature was a late Colonial commonplace; and, moreover, the pattern of rustication is entirely different in the two examples. McIntire probably had seen the plate, yes; but such a porch may well have been designed with no reference to the plate at all, and might well have existed if the plate had never been published. Surely, if he had used the plate, would he not have avoided his decorative solecism of a vertical joint in the rusticated arch?

Even where similarities are much greater, as in the case of the Pain arched Doric door (Figure 303)

and the Woodbridge house door (Figure 302), the case is far from proved. The proportions of the executed door differ markedly from those in the Pain plate. An arched opening under a pediment carried by engaged columns was surely by 1809 a motive that was common property for American carpenters and architects, found alike in Philadelphia, New York, and throughout New England.³ For me at least, the slenderizing of the orders used, the small scale of the cornice modillions, and their non-canonical placing in the short horizontal entablatures over the columns make relation between the Woodbridge house door and the plate extremely tenuous; as likely as not such a resemblance may have been pure accident.

In one example only in this study is the case for a book prototype apparently sure: the composite engaged columns wreathed with a spiral vine, shown in a plate in Pain's *British Palladio*. McIntire and his imitators liked this motive. It was used in the famous Elias Hasket Derby house, 1793, the Gardner (Pingree) house, 1804-1805, and in a more delicate version in the Marvin house in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. But what seems to me significant is that in each case the mantels are different, in moldings, proportions, amount and kind of decoration. For McIntire, like those other often nameless carvers and craftsmen who filled the eastern seaboard houses with the exquisite products of their chisels, was a creative designer, and what came from England in the books nearly always (though less in Philadelphia than elsewhere) suffered a sea change. McIntire's modeling and carving had never the rather dry and "liney" character of Pain, just as his molding groups were always, in the work after 1790, more delicate, more original, sometimes more erratic, than those of the country across the sea.

It is these variations which are important in any evaluation of McIntire's work; it is variations like them, or similar in spirit, by other men in widely separated places, that make the "Federal Style" interiors what they are. For McIntire was not an isolated genius, nor perhaps even a great innovator. He was a skilful craftsman, a designer of marked imagination and sensitive taste, working as best he could to fill the needs his clients felt, in the fashion, and with the elegance, to which they aspired. All over the young republic other men of some skill were doing likewise; and, whatever the personal or regional characteristics of this work, it was all expressive of a similar search for independence, for richness obtained by a multitude of small details and by delicacy of profile and slenderness of motives. In the early Benjamin books this spirit is supreme. It characterized the interior detail of John McComb in New York City, and also much of that lavish and characteristic decoration in New York State and New Jersey

3. For instance, a motive precisely similar is found in Asher Benjamin's *Country Builder's Assistant* (Plate 12), 1796; in Owen Biddle's *Young Carpenter's Assistant* (Plate 22 in the revised edition of 1833, carried over from the earlier editions), 1806; and (to take but one of many towns) at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in the Thomas Upham house and the house at 184 Deer Street (both illustrated in John Mead Howells, *The Architectural Heritage of the Piscataqua*, New York, 1937). The motive is also common, I believe, in Connecticut, Delaware, and the Philadelphia neighborhood.

in which the late William Hindley, who had studied, drawn, and measured it widely, saw the influence, if not the hand, of Pierre l'Enfant.⁴ The reasons for the sudden, brief flowering of this style (at its best it lasted in a single locality hardly more than twenty years), the causes of its widespread vitality and popularity, the bases for the extraordinarily high level of its craftsmanship—these are all still unanswered problems.

Of the historical and documentary analyses in this book one must speak with the highest praise. Fortunately, much material existed in the shape of drawings, bills, inventories, and so on. All of this Fiske Kimball has studied, absorbed, and expressed with the same care that makes his *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (1922) and his *Thomas Jefferson, Architect* (1916), the outstanding contributions to American architectural history they are. He has obviously mastered the voluminous corollary literature, old and new, and makes the most detailed use of all the bits and strays of relevant material in local historical works; he spices and enlivens the whole with ample quotations from the diary of William Bentley in the Essex Institute. Every reader must be grateful for these quotations, with their lights on McIntire as a musician, on what Bentley thought of McIntire's designs, on the foibles of their contemporaries. And one must be grateful to Mr. Kimball for publishing in full so many of the documents concerning McIntire and his family.

One or two slight errors may be pointed out. Thus Kimball states (page 35), "Long before 1790 an overmantel would have been an anachronism in England, and Pain showed no examples of a chimney-piece with one." But Pain, in his *Practical Builder*, does show one, as Kimball himself noted on page 252 of his *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic*. One notices an almost complete neglect of the lavish pre-Revolutionary work at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in the discussion of "Background" (especially on pages 3 and 4). And one would welcome a more thorough study of the problem of composition ornament versus carved ornament—when McIntire used the one and when the other, what their effect on each other was, and what particular character McIntire gave to each. This is a matter covered in general by the author on pages 256-58 of his *Domestic Architecture*, with some reference to McIntire. On pages 47 and 48 of the present book the subject is taken up again, but its artistic effects are left untouched. In format, one may question an arrangement which scatters a very few of the halftone illustrations through the text matter, whereas the greater number are grouped together at the end of the book, after the index. All are numbered in one consecutive series without reference to this apparently arbitrary division, and it makes quick reference from text to plate sometimes difficult.

Despite these minor criticisms, *Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver, the Architect of Salem* is an important monograph on an important early American archi-

tect. Architecture has always been the poor orphan child of art history, and American architecture the most benighted and ill-treated of all architectural periods—especially American architecture since the Revolution and during the nineteenth century. How encouraging it is to be able to add to the all too slowly growing list of authoritative works on the subject this beautifully printed and superbly illustrated volume! One wishes it might form an example to be widely followed, for the field is crying for workers and for the publication of work already done. The Essex Institute and the American Council of Learned Societies deserve to share in our grateful congratulations to the author for making possible the appearance of this book, which will at once take its place as a fountainhead to be explored whenever the name or work of McIntire comes into question.

TALBOT HAMLIN
Columbia University

ROGER FRY, *Last Lectures*, Introduction by Sir Kenneth Clark, Cambridge, The University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company, 1939. Pp. xxix + 370; 346 illustrations. \$5.00.

VIRGINIA WOOLF, *Roger Fry: A Biography*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940. Pp. 307; 18 illustrations. \$3.50.

As we read Roger Fry's *Last Lectures* we cannot help slipping back in recollection to his earlier work. And these *Last Lectures* unquestionably suffer in the comparison. In all fairness to Fry, however, we should keep in mind that none of these lectures had the benefit of the author's revision for publication except the first—"Art History as an Academic Study." The rest were still in the note stage at the time of Fry's sudden death in 1934. And this circumstance is undoubtedly at the root of many of the shortcomings we recognize in these lectures seen against the background of such earlier collections as *Vision and Design*, *Transformations*, or his *Cézanne*.

For example, one of Fry's great gifts was his ability through the use of words to make us see a picture, not by elaborate word-pictures as Ruskin or Pater attempted to do it, but through verbal analysis of the fundamental plastic or pictorial structure of the work under consideration. To give such an approach the vitality Fry gave it in the best of his work was an extremely exacting task. And he was not a man who wrote easily. Therefore, when we consider that these *Last Lectures* were reconstructed from his unrevised lecture notes, with no greater alteration than the insertion of a "minimum of main verbs and prepositions," we should not be surprised to feel in them a lack of his full, earlier powers of verbal evocation. One can readily sympathize with Sir Kenneth Clark's desire to avoid any expansion of Fry's notes which might suggest the injection of another voice, as well as with his hope that "a sense of authenticity would outweigh an occasional scrappiness." But it is also easy to see the unfairness of looking to such raw material for a stimulus similar in subtlety or intensity to that which we may have experienced in the past from pieces fashioned by a craftsman as conscientious as Fry when he was free to exert every

4. Many of Mr. Hindley's manuscript notes regarding this claim are preserved in the Avery Library, others in the Federal Hall Museum in the Sub-Treasury Building in New York.

means in his power towards shaping his materials for the sole purpose of "waking the eye."

Another apparent consequence of the unfinished condition in which Fry left these lectures is the relatively thin texture of commentary we find characterizing them in comparison with that of his earlier work. At his best he had a gift for throwing out suggestions in the process of analyzing a picture that frequently continued to turn over in our minds long after the lines of the main discussion had dimmed. However, in *Last Lectures* such suggestive asides are notably fewer; in fact the scaffolding of his argument appears at times unfamiliarly bare. And to this cause also may be attributed that hint of monotony we occasionally feel towards the end of the series from the constantly recurrent references to the qualities "sensibility" and "vitality." For Fry would certainly have been the first to recognize such a flaw had he had an opportunity to revise these lectures, and it would have been a simple technical matter for him to eliminate it.

Again, in these lectures, possibly due to the scope attempted, we have frequently a feeling of superficial consideration which Fry's earlier writings rarely give. But here, likewise, a longer period for the ripening of material and of presentation would undoubtedly have changed the story. For Fry, as he admits in his third lecture of the series, had a habit—"perhaps rather reprehensible in a Professor, of lecturing about subjects of which I know very little in the hope of gaining some clearer notions of them." This was, in fact, one of his strongest points as a lecturer. He was essentially inquisitive. He approached his subjects with a remarkably open mind. He brought with him a minimum of preconceived ideas.

The fundamental weaknesses of Fry's lectures, however, are not those we recognize through a contrast of these lectures with his earlier work. Their real faults are those which were inherent in him as a critic throughout his career. And in most cases they are natural concomitants of those characteristics which we regard as his greatest virtues. For example, we find him essentially an impressionistic critic. But the impressionistic critic, despite his enthusiastic, stimulating viewpoint, is essentially only a high development of the man in the street who says he may not know much about art, but he knows what he likes. Such a critic pays for spontaneity, flexibility, and freshness of response with a lack of logical structure in his approach. Intuition and sensation are brought into prominence and reason watched with a suspicious eye for fear it may step in and question some of the easier pleasures. Without a backbone of logical structure, such criticism lacks that consistency of judgment which would give confidence and reassurance in difficult situations where essential directions are not clearly indicated.

Fry was apparently aware, consciously or unconsciously, of this danger. His realization of it was probably at the bottom of that turn to the formal, or plastic, emphasis which in his middle period carried him to an aesthetic of pure visibility, and which in these *Last Lectures* we still find at the base of certain logical inconsistencies and certain blind spots—notably his attitude towards Expressionism.

And at the outset of this series of lectures we see Fry in a similar danger in approaching the task which he was undertaking. He was setting out to apply his theories of aesthetics to the visual art of the whole world. He had to find some means of concentrating his examination—some structural lines to keep it unified. In his introductory lecture he stressed the difficulty of making sure that those who are discussing a work are looking at the same thing. "A work of art is so complex," he says, "it appeals to so many different associations and so many vague subconscious elements of our being, that unless we adopt some special technique we can hardly hope to understand one another." And the special technique which he decided to adopt in his broad consideration of many styles was to confine his attention "to one or two qualities of a work of art at a time and to compare a number of different works to see to what extent each work possesses or lacks that quality."

The qualities, or rather "general notions," which Fry finally decided to discuss in this way he termed "sensibility" and "vitality." Neither quality comes out very clear in his definition. Although he devotes a whole chapter to the discussion of "vitality," in the end he confesses to "have arrived at no very definite ideas about the value of this specific quality . . . in artistic images." "It seems to me very mysterious and I find it very difficult to allege any explanations of why it occurs when it does, by what exact processes the artist gives the illusion; and yet further I do not know quite what value we ought to attach to the quality, or what its relations are to other aesthetic qualities." "Sensibility," in Fry's use of the term, would seem to indicate a special feature of a work of art as an expression of the organic life of the artist, somewhat related to "vitality" but considerably more restricted. In the examples Fry provides it appears to be that direct manual expression of the nervous organization of the artist—those peculiarities of line or texture which express the nervous structure and possibly the entire psychological individuality of a human being much as it is expressed in a gesture or in handwriting.

Of course Fry did not claim anything for his choice of these two qualities other than the opportunity they might provide for concentrating the attention during the examination of works of art from a wide field. His aim, as he stated it, was merely to provide a basis for experiment. And it is readily evident what possibilities of stimulating discussion such an approach could open up. But the dangers of such an approach on critical grounds are also clear. It offers a fertile ground for a confusion of issues. Had Fry a greater interest in logic, or in clear thinking, he would have chosen qualities more essentially disparate; or, if he retained these, he would at least have attempted an analysis of them with a view to the isolation of the common factor they evidently possess.

Nevertheless Fry's approach on this basis carries him through his wide survey without allowing our interest to lag in the slightest degree at any point. At times it is difficult to accommodate what are evidently instinctive tastes on his part to the theoretical grounds of his critical approach. For instance, it is

difficult to see Persian miniatures, which he admires, as less representationally anecdotal than Flemish painting, with which he is not so content. Nor again is it easy, at times, to follow his explicit reasoning. For example, after pointing out the way in which Negro art combines expression of life with a command of plastic form, he goes on to say that modern sculpture in spite of all its efforts to acquire a basic understanding of plastic forms fails to produce anything with the vitality that Negro art offers. He seems to feel that the blame for this should be placed on the European sculptor's Greek background of geometrical constants. In spite of Fry's own emphasis on the emotional relationship of form and expression in Negro sculpture, his desire to advance the cause of "pure form" seems to blind him to the obvious. For, given the Negro's interest in the expression of life through form, it is much more likely the modern sculptor's attempt to achieve "pure form" than his heritage from Greece that makes his work so often seem to lack vitality in comparison with that of the Negro.

On the whole, however, Fry's experimental approach is eminently successful in "waking the eye" and in giving the onlooker something to lean on - a pattern for his investigations of sensation. In the course of the survey Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Aegean, Negro, American, Chinese, Indian, and Greek art are dealt with. And one is left with a keen regret, as Sir Kenneth Clark points out in his excellent introduction, that Fry's death prevented the bridging of the gap between these lectures and the periods covered by his earlier work, which would have brought him to grips with the Gothic and German expressions and would have given us a fully rounded picture of one of the most influential tastes of our day.

For if a desire to find the reassurance afforded by an assertive pictorial structure in an age dominated by Impressionism may be said to have given the impetus to Fry's search for a critical basis, a similar need in the lay public during the first decades of the twentieth century was the key to Fry's popular appeal. Just as he felt the need, first, to lean on Italian art and later on Cézanne and the Post-Impressionists, the British public also wanted to lean on someone who could provide it with an approach that would offer a form and structure on which to build its vision with some semblance of stability in a world that appeared hopelessly chaotic and patternless. In other words, Fry was born on the edge of a period of transition. And in his life we have not only a picture of those events through which he influenced the age, but also, in his evolution, a microcosm of the evolution of the taste and interests of his day.

He was extremely fortunate in his biographer, Virginia Woolf. In her, he found a friend careful in her treatment of confidences and at the same time a brilliant novelist competent to handle her material in such a way that one is scarcely aware of her discretion. She paints a sympathetic and intelligent picture of the critic, though scarcely a colorful one. Possibly Fry, as a result of the personal tragedy of his life, and of his mild, tentative character, was not a vivid figure. On the other hand, possibly a penalty must be paid for biographical discretion even as unobtrusive as Mrs. Woolf's.

But from the point of view of the art historian it is rather in its character of a microcosmic portrait of the development of tastes and interests through a critical period in England that Mrs. Woolf's biography is most interesting. As we turn its pages we see the England of Ruskin turning to the England of Whistler; we see Conder and Sickert in the 'nineties; Augustus John swelling on the horizon and Steer settling into a timid repetition of early promising landscapes; the gradual decline of enterprise among the members of the New English Art Club; then, finally, those two crucial events in the evolution of twentieth-century English art interest, the "Manet and the Post-Impressionists" exhibition at the Grafton Galleries in November 1910, and the second Post-Impressionist exhibition at the same gallery in October two years later.

In Chapter V, entitled "Work," we are given perhaps the clearest view of all the factors which contributed to this renaissance of interest in international art in England. Here we have a picture of Fry and those with whom he came immediately in contact during that period when he was first enjoying the fruits of his wide reputation as an expert in the Old Master field and at the same time finding his way to that turning point in his life marked by his discovery of Post-Impressionist art which was eventually to lead to the Grafton Galleries exhibition.

And finally, in Chapter VIII, we have the story of the Omega Shop, which under Fry's direction represented not only one of his boldest enterprises, but constituted probably the most stimulating encouragement British decorative arts had enjoyed since the heyday of William Morris.

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F. STOHLMAN, *Gli Smalti del Museo Sacro Vaticano*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1939. Pp. 66; 37 figs. + xxv plates. Lire 200.

The present volume is the second in the series of scholarly catalogues of the contents of the Museo Sacro undertaken by the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University. Initiated some fifteen years ago by Professor Morey in coöperation with Vatican authorities, the project has continued under his direction with the collaboration of Princeton scholars. The Catalogue of the ivories by C. R. Morey appeared in 1937 and future publications will include objects of bronze and glass, terra cottas, and textiles. Students of medieval art will be especially grateful for the completeness with which the catalogues are illustrated, every object being reproduced in collotype on a scale that permits of detailed examination, while comparative material is illustrated by halftones interspersed in the text. As reference works these volumes are indispensable and no art library can well afford to be without them.

Anyone who has examined the wealth of material in the Museo Sacro realizes the extraordinary variety of the collections as well as the problems presented by objects that are in some cases unique. In his introduction, Professor Stohlmán treats certain enamels which raise problems that have not hitherto

been discussed in the literature on the subject. He first considers a group of enamels that have been variously assigned to England, Germany, and the Meuse region. The limits of these schools have never been clearly defined from the stylistic point of view. That there must have been a free interchange of ideas and forms between them is demonstrated by a series of nine plaques from an altar-frontal, four of which are in the Museo Sacro and the others scattered in other continental museums. The author does not solve the question of provenance, but advances arguments in favor of each of the three possible places of origin, concluding, however, that the Mosan region seems the most plausible in view of the skilful blending of the vivid colors.

A second problem involves the possible Italian origin of a group of *champlevé* enamels which have hitherto been regarded as of Limoges workmanship. Professor Stohlman's method of approach is by way of the fourteenth-century enamels that were unquestionably produced in Italy. These consist principally of small *champlevé* plaques applied to metal objects of different material, for the most part crosses. The metalwork is purely Italian, and it is possible to distinguish individual regions of production. It is much more difficult, as the author notes, to prove that *champlevé* enamels were made in Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, since the prevalent Byzantine style in the earlier period obscures Italian workmanship while the influence of Limoges in the thirteenth century is so strong that indigenous characteristics are reduced to a minimum. The author believes that because of the Byzantine tradition of *cloisonné*, *champlevé* enamels were not produced in any quantity during the twelfth century in Italy. According to the prevailing theory, the importations of Limoges enamels brought about the initial disappearance of the *cloisonné* method in the peninsula in the thirteenth century, with the result that *champlevé* enamels could not have been produced at that period in Italy. Professor Stohlman, however, does not accept this theory, and seeks to prove that *champlevé* enamels of Italian workmanship were produced from the twelfth through the fourteenth century. He demonstrates that technically there was a natural transition from *cloisonné* to *champlevé*, and that Byzantine craftsmen, whether in Italy or elsewhere, were not ignorant of the possibility of such a change. He cites as an example the well-known *Pantocrator* plaque in the Palazzo Venezia in which the effect is that of a combination of *champlevé* and *cloisonné*, since the principal designs are executed in *repoussé* while the spaces between are filled with *cloisons* and enamel. Although no one knows where the plaque was actually made, the author agrees with von Falke that it is probably of Italian origin.

It is but a step from apparent *champlevé* to true *champlevé* enamel, and as an example of the transition, the author cites the plaque representing St. Nicholas crowning Roger II of Sicily in the ciborium above the high altar of the Church of St. Nicholas at Bari. Here the technique is that of western *champlevé* but the style of figures and ornamental motives is eastern or Byzantine. Professor Stohlman believes that this clearly indicates that the plaque

was executed by someone who knew how to adapt the less costly technique of *champlevé* to the style prevalent in southern Italy about the middle of the twelfth century. In the absence of concrete evidence regarding the provenance of the piece, the author's conclusion seems more plausible than the arbitrary opinions of Bertaux and Toesca, both of whom assigned the plaque to Limoges.

If, as Professor Stohlman believes, *champlevé* was produced in Italy in the twelfth as well as the fourteenth century, why, he asks, was there an interruption in the thirteenth? He feels that it is because we do not know how to distinguish the Italian variations from the authentic French style of Limoges. He notes that some groups of *champlevé* enamels show certain differences from the style commonly accepted as Limoges. One of these groups comprises two crosses, one in the Museo Sacro and the other in Anagni. Several minute differences distinguish these from the Limoges style. For example, each of the crosses is of solid metal in contrast to the usual Limoges practice of applying metal upon a wooden core. Also, there is a great variety of simple designs incised in the background, consisting of *quatrefoils* and eight-lobed motives, *rosettes*, *lozenges*, etc. It should be remarked, however, that these crude designs are also to be found in a number of objects generally accepted as of Limoges workmanship. Professor Stohlman also points out certain details in the treatment of the figures of Christ that he believes to be distinctively Italian rather than French.

Another group, consisting of a pair of bookcovers in the Museo Sacro, shows less apparent differences from Limoges work. He distinguishes Italian characteristics in only two details: the head of Christ with the wig-like treatment of the hair, and the ears springing from the head in an extremely unnatural position. Both of these stylistic peculiarities may be seen in similar figures represented in North Italian ivory carvings. Another detail is the inscription of the *titulus*, with its distinctive *sigma lunato* of which the author knows only one other example in a binding of the Museo Civico at Pavia. This, moreover, recalls Byzantine influence and confirms the hypothesis that the bindings were made in Italy, preferably in the north.

The next section of the Introduction contains Professor Morey's discussion of the *staurotheca* discovered in the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran. His restoration of the inscription removes all doubt as to the date and provenance of the object, which must be assigned to a Roman atelier in the first quarter of the ninth century. The substance of this discussion appeared in the pages of the *ART BULLETIN* several years ago (xix, 1937, pp. 595-96).

In the concluding pages of the Introduction, Professor Stohlman considers two groups of painted enamels of the sixteenth century. These are of inferior quality and of no especial interest when compared with the earlier material.

The catalogue which follows comprises one hundred and forty-four objects dating from the second through the sixteenth century. Each of these is described in detail with individual bibliographies.

PERRY B. COIT
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ANNA MARIA BRIZIO, *Ottocento; Novecento (Storia Universale dell'Arte, Volume vi)*, Turin, Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1939. Pp. viii + 572; 400 illustrations. Lire 165 + 5%.

It is a curious commentary on the nineteenth century that so much of our present interest should be directed to its painting and so little to its architecture. In this, Miss Brizio is most modern: the proportion of pages allotted to painting and to architecture is roughly thirty to one for the period between 1825 and 1900. It is a curious commentary because most Europeans still live amidst buildings of that period. The painting they need not see; the architecture they cannot avoid. Moreover, we continue to accept as amongst "the most beautiful cities" Paris, Vienna, Budapest, and Munich, all intrinsically of this forgotten and despised era. And why do we shun this art of our grandfathers? Because its embellishment was borrowed? But most decoration is borrowed in one way or another; nor do we like too much originality in this respect: that is the most unpleasant feature of Sullivan's designs. Because it is too archaeological? But Miss Brizio quite rightly notes that "the styles were never adopted in pure forms, but variously contaminated." Let us admit that most of the buildings were badly designed, but so are most of our contemporary creations. The basic reason is undoubtedly a matter of taste: we—or at least the *cognoscenti* amongst us—like our architecture relatively unadorned, whereas our grandfathers, demanded rich ornamentation. *De gustibus non est disputandum*. In this connection it is worthwhile for us to remember that William Morris despised the "boxes" in which his grandfathers had lived, that is to say the restrained architecture of the eighteenth century. The works of the "precursors," Richardson and Sullivan, are by no means the only good buildings of the period. The architecture (and the minor arts as well) of the nineteenth century awaits a sympathetic and unbiased interpretation.

Nevertheless this is a very good book, with well-chosen illustrations and with apt criticism finely expressed. The scheme of organization of the various periods is as follows: first, a section on the taste and historical setting in so far as that influences the art; secondly, discussion of the temperament and general style of the artist; finally, and all too rarely, for it is well done, the analysis of individual works of art. The chapters on the neo-classic are nicely balanced and contain really good estimates of its defects and virtues. For instance, "in the first period of neo-classicism there is an overlying vein of eighteenth century elegance, a native sense of harmony, which relieves it from the mechanism of academic proportions; and later there is a will to grandeur, an ebullition of passion—in the republican and Napoleonic periods—which if it sometimes succumbs to the rigidity of neo-classic schemes, still at other times breaks their bounds and reaches a truly heroic tempo." Elsewhere Miss Brizio laments the general monotony of the productions and the stupid repetition of the same motives. To some of her pronouncements one takes exception, i.e., that neo-classic architecture was at its best in Paris, and that the Panthéon in Paris was inspired by its ancient namesake in Rome.

An especial point is made of the continuity of eighteenth-century tradition in England, while on the continent it was lost during the period of chaos which followed the French Revolution. To demonstrate its influence on the French romanticists the author includes surveys of the art of Gainsborough, Crome, Turner, Constable, and Bonington. Also as a link between the rococo and romanticism, Goya is given considerable emphasis.

There are definite contributions in the interpretation of nineteenth-century French painting, not in the presentation of new material, but rather in new evaluations and in well-expressed critical judgments. Indeed, one wishes that this section might be made available in English translation. Commendable, too, is the insistence on the interrelationship of various schools of European painting; for instance, the tracing of early Pre-Raphaelite tendencies from Flaxman, through Runge, Carstens, Overbeck and the Nazarenes, Ingres, and the school of Lyons to Puvis de Chavannes. Miss Brizio notes the great influence of Courbet on German painting (although many of his realistic tendencies had been anticipated there by such men as Blechen and Menzel), but fails to analyze the similarities of the contemporary revolts of the realist and the English Pre-Raphaelites. Nor does she remark Courbet's influence on American painting, but then the art of our nation is virtually omitted with the exception of Sullivan and Wright, for Whistler is considered English. Of course the author introduces *i macchiaioli*, an interesting group of Florentine artists, who already in the 'fifties and 'sixties were developing along lines similar to the Impressionists; indeed, in some respects it may be conceded that the Italians actually anticipated innovations and theories of their more famous contemporaries. "Just the same, it is to be noted that Impressionism, in its formation, is a phenomenon essentially French."

If Millet as a "realist" is dismissed with one paragraph and one illustration, Corot is treated royally with a chapter and seven illustrations. A separate chapter is allotted to the other Barbizon painters and the romantic landscapists of Lyons and Geneva, who are in general too little known.

Since the book is by an Italian and written primarily for the Italian public, considerable space is given to the popular artists of that nation in the late nineteenth century. Fattori rates nine illustrations, though Courbet has been allowed only six. On the whole we welcome this emphasis, and in the case of certain artists, for example, Silvestro Lega and Nino Costa, we are surprised that they are not better known outside their own country.

The treatment of Impressionism and the Impressionists is of the highest order, as it should be, for we understand that the author was a pupil of Lionello Venturi. The chief factors in the development of the movement are ably discussed and evaluated, but never does the writer forget the cardinal point that the important artists of the movement were men of great originality, whose paths in art were as divergent as their distinctive personalities. With such a broad understanding, it is possible to place Cézanne amongst the Impressionists where Miss Brizio rightly assumes he belongs.

"In truth the style of Cézanne, although so original and personal, finds its premises in Impressionist experiences. Even his vaunted plastic sense does not rest on the principles of chiaroscuro relief according to the tradition of formal drawing, but is the exclusive result of the relations of pure and intense colors, obtained through juxtaposition. With Cézanne there continues, and in extreme terms, the polemic and revolution against the classicist academy. Manet had begun to abolish chiaroscuro transitions: he placed the colors one beside the other flatly, and brightened his palette, using intense tones even in the shadows. In Manet, however, the tonal values, although reduced to a rapid and suggestive sketchiness, are much more clearly explained; the planes are boldly flattened, but the projection of the more advanced planes over the more distant planes is nevertheless very great, with an accentuated effect of detachment, of separation, of advancing and retreating. The impasto of Manet is more compact and amalgamated; more opaque in his early period, more vibrant in the delicate, atmospheric passages of his late period. Cézanne accentuates the juxtaposition of colors, diminishes the tonal differences between the near and far planes, reduces the contrasts of light and dark between planes in light and planes in shade, and laboriously attempts to construct the detachment of planes with other means" (p. 329).

For the most part the painting of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries is adequately presented. There is an abundance of material on the Italians, especially those who are not too radical. Indeed, at this point one feels that the proscriptions of the totalitarian governments are beginning to hamper the author's expression. In particular the German painters of our century suffer. Dadaism and surrealism are not mentioned as movements, although a few works of fantastic tendencies are illustrated.

The survey of nineteenth-century sculptors is altogether too sketchy, with the exception of the sections on Rude and Rodin and the Italian sculptors of that era. Twentieth-century sculpture is more fully discussed; nevertheless, the reviewer is disappointed to find that Metzner, Barlach, Meštrovič, Milles, and Joseph Bernard have been completely omitted.

The chapters on architecture are superficial and offer nothing new. Here the author has followed the attitude of the functionalists and treats the nineteenth century simply as a rather unfortunate prelude to the glorious success of modern architecture. There is little attempt to correlate the design of recent architecture with parallel developments in other arts.

One hardly expects such a comprehensive book to be unbiased, nor is this one. The author definitely prefers the romantic side of art, with the exception of the Teutonic variety. The art of compilation from a number of different sources has led to certain contradictory appraisals. This is most pronounced in the chapters on the neo-classic. *Campanilismo* is not a charge to be weighed against the author, for although Italian works are copiously represented, there is no doubt as to Miss Brizio's judgment of them in comparison with the French. The use of critical and technical terms is clear and precise with the notable exception of *incisione* (engraving) for prints in

general. The misspelling of English words and names is frequent but will cause the reader no difficulty except in the case of "Hugues" for Hughes and "Stevenson" for Stevens.

The book is a handsome quarto volume with good quality paper, large clear type, and excellent illustrations in rotogravure. Actually it is the concluding book (although the first to be published) of a six-volume universal history of art. If the other volumes maintain this standard, the set should prove most useful for those who can read Italian.

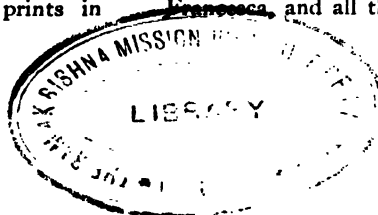
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ARNOLD VON BORSIG, *Die Toscana, Landschaft, Kunst und Leben im Bild, Einleitung und Erläuterungen von Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli*, Wien, Anton Schroll, 1939. Pp. 54; 224 plates. 18 RM.

This publication is not, strictly speaking, an art-historical book. It is, however, of considerable interest to the art historian.

We are beginning to accept the interpretation of nature through the camera as an art. And even if much pseudo-ware of doubtful value is daily presented to us in this new field, there is certainly some reason for such an appreciation of photography. Herr von Borsig's masterly pictures of Tuscany collected and excellently reproduced in this volume convey to us something which goes far beyond the ordinary picture. They are beautiful, intelligent, and expressive, and they are that without the aid of cheap tricks, without sentimentality. The purest honesty and the deepest understanding of the subject are the basis from which they originate. Remarkable are the selection and the arrangement of the pictures; they are fitted together like the stanzas of a vast descriptive poem. They convey, better than has ever been done before, a most complete and well-rounded expression of the subject, this fascinating province of Italy, which was the cradle of so many ideas fundamental to the development of the human spirit, and to which thousands in every part of the world today still feel a deep allegiance. Professor Bianchi-Bandinelli's well-informed and well-written introductions and explanations of the photographs underline and complete in a most fortunate way the intentions of Herr von Borsig's pictures.

This singularly successful undertaking opens our eyes to an important fact, that here in Tuscany nature and the race of people who have lived in these surroundings for thousands of years have collaborated to produce something which we could call a style of life in its broadest sense, a style for which we must feel the greatest admiration, whether it expresses itself in the most humble functions of daily life or in the most superb creations of great art. A flower-shop, a butcher's display, a modest farmhouse, fields with olive trees and grapevines, a fig tree, a peasant's cart rolling along a country road, seem to be entitled to the same attention as the cathedrals and palaces, the statues and frescoes of Florence, Siena, Arezzo, S. Gimignano, and Volterra. And it becomes evident that we can better appreciate the landscapes painted by Gozzoli, Piero della Francesca, and all the others, once we realize that



the scenery in this part of the world looked and still looks today exactly like them. We may reflect what that means, what the "nature" which we compare here with "art" really is. Certainly in most parts of Tuscany, as in almost any country with an age-old culture, it is anything but wild: it is formed by men; the raw material of the physical conditions is completely remodeled. This means that its character is greatly determined by the same feeling for order and measure which gave the works of art their special character. Thus "nature" here is usually not a primordial state, but halfway between such a state and "art," that is, it takes part in what we called above the "style of life," of which art is only the sublimest expression. On that basis, of course, the close contact of architecture, especially in its more elementary forms, like that of the town or village or that of the country villa or the peasant's house, with its surroundings, finds an easy explanation. S. Gimignano would not make sense somewhere in the Rocky Mountains; it would scarcely be possible for it to have grown there. And yet if we look at one of the few uncultivated corners of Tuscany and if we consider that Michelangelo was born in an Apennine valley, we may ask ourselves how many traces early impressions may have left on the mind of the artist. Such speculations present themselves in great number. Professor Bianchi-Bandinelli is very careful in his comments and avoids with tact such speculations as those presented above, leaving the reader a free field in which to let his fancy roam.

But reflections of this kind, which came into my mind while looking at these pictures, were the reason why I wanted to call attention to the book. Art and life, the artist and his surroundings, are problems which are of vital importance, however often we may forget them, engrossed as we are in the esoteric questions of history and connoisseurship. The fortunate and healthy consistency of style as manifested in all the expressions of Tuscan life of the past and of today presents this problem as neatly as possible and on an extraordinarily high level. And this book displays the pertinent material—ordinarily difficult to grasp—in a most intelligent and usable form.

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WILLIAM CHARLES WHITE, *Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China* (Museum Studies Number One, published by the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology), The University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1939. Pp. xx+69; 30 figs.+127 plates. \$3.50 (Canadian).

When the Lung-hai Railway, which runs across the province of Honan, was constructed at the beginning of this century, a number of old graves were disturbed, and the large clay tiles which formed the walls of the funerary chambers eventually came on the market. Having learned that these things fetched money, the peasants seem to have gone on digging up tombs, for about 1925 a certain type of such clay tiles began to appear in the neighborhood of Lo-yang; in 1932 hundreds of them were offered for sale; some sixty specimens came finally into the Royal Ontario Museum, and these tiles form the basis of this study.

These tiles are different in style and technique from the tiles generally supposed to date from the two Han dynasties (206 B.C.-221 A.D.); instead of appearing in low relief, the motives are incised, and the rendering of form differs considerably from that on any known monument of Han date. With the striking uniformity of style in China at a given epoch, it seemed probable that these tiles were not Han; the next question was: Are they earlier or later?

Bishop White has from the beginning advocated a date earlier than Han, i.e., the third century B.C. He repeats his arguments in this book. First among them rank the few characters written on the tiles. This script is indeed very close to the script found on bronzes datable in the "Period of the Warring States" (475-221 B.C.). It might have been appropriate to cite a few definite specimens for comparison, such as the inscription of an inlaid vase in Philadelphia which dates from before 275 B.C. (cf. J. G. Andersson, *The Goldsmith in Ancient China*, Yin and Chou Researches, Stockholm, 1935, p. 26, Fig. 4), or that of an inlaid vase in Berlin which must be earlier than 299 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 17; *Chinesische Bronzen aus der Abteilung für Ostasiatische Kunst an den Staatlichen Museen in Berlin*, Berlin, 1928, T. 23-25, inscription T. 35a).

The script is in fact the most forceful argument brought forth by White; his others are not quite conclusive: the "slanting-T meander" occurs, as he himself points out, from Shang times onward on bronzes; the scholar with a "Bamboo Book" need not necessarily imply a date before the execution of scholars in 212 B.C., as there were scholars after this time, and wooden books, too; the weapons depicted did not cease to be used after the Chin dynasty; nomads were objects of vital, though mostly sad, interest to the Chinese from Shang to modern times, and so was hunting.

Yet White is right in ascribing the tiles and their décor to pre-Han times. The proof is a pattern which is illustrated in detail on Plate 113b. Three different designs there fill the friezes of a border; the slanting T is almost timeless, as noted above; the "double knot" appears, according to White, on lacquers of the Former Han dynasty (an exact reference is not given).

It is the third pattern which matters, a design called "floral unit" (p. 63). It is an intricate combination of thin lines, with hooks, volutes, rounded and sharp angles. What look like buds are, I think, the head and tail of a bird. White is correct in saying that "this design is hitherto unknown." Its pedigree, however, can be traced easily: its antecedents are the interlacings of "dragons" present everywhere on Middle and Late Chou bronzes. The dwindling of their ribbon-like bodies to thin lines is a phenomenon which can be observed on a number of "Huai" bronzes, e.g., on the frieze of the square basin from Lo-yang, now in Toronto (cf. Andersson, *loc. cit.*, Pl. II-III). Neither Early nor Late Han knew this pattern and this style.

It seems that only one brick carries this design, but fortunately enough it also carries repeated representations of a tiger and a deer in vigorous movement. In form and style these animals are related as closely as possible to the animals on other tiles

where other figures, among them human beings and trees, are added. There is no doubt that all these bricks and their pictures are contemporaneous, though not by one hand.

In other words, we have here definite proof that painting existed in China in pre-Han times, and we know its subject matter and style. This is a discovery which will revolutionize any former ideas about the character of early Chinese art.

White, who says expressly that he does not draw any conclusions bearing on the history of Chinese art, has restricted his text to a careful description of the locality from which the tiles came, a discussion of their date (see above), and a long interpretation of the motives depicted on them. The text is a mine of useful information. It must be added that only a few illustrations were made from photographs; the majority are black and white reproductions of ink rubbings taken from the tiles.

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LAURENCE E. SCHMECKEBIER, *Modern Mexican Art*, Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1939. Pp. 190; 216 plates, 2 in color. \$7.50.

An adequate book on the important and very difficult subject of modern Mexican art has been needed by scholars, college students, and the general public. This volume deals mainly with fresco painting, and includes some discussion of oils, drawings, etc., but does not treat sculpture, architecture, or other lively manifestations of the modern movement in Mexico. It has the advantages of being written in English, of covering more of the field than any other book in English, and of having many large clear plates. It has the disadvantages of incompleteness, frequent inaccuracy, and partiality.

As an introduction to a surprisingly complex and confusing subject, the book is of course bound to omit much that the somewhat informed reader would wish to find included; nevertheless, it might have been more expertly planned even for a popular audience. Since this is the first book of any completeness in English, it must be examined more critically than it otherwise might be if material for comparison and checking were easily available to the ordinary reader.

The writing of a serious book on modern Mexican painting demands not only real knowledge of the immediate subject, but presupposes also familiarity with the general history of art, with related movements in modern art elsewhere, a sympathetic understanding of past Mexican art and, above all, of the powerful and difficult character of Mexico itself. It is worth examining this book on these four counts.

1) Mr. Schmeckebier explains in his Introduction that his many comparisons between pictures by European "old masters" and modern Mexican painters are not intended to prove influence, but to make more understandable an unfamiliar art. This is a difficult but not impossible method; unfortunately in this case it rarely assists the reader's understanding of the new works. The many references to general art history are limited to those famous monuments discussed in typical elementary history of art courses;

poses and figure arrangements in Mexican pictures seem to awaken in the author many memories of the *University Prints*. For example, our attention is called to many adventitious similarities between the work of Orozco and the better-known paintings of Greco, Goya, Michelangelo, Blake, Leonardo, Grünewald, Masaccio, Dürer, Mantegna, Correggio, etc., and even Emanuel Leutze; but these imposing companions are not here made to add to our real understanding of Orozco. What value, for instance, has the following comment on his use of the reclining figure? "The historian of art will discover many interesting parallels to this motif, particularly in following the development of early Italian painting. Giotto used it twice in Santa Croce. . . . Again it is used in Carpaccio's *Dream of St. Ursula* in the Legend of St. Ursula series in the Academy of Venice; and especially in the *Dream of Constantine* (Arezzo, San Francesco) of Piero della Francesca—a master with whose general stylistic character Orozco has more than a casual relationship. In all of these cases both the spiritual content and the poses of the dominant figures appear, not identical but remarkably similar. Could one speak of an influence? Orozco at this time had not seen Italy and it is extremely doubtful that he had even studied reproduction of the Italians' work very carefully." Or later, ". . . the composition of panels in a continuous left-to-right movement . . . can be readily recognized as Giottesque." "Orozco may have had the upper section of El Greco's *Burial of Count Orgaz* in mind when sketching this composition [the *Prometheus* at Pomona!] but no direct similarities of detail are discernible."

2) Understanding of the main movements of modern art is not shown in the many Cravenesque hostilities toward the "so-called School of Paris" or "the fashionable stylizations of French modernism," nor by their off-hand dismissal as something vaguely silly. "Cubistic" (nearly always with a capital C), "impressionistic," and "modernistic" are used with little regard for their meaning or even intelligibility. What, for example, do the following mean? ". . . a Parisian form of Cubism . . . directly related to the contemporary monumental neoclassic figure style of Picasso and Severini . . ." "Picasso's revolving planes and surfaces are not merely invested with Freudian symbolism and labelled with the names of Surrealism, Expressionism, Dadaism and various other group doctrines. . ."

The strangely intermittent influence of modern European movements and the curious ways in which they were brought to Mexico are not made clear. For instance, impressionism is denied any life there; Ramos Martínez, who introduced it, and Clausell and Tellez Toledo, who painted the most important Mexican impressionist pictures, are not even mentioned. Yet "impressionistic" and "neo-impressionistic" are both used to describe Rivera's National Palace fresco which is plainly neither. "Cubistic" is used for Rivera's rotundly sculptural and entirely non-cubist encaustic decorations in the Anfiteatro Bolívar, though his own assimilation, practice, and subsequent rejection of cubism are not discussed, nor is there mention of the minor cubist reminiscences in other painters.

European influence has become much stronger in Mexico in the last six years. Many young painters there are as eagerly aware of recent developments abroad as are young painters in this country. An active part of the modern movement in Mexico City has come into line with international movements, retaining at the same time the intense Mexican character of the 'twenties, but without its insularity. How much this kind of internationalism has changed the course of recent Mexican painting is not shown; in fact, the change itself is hardly indicated. For example, the entire surrealist group is omitted; no mention is made of Frida Kahlo de Rivera or of her successful exhibitions in New York and Paris, or of the extremely influential visit of André Breton to Mexico City.

3) Two pages fail to characterize the magnificent heritage of pre-Conquest art, to explain its peculiar role in the modern movement, or to show how its influence appeared (surprisingly late) and how its effect has grown and changed in the last fifteen years. Only the Aztecs, Mayas, and Zapotecs are mentioned, and their painting is emphasized more than their sculpture. Though the art of these races was influential in the 'twenties, it was their sculpture and not their painting which was principally admired by artists; the scant remains of painting became familiar later and have been of less importance. Nothing is said of the sculpture of the Olmecs or Tarascans whose subtler and less hieratic forms have come to be admired by many and even passionately collected by painters like Rivera and Covarrubias. These forms appear recognizably in the works of Charlot, Diego and Frida Rivera, and others.

In the brief archaeological section there are many misstatements: ancient Mexican sculpture antedates picture-writing and was not derived from it; the well-known Temple of Quetzalcoatl (*la Ciudadela*) at San Juan Teotihuacán is not the equally well-known Pyramid of the Sun, nor is either of them Aztec (Fig. 4); Figure 5 does not represent the god Michtlantecutli (variously misspelled in title and text) but is a female figure which might reasonably be mistaken for the goddess Michtlancihuatl (Dr. Caso of the National Museum identified it as a Cuicteo figure).

Colonial art, it is true, has had surprisingly little connection with the modern movement, but the few slight relationships cannot be simplified into a common interest in realism, for this is neither specifically Colonial nor modern, nor is there a causal similarity between realism in Colonial and modern painting. The sculpture from Cuernavaca, illustrated, is misdated by two centuries, for it is clearly not from the time of Cortéz as stated, but is gauche provincial work of about 1750. Its leaf-spitting mask comes from the familiar vocabulary of European arabesque ornament (where it is fairly common from the mid-fifteenth century on, though it appears as far back as Villard d'Honnecourt and earlier) and there is no reason to derive it from the great Aztec Calendar Stone which was still buried when this figure was carved. The Academy was founded in 1783, not 1778. Colonial churches were not usually built on pyramids (are there more than two so placed among Mexico's twenty or thirty thousand?).

Popular art, like pre-Conquest art, becomes steadily more powerful as an authentic stimulus to Mexican painters. This important relationship is found so much less in other countries, and is of such major importance in Mexico, that it deserves far more serious attention than it receives in this book. Some of the information given on popular art is incorrect. For example, the bowl in Figure 12 is clearly not Pueblan but of the commonest Jalisco style. *Ex-voto retablos* are not hung on altars. The remark that Jorge Enciso, a sensitive and learned scholar of the art of his country, introduced the practice of teaching Indian craftsmen to corrupt their traditional designs by imitating Aztec patterns is denied by well-informed Mexicans; the manufacture of these bastard-style objects for the tourist trade was started and fostered by a well-known curio shop.

4) The character of Mexico, physical, social, and spiritual, is of supreme importance in the creation of Mexican art. Except for the physical appearance of the land and the people, it is discouragingly difficult for a foreigner to understand. But the importance of the country itself is such that a serious and sympathetic effort *must* be made in a book of this nature to show that the art of these people embodies feelings and an attitude towards the world quite different from our own. This Mr. Schmeckebier has not done. Why the Revolution, for example, was a haunting reality to painters, firing them to cover so many walls with such deeply felt pictures at a time when "subject" painting was lifeless elsewhere and "social" painting scarcely to be found; how the Revolution seemed to breed gifted painters where a dozen years before there had scarcely been one: these are typical problems one wants explained.

There are many more questions which are left unanswered. Why is there such indifference to landscape and such enthusiasm for caricature? What is the explanation of the unintelligible subject matter and violent technique of Orozco's three large commissions in Guadalajara? What is the cause and nature of the change in Rivera's work in the last ten years? What is a painters' syndicate and how does it work (the account of the first syndicate is not clear and the very important *LEAR* is not mentioned)? Who are the young? How do they paint? Except for Orozco's Guadalajara frescoes which Mr. Schmeckebier had not seen, no work of the last five years is discussed. Where are Frida Rivera and the very gifted Juan O'Gorman, or Meza, Ruiz, Guerrero Galván and Soriano? Why is Covarrubias' painting ignored? What is the importance of Inés Amor's Gallery of Mexican Art?

Orozco-phile and Rivera-phobe, Mr. Schmeckebier gives sixty-one pages to the former and forty-five to the latter; more valuable information on either is available in English elsewhere. Other artists about whom little has been written in English are herded together into the nineteen pages of the final chapter. Only three of these pages are allotted to Siqueiros, an artist of stature perhaps equal to the author's hero and villain who are given a long chapter each.

The first book in English on a subject of such general interest could omit entirely any analysis, exposition, and evaluation and yet have considerable

value as a handbook of facts still surprisingly unavailable. This is not the author's intention, and the volume shows too many inaccuracies and omissions to serve well in this capacity. If, however, style and content are to be treated, with discussion of influences, quality, etc., as this work purports to do, the reader should be made to understand the various works intellectually and even to a certain extent emotionally. It is here that the book fails most seri-

ously. The bulk of the discussion is not free from superficiality. For example, Orozco's and Rivera's major works are commented upon in chronological order, but the comments do not give the reader enough knowledge of the genesis, style, quality, or historical place of the works discussed.

JOHN McANDREW
The Museum of Modern Art
and Vassar College

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

MIRIAM SCHILD BUNIM, *Space in Medieval Painting and the Forerunners of Perspective*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xviii + 261; 33 plates. \$5.00.

Catalogue of Italian Maiolica in the Victoria and Albert Museum by Bernard Rackham, London, published under the authority of the Board of Education, 1940. Vol. I, pp. xxiii + 485, text. 12s. 6d.; cloth 14s. 6d. (net). Vol. II, pp. xxvii + 222 plates. 16s.; cloth 18s. 6d. (net).

A Charlestown Sketchbook, 1796-1806: 40 watercolor drawings by Charles Fraser, with introduction and notes by Alice R. Huger Smith, Charleston, S. C., Carolina Art Association, 1940. Pp. xix + 40. \$5.00.

Drawings in the Fogg Art Museum. A critical catalogue by Agnes Mongan and Paul J. Sachs. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1940. Vol. I, pp. xviii + 465, text; Vol. II, Figures 1-183; Vol. III, Figures 184-404. \$25.00.

HARRIET and VETTA GOLDSTEIN, *Art in Everyday Life*, third edition, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xxxvi + 497; 355 figs. \$3.75.

ELIZABETH LAWRENCE MENDELL, *Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. xvii + 213; 52 plates + 54 figs. \$7.00.

GÜNTHER WOLFGANG MORATH, *Die Maximians-kathedra in Ravenna*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Herder & Co., 1940. Pp. xi + 114; 16 plates. Bound, \$2.25.

NIKOLAUS PEVSNER, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, Cambridge, University Press; New York, The Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xiv + 323; 17 plates. \$6.00.

Roman Portraits, with introduction by Ludwig Goldscheider (*Phaidon Edition*), New York, Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. 14 + 120 reproductions. \$3.00.

RAYMOND S. STITES, *The Arts and Man*, New York, Whittlesey House, The McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1940. Pp. vii + 872; 640 figs. including 8 plates in color. \$7.50.

EMERSON HOWLAND SWIFT, *Hagia Sophia*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xvii + 265; 46 plates + 34 figs. \$10.00.

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Mary H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929, p. 60.

Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed., Paris, Librairie Auguste Picard, 1925, II, 73.

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THE ART BULLETIN

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai and of the Life of Aesop in The Pierpont Morgan Library	MYRTILLA AVERY 103
Some Aspects of the Development of Seurat's Style	ROBERT J. GOLDWATER 117
The Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV in Dijon and Related Monuments	S. A. CALLISEN 131
Early Chinese Landscape Painting	ALEXANDER C. SOPER 141
Exhibition Reviews	
Pagan and Christian Art in Egypt: an Exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum	SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN 165
Indian Art of the United States: an Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art	GEORGE C. VAILLANT 167
The Goya Exhibition at Chicago	JOSEP GUDIOL 169
"David to Toulouse-Lautrec" at the Metropolitan Museum	HENRY P. McILHENNY 170
Letters to the Editor	173
Book Reviews	174
AGNES MONGAN and PAUL J. SACHS, <i>Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art, A Critical Catalogue</i>	Frederick Mortimer Clapp
GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN, <i>The Etruscans and their Art</i>	Gisela M. A. Richter
MIRIAM SCHILD BUNIM, <i>Space in Medieval Painting and the Forerunners of Perspective</i>	Richard Krautheimer
A. G. I. CHRISTIE, <i>English Medieval Embroidery</i>	Rensselaer W. Lee
NIKOLAUS PEVSNER, <i>Academies of Art, Past and Present</i>	Robert J. Goldwater
JOHN McANDREW, ed., <i>Guide to Modern Architecture: Northeast States</i>	Jere Abott
HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, <i>American Architectural Books, A List of Books, Portfolios and Pamphlets Published in America before 1895</i>	Frank J. Roos, Jr.
LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED	187



MINIATURES OF THE FABLES OF BIDPAI AND OF THE LIFE OF AESOP IN THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

By MYRTILLA AVERY

AMONG the treasures in the manuscript section of The Pierpont Morgan Library is a collection of ancient folk-tales (ms 397) written in a Greek script which has been placed and dated as South Italian of the late tenth century.¹ The following texts are found on its one hundred and twelve folios: a fragment of the Fables of Bidpai, or *Kalilah and Dimnah*, fols. 1^r-7^v; Physiologus,² fols. 8^r-21^v; Life of Aesop, fols. 22^r-67^v; two hundred and twenty-six fables of Aesop, fols. 67^v-108^r; thirty-one of the fables of Babrius,³ fols. 108^r-112^v; seven of the "witty sayings" (ἀστεία) from the *Philogelos* of Hierocles and Philagrius,⁴ fol. 112^v. Of these texts, only the Bidpai fables and the Life of Aesop are illustrated.

The Bidpai fragment has been edited and published by Mrs. Elinor Husselman of the University of Michigan,⁵ who discovered that the Morgan text was unique and earlier than the current Greek version. The text of the Life and Fables of Aesop has been described and discussed at some length by Professor B. E. Perry of the University of Illinois,⁶ who found the Life to be "the oldest form in which we know it." Professor Perry will include the complete Morgan text of the Life and Fables, with commentary and notes, in his forthcoming comprehensive edition of the principal versions.⁷

1. See The Pierpont Morgan Library, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts held at the New York Public Library, Catalogue . . .* by Belle da Costa Greene and Meta P. Harrsen, New York, 1934, p. 7.

2. The Physiologus, ancestor of the Bestiaries, generally believed to have been compiled in Alexandria in the second or early third century A.D. The Morgan text has been briefly discussed by Professor B. E. Perry in his review of Sbordone's edition of the Greek text of the Physiologus, in which he pronounces it to be "the best and probably also the oldest of all Greek manuscripts of the Physiologus" (see *American Journal of Philology*, LVIII, 1937, 492). Since the Morgan text is not included in Sbordone's study, Professor Perry has promised to publish an edition in the near future. No Greek text earlier than the eleventh- or twelfth-century Smyrna manuscript (lost in the fire of 1922 but published by Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus*, Leipzig, 1899) is known, but evidences that one existed have been adduced in an article on the ninth-century Physiologus in the Stadtbibliothek at Bern by Helen Woodruff (*ART BULLETIN*, XII, 1930, 226-53).

3. Fables in Greek choliambic verse by Babrius, probably a Roman of the first century A.D. (cf. Ox. Papyrus 1249). The name has been thought to be oriental, perhaps Syrian. The Morgan text has been published by Elinor Mullett Husselman, "A Lost Manuscript of the Fables of Babrius" (*American Philological Association, Transactions*, LXVI, 1935, 104-26).

4. This collection known under the title Φιλόγελος ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροκλέους καὶ Φιλαγρίου γραμματικῶν has been edited by A. Eberhard (Berlin, 1869). It consists of two hundred and sixty-four witticisms, generally satirical, of which the first one hundred and three have as their targets scholars

and clever lawyers; following these, a miscellaneous group includes the witty and the witless, misers, swindlers, cowards, drunkards, and finally men afflicted with halitosis (ὀδύστρομοι); at the end is an appendix of miscellaneous subjects, some of which repeat those in the earlier groups, suggesting that this collection is a redaction of earlier writings by the two otherwise unknown grammarians. A *terminus post quem* is supplied in an allusion (Eberhard edition, p. 19, ¶62) to the Thousand Year Festival of the city of Rome (248 A.D.), but the language of the collection is said to indicate a later date, certainly not earlier than the fourth century (see Christ-Schmid, *Gesch. der griech. Lit.*, 6th ed., II, 1049f [Iwan von Müller, *Handbuch der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, VII, II, 2]).

A brief study of the Morgan fragment is promised by Professor B. E. Perry, who has noticed one new "witticism" among its seven ἀστεία.

5. "A Fragment of Kalilah and Dimnah; from ms 397 in the Pierpont Morgan Library," London, 1939, *Studies and Documents*, ed. by Kirsopp Lake . . . and Silva Lake, x, *Kalilah and Dimnah*.

6. *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop* (American Philological Association, Monographs, ed. by L. Arnold Post, VII), 1936. The Morgan text of the Life is also discussed in Professor Perry's "Text Tradition of the Greek Life of Aesop," *American Philological Association, Transactions*, LXIV, 1933, 198-244.

7. A brief discussion of the miniatures in the Morgan codex was originally intended to supplement a joint publication of the texts by Mrs. Husselman and Professor Perry, but circumstances preventing this, they have kindly permitted me to utilize their studies in this article. I wish also to thank Professor M. Sprengling of the Oriental Insti-

All the published studies of the texts agree in showing that the Morgan codex is a copy by a rather ignorant and careless scribe, of another Greek manuscript which was mutilated when the copy was made. There are many lacunae and obvious errors. Nevertheless, the codex is of cardinal importance to students of folk-tales, since it contains the earliest known Greek translation of Bidpai fables, probably the oldest known Greek manuscript of the *Physiologus*, the earliest known version of the *Life and Fables of Aesop*, four complete fables of Babrius not found elsewhere, and a new "witticism" in the short fragment of the *Philogelos*. Every one of the six texts in Morgan ms 397, therefore, makes unique contribution to the study of its subject.

Added to this is the important discovery made by Mrs. Husselman that this codex is no other than the one formerly numbered A 33 in the library of the Basilian monastery of Grottaferrata, missing, according to Rocchi's catalogue of that library, since the Napoleonic wars and long lamented by Aesopic scholars.⁸

In such a manuscript the miniatures have an interest quite regardless of their obvious aesthetic defects. Their resemblance to certain Exultet Rolls was noted on sight by the dean of American stylistic critics of Italian painting,⁹ and anyone familiar with early South Italian miniatures will recognize at once the characteristic peculiarities. Although only two of the six texts were planned for illumination, these two were to be copiously illustrated: the Bidpai fragment with twenty-one miniatures, and the *Life of Aesop* with fifty-eight miniatures, of which seven were executed and the remaining fifty-one spaces left unfilled.¹⁰ There are no unfilled spaces in the Bidpai text. These illustrations were planned and the miniatures (except a later insertion on fol. 59^v) were drawn and painted before the text was written. This is apparent from the way the script is neatly fitted around the figures in numerous instances,¹¹ and if further proof is needed, the writing is clearly over the color on folios 1^v, 2^r, 22^v (Figs. 2; 4, accent; 20).

The Fables of Bidpai, the famous beast stories of Sanscrit origin, said to have been told to an Indian king of the third or fourth century A. D. by his philosopher, Bidpai, were translated into Pahlavi in the sixth century, and from Pahlavi into Arabic about 750.¹² Soon

tute of Chicago for his courtesy in making available to me the Institute's valuable collection of photographs of Bidpai manuscripts; also the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University for use of its material on Arabic illumination; and I take this opportunity to express appreciation of the cooperation of Miss Belle da Costa Greene, whose generosity in putting at the disposal of scholars the abundant resources of the Morgan Library is well known.

As the varied contents of this manuscript have led me into unfamiliar fields, I have consulted many scholars whose help I also gratefully acknowledge; in particular, Ben E. Perry of the University of Illinois; Richard Ettinghausen of the University of Michigan; Harold W. Glidden, recently of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem; Kurt Weitzmann of the Institute for Advanced Study; Helen Woodruff, Editor of the *Princeton Index of Christian Art*; and Sirarpie Der Nersessian of Wellesley College.

8. The argument for the identification of the Morgan manuscript as *Cryptoferratensis* A 33 is the subject of the first chapter (pp. 3-11) of Mrs. Husselman's edition of the Bidpai text (see note 5). This involved a collation and description of the Morgan codex from which the following items affecting the miniatures are repeated here: folios 1 and 8 are missing from the first gathering, i.e., before the present fol. 1 and after fol. 6; the manuscript was written by more than one hand, the first covering fols. 1-29; the

script is "strongly reminiscent of manuscripts written in the Greek monasteries of South Italy. The date . . . should probably be set between 980 and 1050."

9. The entry for this manuscript in the Morgan Library catalogue, cited in note 1, contains this comment: "Mr. Bernard Berenson . . . has placed the illumination of this manuscript in South Italy, with particular reference to the cruder Exultet Rolls."

10. Besides these, there are two crude drawings, obviously casual interpolations: a sketch of a man in the space below the completed text of the *Physiologus* on folio 21^v, facing a portrait of Aesop at the beginning of the *Life of Aesop*? or possibly "the *Physiologus*," ὁ Φυσιολόγος, the unidentified or imaginary author who is often quoted in the text; and a nondescript marginal drawing of a bust on fol. 46^r, possibly an attempt to depict the Rustic, or the wife of Xanthus.

11. A convincing example of this appears on fol. 23^r (Fig. 21) where the scribe, not having room to finish the word σκάπτειν, wrote the last letter after the intruding foot of the figure at right.

12. The Pahlavi version was translated for a Sasanian king by his physician, Barzoc. It is known only through its translation into Arabic and into Syriac about 570. This Syriac translation from Pahlavi was displaced in the tenth or eleventh century by another one from the Arabic, after which the "Old Syriac" version was lost sight of until re-

after, both the Sanscrit original and the Pahlavi translation were lost, and the tales became widely known in East and West in the Arabic version under the title of *Kalilah and Dimnah*, from the Arabic form of the names of the two jackals whose deeds and sayings are the subject of the first and principal portion of the fables. The current Greek translation from the Arabic was made about 1080 by Symeon Seth,¹³ but the Morgan version differs widely from it. For convenient reference I have used the title *Bidpai* in this article, although the Morgan text is doubtless translated from the Arabic.

The Morgan fragment contains parts of three of the last four fables of the Arabic translation, as found in De Sacy's *editio princeps*.¹⁴ All the introductory conversation between the Indian king and his philosopher, *Bidpai*, and the long story of *Kalilah and Dimnah* are therefore missing. The first of the three tales begins in the middle of the story, but from there on, except for a lacuna caused by a missing folio,¹⁵ the Morgan text seems to be continuous to the end of the book. The second tale, the only one of the three which preserves its beginning, is introduced like other tales of the Arabic original, by a conversation between the Indian king and his philosopher, both of whom however are unnamed but described as "aforementioned." The ending of this tale and all the first part of the third are lost with the missing folio. After the third tale, the frame story is resumed in a moralizing conversation between the Indian king and his philosopher.

The following description and discussion of the three fables in their relation to the Arabic and late eleventh-century Greek translations is a free quotation from Mrs. Husselman's monograph:¹⁶

The first tale is the story of the king's son and his three companions who met on a road. In the Arabic translation¹⁷ the king's son maintains that all things are ordered by providence; the merchant's son extols understanding and education; the handsome son of a nobleman declares that beauty surpasses all else; the husbandman's son praises industry. When they arrive at a city, each man in turn is sent to procure food. The husbandman's son gathers wood and receives a piece of silver with which he buys a hearty meal for the four; the next day, the nobleman's son captures the fancy of a lady, who after a day's dalliance gives him 500 pieces of silver; the merchant's son by lucky trading makes a hundred thousand pieces. But on the fourth day, the king's son on arriving at the city finds that the king has just died, whereupon his royal blood being discovered, the king's son is made king. As his companions had written up their day's achievement on the city gate, the king's son also has inscribed upon it the legend that "Labor and beauty and knowledge and everything good are due to the providence of God." The three companions are then summoned to the king's court and rewarded. After their arrival several courtiers join in praise of the king's wisdom and one of them relates that when he was a slave he pledged himself to free a soul if thereby he might gain freedom. So he bought two doves with his last penny whereupon they led him to buried treasure.

covered by chance in the nineteenth century (Gustav Bickell and Theodor Benfey, *Kalilag und Damnah; alte syrische Übersetzung des indischen Fürstenspiegels*, Leipzig, 1876). The Arabic version is the basis for translations into Ethiopic, Malay, Mongol, Turkish, Hebrew, Spanish, and the Greek version of about 1080 referred to in the text. The Hebrew version was retranslated into Latin in the thirteenth century by John of Capua, and on this text were based various translations into western European languages. The bibliography is too extensive to be given here, but the reader is referred to I. G. N. Keith-Falconer, *Kalilah and Dimnah; or, the Fables of Bidpai*, Cambridge University Press, 1885.

These tales, intended to teach "worldly wisdom of Machiavelian variety" by precept and example, are still current in India as the *Panchatantra*, in various versions.

See Franklin Edgerton, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed*, 2 vols. (*American Oriental Series*, II, III, New Haven, 1924).

13. The version entitled *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, from the Greek names given by the translator to *Kalilah* and *Dimnah*. This text has been edited by Vittorio Puntoni, *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης*, Florence, 1889 (*Società asiatica italiana, Pubblicazioni*, II).

14. Silvestre de Sacy, *Calila et Dimna, ou, Fables de Bidpai, en arabe*, Paris, 1816, p. 4.

15. Cf. note 8.

16. Cf. note 5.

17. Mrs. Husselman bases her account of the Arabic tales on the translation into English of De Sacy's text by William Knatchbull (*Kalilah and Dimnah*, Oxford, 1819) and adds that in further studies she found no important variants in the three fables of the Morgan manuscript. Cf. her monograph, p. 14, note 8.

When asked how they were able to perceive treasure and yet were not able to avoid the fowler's net they too ascribed all to providence.

The whole of the first part of this story is lacking in the Morgan manuscript which begins with fifteen lines of Byzantine twelve-syllable verse in praise of *εὐδοκία*, the divine decree. These verses, probably an elaboration of the king's inscription placed on the city gate, are inclosed in a full-page ornamental border representing a gate (Fig. 1). The tale then proceeds in the Morgan version from the point at which the prince is made king of the city. The Greek version of Symeon Seth agrees with the Arabic translation but ends with the king's invitation to his three companions to share in the benefits of his court.

In the second tale of the Morgan version a wolf leaves his cubs while he goes hunting. In his absence a lion finds and eats the cubs. The wolf on his return laments loudly, calling for his children. When the mother-wolf returns, the parents bewail their loss and decide to lay their case before the king, who is called Azachar but shown as a lion in the miniatures. He reproaches the wolves, pointing out that they have caused others to suffer when they have eaten young animals. So they decide to eat figs. The birds begin to die of hunger and seek redress from the king. After a second admonition, the wolves begin to eat reptiles. These in turn complain to the king, who again summons the wolves. At this point occurs the lacuna in the text caused by the loss of a folio of the original gathering.¹⁸

The Morgan version of this tale differs both from the Arabic and from the Greek translation of Symeon Seth. In both the Arabic and Seth versions a lioness leaves her cubs in a thicket, where a huntsman finds, kills, and skins, but does not eat them. The lamentations of the lioness are overheard and she is reproached by a jackal, in the Arabic translation, and in the Seth translation, by a bear. In the latter, the lioness, convinced of the justice of the bear's reproof, leaves off eating flesh and lives on fruit for the rest of her life. Here the Greek tale ends, but the Arabic continues with a woodpigeon who complains that the lioness robs her of her accustomed food, whereupon the lioness decides to live on grass. The Morgan version is therefore again nearer to the Arabic than to the Seth translation. Certain variations from the Arabic may be due to misunderstanding of the language by the Greek translator.¹⁹ The substitution for the jackal of a king named Azachar might be explained as a transliteration of the Arabic word for jackal, *ash-sha'-har*, which the translator took for a proper name. So also the Arabic word for herbage on which the lioness feeds is *hashish* which might have been confused with *hasharat*, used of small reptiles or insects, or possibly with *hishash*, used of creeping insects. Since the end of the tale is missing in the Morgan text, we do not know whether the grass-eating incident was also included or not.

The fragmentary third fable on the next folio (following the lacuna) begins with the last word of a sentence and reads as follows: "bare (*γυμνος*). In the morning a man came along the road seeking white feathers. But when he reached the place he found black feathers and white. So he picked them up and went off. But the crow stood still when he saw the feathers going off and said: 'Alas, how miserable, greedy and senseless I am, since in seeking for white feathers I have lost my own black ones. . . .' So he spoke and not long after he died." The moral of this tale corresponds to that of the Arabic fable of the Hermit and his Guest, but the incident differs completely. In the Arabic and Seth versions a man visits a monk who speaks in Hebrew. The guest admires the language and wishes to learn it, but the monk dissuades him, relating the story of the crow that wanted to walk like a partridge but could neither acquire the new gait nor return to his natural manner.

The loss of the folio between this tale and the one preceding makes it impossible to know whether this was a separate fable in the Morgan text or was connected with the story of the wolves. The latter is suggested by the moral immediately following which advises that we should be content with our own possessions "so that it may not happen to us as it happened to the *aforesaid wolf and the aforesaid black crow*."

This description will explain the following titles of the twenty-one miniatures reproduced in Figs. 1-18:²⁰

18. See note 8.

19. Mrs. Husselman attributes to Professor Sprengling of the Oriental Institute of Chicago the discussion of Arabic words considered as possible sources of error which follows in the text.

20. Figs. 1-2, are reproduced from Pierpont Morgan Library photographs. Figs. 29-32, 34, 37-39, are from Frick Art Reference Library negatives. For these and other courtesies, I am grateful to both these libraries.



Fig. 3



Fig. 2



Fig. 6



Fig. 5



Fig. 1



Fig. 4

FIGS. 1-6 NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY: MS 397, FABLES OF BIDPAI AND LIFE OF AESOP, SOUTH ITALIAN, CA. 1000

Fig. 1 - Decorative page, fol. 1^v. Fig. 2 - The King and his Three Companions, fol. 1^v. Fig. 3 - The King Extolled by a Courtier, fol. 2^v. Fig. 4 - The King and Courtiers, fol. 2^v. Fig. 5 - Purchase of the Two Birds, fol. 2^v. Fig. 6 - The Birds and their Liberator, fol. 3^v



Fig. 7



Fig. 11



Fig. 8



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

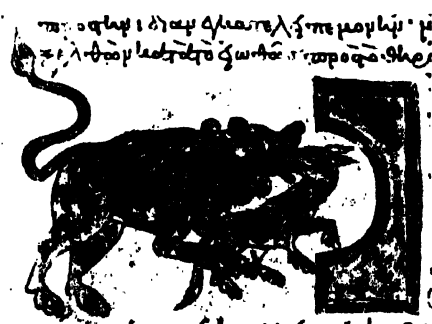


Fig. 9



Fig. 14



Fig. 10



FIGS. 7-14 NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY: MS 397, FABLES OF BIDPAI
AND LIFE OF AESOP, SOUTH ITALIAN, CA. 1000

Fig. 7 The King and his Companions, fol. 3^v. Fig. 8—The Indian King and Bidpai, fol. 4^r. Fig. 9 The
Lion Devouring the Young Wolf, fol. 4^v. Fig. 10 The Father-Wolf Returns, fol. 4^v. Fig. 11 The Parent-
Wolves Lamenting, fol. 4^v. Fig. 12 The Wolves Complain to King Azachar, fol. 5^r. Fig. 13 The Wolves
Eat Figs, fol. 5^v. Fig. 14 The Birds Complain to the King, fol. 6^r



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18

FIGS. 15-18 NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY: MS 397, FABLES OF BIDPAI AND LIFE OF AESOP, SOUTH ITALIAN, CA. 1000

Fig. 15 The Wolves before the King, fol. 6^v. Fig. 16 a) The Wolves Eat Reptiles; b) The Reptiles Complain to the King; c) The Wolves Summoned Again, fol. 6^v. Fig. 17 Fable of the Crow and White Feathers, fol. 7^r. Fig. 18 The Indian King and Bidpai, fol. 7^v.



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25

FIGS. 19-25—NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY: MS 397, FABLES OF BIDPAI AND LIFE OF AESOP, SOUTH ITALIAN, CA. 1000

Fig. 19—Portrait of Aesop, fol. 22^r. Fig. 20—Aesop Rebuked by his Master, fol. 22^v. Fig. 21—Punishment of the False Accuser, fol. 23^r. Fig. 22—Aesop and the Priestess of Isis, fol. 23^v. Fig. 23—The Priestess of Isis in Prayer, fol. 23^v. Fig. 24—Aesop Asleep, fol. 24^r. Fig. 25—Aesop and King Lycurgus, fol. 59^v.

- 1) Decorative page: *Praxeta* *ἐντολή* (divine decree), fol. 1^r (Fig. 1)
- 2) The king and his three companions, fol. 1^v (Fig. 2)
- 3) The king extolled by a courtier, fol. 2^r (Fig. 3)
- 4) Another courtier begs to speak in praise of *ἐντολή* while the three companions feast, fol. 2^v (Fig. 4)
- 5) Purchase of the two birds, fol. 2^v (Fig. 5)
- 6) The birds addressing their liberator, fol. 3^r (Fig. 6)
- 7) The king and courtiers, fol. 3^r (Fig. 6)
- 8) The king and his three companions, fol. 3^v (Fig. 7)
- 9) The Indian king and the philosopher, Bidpai, fol. 4^r (Fig. 8)
- 10) The lion devouring the young wolf, fol. 4^r (Fig. 9)
- 11) The father-wolf returns, fol. 4^v (Fig. 10)
- 12) The parent-wolves lamenting, fol. 4^v (Fig. 11)
- 13) The wolves complain to King Azachar (a lion), fol. 5^r (Fig. 12)
- 14) The wolves eat figs, fol. 5^v (Fig. 13)
- 15) The birds complain to the king, fol. 6^r (Fig. 14)
- 16) The wolves before the king, fol. 6^r (Fig. 15)
- 17) The wolves eat reptiles, fol. 6^v (Fig. 16)
- 18) The reptiles complain to the king, fol. 6^v (Fig. 16)
- 19) The wolves again summoned before the king, fol. 6^v (Fig. 16)
- 20) Fable of the crow and white feathers, fol. 7^r (Fig. 17)
- 21) The Indian king and Bidpai, fol. 7^v (Fig. 18)

It is evident even from the list of titles that these miniatures were designed for this text, emphasizing its unique features: wolves instead of the lioness; a lion for the huntsman; the reptiles; the feather story. In the tale of the wolves, the lion is obviously eating the cub (Fig. 9) though in the Arab translation the huntsman kills and skins them. Mrs. Husselman's explanation of the substitution of "King Azachar" for a jackal as a misunderstanding of the Arabic is almost certainly valid, but I do not think his representation as a lion necessarily implies an Arab prototype for the miniature as she suggests,²¹ since in all the tales of Bidpai the lion is recognized as king.

In the miniatures for the first tale, there are several minor evidences that the Morgan version was being followed. In summoning the three companions, the Morgan text specifies that they should be invited to eat at the king's court (thereby recognizing his obligation to provide a day's food), and accordingly they are shown seated at table (Fig. 4). Their costume changes with their status at court: in Figure 2 they are shown just as they arrive and are agreeing whole-heartedly with the king's son that he was right and they were quite wrong; but in Figure 7, having been raised to high position, they are crowned and in court costume. Here too the Morgan text is followed, since in the Arabic translation only two of the companions are retained at court, the handsome man being rewarded with a sum of money, but sent away lest he should corrupt the morals of the ladies of the court.

The close connection between the second and third fables, as brought out in the moral drawn from the third tale, certainly provides some reason for believing that the Morgan fragment (before it lost its two folios) was a copy of a continuous Greek translation of the last gathering of an Arab manuscript. If this gathering, probably mutilated, was all that the translator had in hand, it would explain the Byzantine versified amplification of the legend which now serves as an introduction to the fragmentary first tale (Fig. 1) and, while written within an ornamental border suggesting the city gate, also takes its place as a decorated first page. A confirmation of this theory was supplied by Mr. Harold W. Glidden,

21. Mrs. Husselman's suggestion is that an Arabic miniature showed the lioness complaining to the jackal, but was

misunderstood by the translator.

who kindly examined the Arabic texts and pointed out that the Greek translator who mistook the Arabic word for jackal (as suggested by Mrs. Husselman) could not have known the preceding story of the Lion and Jackal (De Sacy, Chap. XIII) since in that tale the same word is used and explained.²²

Professor Perry's erudite discussion of the Morgan Life of Aesop, though written for Aesopic scholars, is full of details of general interest, and to this the reader is referred. Here, only the conclusions immediately affecting a discussion of the miniatures are summarized, as follows:

The Morgan Life of Aesop is the earliest version at present known except for papyrus fragments, and these show connections with the Morgan text. It goes back to an archetype composed or rewritten between 100 B.C. and 200 A.D., and for reasons explained, a date in the second century A.D. is probable.²³ It has much substance not elsewhere extant, and differs in many significant details from the later and commonly known versions, which however also ultimately depend upon the same archetype.²⁴ It appears to have been deliberately left out of the twelfth-century Paris manuscript (Bib. nat., suppl. 690) "and from that time on no traces of it are found in any of the manuscripts of Aesop."²⁵ An interesting feature indicative of an early date for the archetype is the important rôle assigned to Isis and the Muses.

The text illustrated covers the following: (1) The description of Aesop, representing him as deformed and dumb; (2) The story of the figs intrusted by Aesop's master to servants, who having eaten them accuse Aesop, whereupon Aesop is summoned by his master and angrily reproached; being dumb he begs by signs to be allowed to demonstrate that not he but his accusers are the culprits; when this is proved the master orders that the false accusers receive the punishment which was to have been imposed upon Aesop; (3) The appearance to Aesop of a priestess of Isis who inquires the way to the city, and in return for his courteous treatment implores Isis to grant to Aesop the gift of speech; Aesop goes to sleep under a tree and awakens to find the prayer granted.

The foregoing passages are illustrated in six of the seven scenes, filling six of the seven spaces on fols. 22^r-24^r, one space in the lower right corner of fol. 22^r being left unfilled. After fol. 24^r there are forty-five unfilled spaces, but in the last space, where Aesop's exploits at the court of King Lycurgus are related, a later hand has inserted a crude representation of Aesop and the king. The titles of the seven scenes follow:

1) Portrait of Aesop, fol. 22^r (Fig. 19)

22. Mr. Glidden's note follows: "The name 'Αἰσῶπ is a transcription of the Arabic *šā'har* as it appears on p. 236, 266 ff. of De Sacy's edition of *Kalilah and Dimnah*, and shows that the ultimate source of the Morgan version was Arabic. As G. Bickell points out on p. LXXXIII of his *Kalilag und Damnah* (Leipzig, 1896), *šā'har* is no Arabic word, but a pseudograph arising from the Arabic translator's misreading of the evidently unfamiliar word *šagal* in the Pahlavi original from which he was working. This misunderstanding arose from the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script itself, for in that alphabet the letters *g*, *a*, and *l* can also be read *ʿ*, *h* and *r*. De Sacy's notes do not make clear what manuscript he was working from at this point, and only a comparison of his original material can answer that question.

Since the scribe of the Morgan manuscript uses 'Αἰσῶπ as a proper name, it is manifest that neither he nor the Greek translator whom he was probably following used an Arabic original containing the story of the Lion and Jackal

given on p. 236 ff. of De Sacy's edition. If he had been familiar with this tale he would surely have known that *šā'har* meant *jackal*, since it is so explained (*wa-huwa ibn-āwi*) on p. 236 of De Sacy but not on p. 266 ff., which is the section corresponding to the version in the Morgan manuscript."

23. Perry, *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, p. 25. Professor Perry adds in a personal letter: "This particular species of Graeco-Egyptian religious syncretism, i.e., Isis as mother (or leader) of the Muses, points rather definitely to Egypt (probably Alexandria) as the place where this version of the *βίος* was created. Cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 3; and ἡ Μουσολαγωγὸς = Isis leader of the Muses at Canopus (Ox. Pap. 1380.62), second century A.D. (see Lidde!! and Scott, *s.v. Isis*). See also Perry's *Studies*, p. 14.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

- 2) Aesop rebuked by his master, fol. 22^r (Fig. 20)
- 3) Punishment of the false accuser, fol. 23^r (Fig. 21)
- 4) Aesop and the priestess of Isis, fol. 23^r (Fig. 22)
- 5) The priestess of Isis in prayer, fol. 23^v (Fig. 23)
- 6) Aesop asleep, fol. 24^r (Fig. 24)
- [7) Aesop and King Lycurgus, fol. 59^v, inserted later (Fig. 25)]

These miniatures follow the Morgan text rather than the commonly-known version as edited by Westermann,²⁶ in representing a priestess of Isis instead of a priest (or priests) who asks Aesop the way to the city and offers a prayer for him in gratitude; the composition with flowering trees under which Aesop sleeps after hanging up his tool seems more suited to the fine description of his noonday recess in the Morgan version than to the meager account of the episode in the Westermann recension. The Aesop scenes, however, do not follow the text quite as faithfully as do those of the Bidpai cycle; e.g., the third scene (Fig. 21) shows the flogging, under the direction of the overseer, of only one of the false accusers, though the master orders both to be punished (*ἐκδύσον αὐτούς*); and the tool which the sleeping Aesop hangs on the tree (Fig. 24) is a pickaxe, though called two-pronged (*δίκελλα*) in the text.²⁷

The Bidpai miniatures were first drawn in black ink and afterwards painted in dark green, red, and yellow gouache, heavily neutralized but often watered to paler shades; there is also a little light blue.²⁸ The original lines of the Bidpai scenes, including the little foliate decoration on the skirt of some tunics (e.g., Fig. 5) are often obscured by the paint, but those for the Life of Aesop escaped the gouache except for some lines and accents in red.

The portrait of Aesop (Fig. 19) is untouched, except for the pupils of the eyes and some red paint on tunic and legs. In the scene with the master of Aesop (Fig. 20) several lines in both figures have been retraced or restored; the master's arms, legs, and drapery are badly confused, but a comparison with the figure of the Bidpai king (Fig. 3) suggests the form of the original. The only redrawing of the figure of the priestess with Aesop (Fig. 22) is on the right side of her face and perhaps on the hands. In spite of a little retouching in black ink and red paint, the first four Aesop miniatures retain adequate evidence for the original figure style.

The second figure of the priestess (Fig. 23), however, has been so much redrawn as to suggest at first that it was inserted by another hand; but the enigmatical lines of the drapery and meaningless red bands at the elbow reveal the work of the restorer.²⁹ It was perhaps also

26. A. Westermann, ed., *Vita Aesopi; ex wratislaviensi ac partim monacensi et vindobonensi codicibus nunc primum edidit*, Brunswick, 1845.

27. It is quite possible that these divergences from the text result from careless copying. In the archetype, the background figure (Fig. 21) may have represented the second accuser awaiting his penalty like certain martyrs in the *Menologia* (an analogy suggested by Sirarpie Der Nersessian), but here clothed and given the gesture of address (or command); and a pickaxe is easier to draw than the two-pronged hoe or fork demanded by *δίκελλα*. In this connection it may be noted that Helen Woodruff, Editor of the Princeton Index of Christian Art, has observed that in general the more nearly one approaches an archetype, the more closely do the miniatures follow the text.

28. There is no chalky color, no wine red, clear vermilion, deep blue (ultramarine), or lavender, such as is preserved in the late tenth-century Borgia fragment of the

Vatican Exultet Roll (Vat., lat. 9820), written at S. Vincenzo al Volturno (see M. Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, Princeton University Press, 1936, "Descriptive Notes," p. 32, pl. cxxxv. This publication will hereafter be cited under its title only.) The parchment is reserved only for flesh tones. Red lines on foreheads; red spots on cheeks, hands and ears, in the eyes of lions (fols. 6^r, 6^v) and birds (fol. 3^r), and a tiny spot of red in the eye of the wolf cub (fol. 4^r). Some pupils of eyes have been retouched and some meaningless black lines around mouths and chins (to indicate shadow?) are certainly later additions. Hair is dark green or blue, except that of the sleeping Aesop which is brown. Top and side knobs of king's crown usually red, but sometimes green or dull yellow.

29. The original garments of the priestess can probably be reconstructed from those of Virgo in the ninth-century Aratus manuscript at St. Gall (no. 902) to which the figure of the priestess bears close resemblance. The garments of the St. Gall Virgo consist of a long-sleeved, belted tunic

the restorer who was responsible for the mottled tunic of brown ink stains and cap-like hair of the sleeping Aesop (elsewhere bald). In other respects the style of the fifth and sixth scenes is not inconsistent with that of the first four.

A comparison of the figure style which thus emerges in the Aesop scenes with that of the Bidpai figures shows marked similarities in general proportions: the relatively short upper legs, large hands, small feet, low foreheads, cap-like hair protruding in a bunch at the back, and in the peculiar profiles with long noses and sharply pointed chins. The negligent manner of indicating an ear by simply breaking out the contour of the cheek is seen also in the only two Bidpai examples not covered with paint (Figs. 4, 6); finally, the posture of the right hand of the master of Aesop, with its two middle fingers bent under (Fig. 20), is identical with that of the right hand of all six Bidpai kings facing to the right (Figs. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 18).

The costume and pose of the Bidpai king (Fig. 15) has been compared above with that of the master of Aesop. In both cycles, long gowns are pulled tightly from ankle to thigh in the same manner. The seat with slender supports (reminiscent of a fald-stool) in three Bidpai scenes recurs as the seat for Aesop's master. The trees under which Aesop sleeps (Fig. 24), though retaining more naturalism than the fig-tree of the Bidpai scene (Fig. 13), show a similar type of conventionalization. From these comparisons it becomes evident that in spite of the different effect of the painted and unpainted scenes, there is in all these miniatures a consistent figure style, readily discernible in the first four Aesop scenes.

The distinguishing features of this figure style are precisely those of early medieval Latin manuscripts from South Italy, where we find the same broken-down Latin style recognizable in characteristic movement, large hands in formulated gestures, small feet, a preference for twisting the head from profile to front view and, in some manuscripts from Campania and the Abruzzi, the peculiar drawing of nose and chin in profile. Costumes are classical derivatives frequently a little misunderstood. Animals are sympathetically drawn, often suggesting human qualities, but with a liking for patterns in fur or in the feathers of birds.

To illustrate these details fully would require more space than could reasonably be expected here, especially as the evidence is cumulative, but the selection shown in Figures 26-41 will perhaps be adequate.³⁰ The Bidpai kings and the master of Aesop sit on cross-legged stools like that of the emperor in the early eleventh-century Gaeta roll (Fig. 34). The

falling to the ground, with an embroidered band running down the front; over this a mantle draped like a shawl hangs down behind, with one end draped over the left arm. There is no head covering but a small three-lobed ornament rises at the part of the hair (see Adolf Merton, *Buchmalerei in St. Gallen*, Leipzig, 1912, pl. 49). It is perhaps significant that the Alexandrian astronomers connected Isis with the sign of Virgo (Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, Paris, 1900, III, pt. 1, 579).

The corresponding figure of Virgo in the astronomical treatise of the Pseudo-Beda in the ninth-century Cassinese manuscript no. 3 (dated 874-92) is obviously based on the same archetype, but the classical reminiscences in the drapery are stronger and there is no band down the front of the tunic (cf. *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, pl. cxcv).

The normal costume for attendants of Isis was similar to that of Isis herself; i.e., a long-sleeved, white robe reaching to the ground, a shawl knotted over the breast and a veil falling loosely from the head (cf. G. Lafaye, "Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie . . .," Paris, 1884, *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 33). However, the illustrations shown by Lafaye in his article on Isis in Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionary show many variants, among them a woman initiate wearing a kind of stole, passing under her right arm and hanging from the

left shoulder (III, pt. 1, 585, fig. 105). Something similar, in alternate sections of red and black, appears on a terracotta statuette in the Fouquet collection, identified as Isis-Aphrodite by Paul Perdrizet in his *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet* (Nancy, Paris, Strassburg, 1921, I, 3, pl. 11). The vertical band of the Morgan priestess, perhaps originally a stole, has been heavily retouched in black and red. The fine red line within the small curve in the outline above the forehead appears to be nothing more than retouching in red, but it is sometimes held that red on the forehead is characteristic of Isis figures. This theory is not substantiated by Eva Wunderlich in her exhaustive study of red in Greek and Roman cults ("Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe in Kultus der Griechen und Römer," *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, Gießen, XX, pt. 1, 1925). In her long list of ideas and cults which employ red symbolically, some (e.g., the cult of the Sun) suggest its appropriateness for Isiac costume; but she also shows that red is well established as a symbol of evil, and quotes the following prayer to Isis: "O Isis, redeem me and deliver me from all base and evil red things." For this and other references I am indebted to Dr. Arthur D. Nock of Harvard.

30. Since so much comparative material is available in other publications for anyone who may question the South Italian provenance of the Morgan miniatures, I have pre-



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31

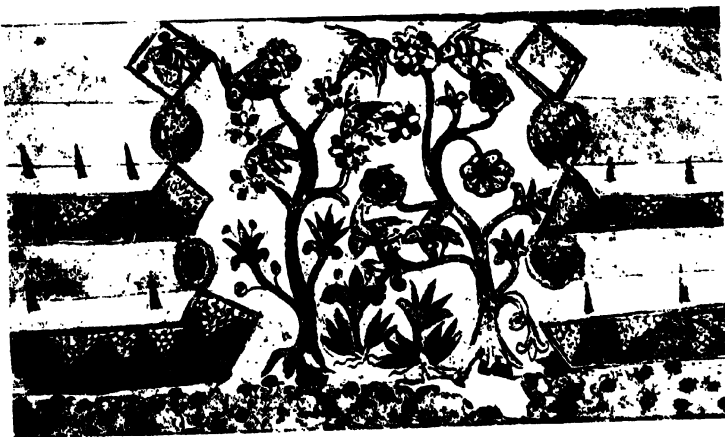


Fig. 32



Fig. 33

Figs. 26-28 Montecassino, MS 132, Rabanus Maurus, Eleventh Century. Figs. 29-30 Pisa, Museo Civico, Exultet Roll, Eleventh Century. Fig. 31 - Montecassino, MS 3, Pseudo-Beda, fol. 178^v, Ninth Century. Fig. 32 Rome, Vatican, MS lat. 9820, Exultet Roll, Tenth Century. Fig. 33 Montecassino, MS 759, Octateuch, Eleventh Century



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38

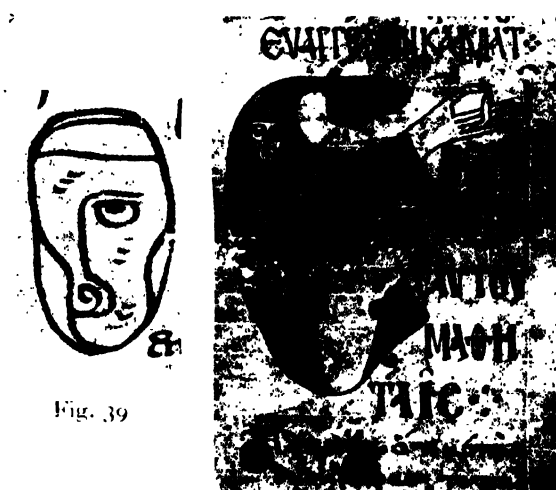


Fig. 39



Fig. 41

Fig. 40

Fig. 34 Gaeta, Cathedral Archives, Exultet Roll, The Emperor, Eleventh Century. Figs. 35-36 Rome, Casanatense, MS 724 B 1 13, Benedictio Fontis, Tenth Century. Fig. 37 Cava, Badia Archives, MS 4, Leges Langobardorum, Eleventh Century. Fig. 38 Montecassino, MS 3, Pseudo-Beda, fol. 183^r, Ninth Century. Fig. 39—Cava, Badia Archives, MS 2, Letter O, Eighth Century. Figs. 40-41—Rome, Vatican, MS gr. 2138, Decorative Letters, Tenth Century

movement of the fingers of the six Bidpai kings, referred to above, is characteristic of a manuscript written at Benevento early in the eleventh-century and now MS 4 in the archives of the Badia at Cava dei Tirreni (Fig. 37).³¹ Tunics like those in the Morgan miniatures appear in a late tenth-century manuscript originating at S. Vincenzo al Volturno (Fig. 36), and the same manuscript presents an unadorned background form (Fig. 35) recalling similarly abbreviated figures in the Morgan manuscript (Figs. 6, 21). Animals with form and movement like those of the Morgan miniatures are characteristic of the illustrations in the manuscript of Rabanus Maurus (Montecassino MS 132) written at Montecassino before 1023 (Figs. 26-28).

The fig-tree reminiscent of the Sasanian sacred tree, however, suggests by its strictly conventionalized form influence from South Italian Greek manuscripts of the tenth century written at Capua (cf. Fig. 41), rather than the more naturalistic tree and plant forms of manuscripts in Beneventan script. The extreme crudity of the patterns of the fig-tree is probably due in part at least to restoration, but the more naturalistic effect of plant forms in Beneventan miniatures, even when conventionalized, may be seen by comparing Figure 24 with Figure 31 or Figure 32.

Although the Morgan miniatures are earlier, their closest parallels are seen in the eleventh-century Exultet Roll now at Pisa but certainly written in South Italy (Figs. 29-30). The exact provenance of this manuscript is most unfortunately unknown, but connections with Campanian products can be detected, while the peculiar profile with sharply pointed chin persists in Abruzzese painting even as late as the thirteenth century.³³

Comparison of the Morgan miniatures with a chronologic series such as is provided by the Exultet Rolls (dating from the tenth to the thirteenth century) points to a date for the Morgan miniatures in the late tenth or early eleventh century and to a provincial scriptorium. They show no close connections with Bari, but are loosely allied to early examples from Montecassino and S. Vincenzo al Volturno, with possibly some influence from Capua, where the monks of both monasteries were located in the late tenth and early eleventh century, having been driven from their homes by the Saracens early in the eighth decade of the ninth century.

It must however be recognized that in spite of similarities in style between the Bidpai and Aesop scenes, certain characteristics of the Bidpai figures, such as the swollen cheeks and large eyes with drooping lower lids, suggest an archetype of different style from that which underlies the more Hellenistic treatment of the Aesop miniatures.

Mrs. Husselman in her monograph is inclined to believe that the Bidpai miniatures originated in an Arabic prototype,³⁴ and this conjecture can certainly be entertained, but I find nothing in existing Bidpai cycles to remove it from the realm of conjecture. The extreme scarcity, amounting practically to non-existence, of any examples of Arabic miniatures before the thirteenth century leaves still unsolved the question of the style and general character of early Moslem illumination. Arabic scholars generally agree, however, that these early schools drew their inspiration from East Christian and Sasanian sources, with

ferred to use the greater part of the plates at my disposal for the reproduction of all the miniatures of Morgan MS 397, in the hope that they may be utilized by scholars in the various fields upon which they touch.

31. Other miniatures in Cava MS 4 show examples of the cross-legged chair, and peculiarities in the drawing of hands similar to those of the Morgan figures (cf. *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, pl. ccv).

32. Cf. the miniatures of the tenth-century Dioscorides

now in Munich (E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, Oxford, 1929, I, pl. XLII), and of the early eleventh-century Octateuch at Montecassino (Fig. 33). Trees similar to those of Paris MS ar. 3465 appear in the thirteenth-century Arabic manuscript of Galen in Vienna (A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, *A Survey of Persian Art*, London and New York, 1938, v, pl. 812a).

33. Cf. *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, pl. ccvi.

34. See her monograph, p. 5, note 5, and p. 20.

little or no influence from the Far East before the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century. The earliest known Bidpai cycle in an Arabic text (Paris, Bib. nat., ms ar. 3465), generally dated about 1220 and allied by style with the Paris Hariri (Bib. nat., ms ar. 6094), shows this mingling of Early Christian and Persian characteristics.

So also do the Morgan miniatures, and it might be tempting to see in this indications of an Arabic prototype, were it not for the well-known mingling of Early Christian and Sasanian influences in western illumination. The Early Christian style soon assimilated Sasanian characteristics, but in Arabic illumination the unfamiliar eastern customs and costume so color the effect that the Hellenistic qualities are almost submerged.

There are without doubt many elements in the miniatures of Paris ms ar. 3465 which are reminiscent of the Morgan scenes, such as the Sasanian preference for placing two figures at either side of a tree, one scene from an earlier fable (fol. 48^r) showing two confronted jackals with noses at the tree, suggestive of the Morgan composition of the wolves eating figs; trees with leafy branches ending in large flowers or buds; the general appearance of animals and birds.

But the Morgan miniatures use the sacred tree motive only once (Fig. 13), and that for a composition in which the tree was not an ornamental motive but an essential element in the illustration,³⁵ while throughout Paris ms ar. 3465 it is commonly used for any scene with more than one animal. The fald-stool appears several times in Paris ms ar. 3465, but in a much more elaborate form, with four clearly-defined legs. The leafy trees of Paris ms ar. 3465 show none of the conventionalization of the Morgan trees, resembling rather those of Beneventan manuscripts. The lack of head coverings, which are demanded for persons of all stations in Arabic illumination, is also to be noted in the Morgan scenes. As for the animals, their human qualities are demanded in Bidpai illumination by the text, and even without such a motivation the animal world is generally sympathetically rendered in South Italian miniatures, except in conventionalized ornament.

There is no cycle in Paris ms ar. 3465 corresponding to that of the Morgan manuscript, the miniature for the fable of the king's son (fol. 141^r) simply showing four men in a row in long garments; those for the other fables necessarily have a different content, since they follow the usual Arabic form of the story as explained above. Some of the later manuscripts have more miniatures from the fable of the king's son; e.g., Paris ms ar. 3475 (eighteenth century) shows the handsome man and his lady, the merchant's son bargaining, a parade of the king's son on an elephant, and two scenes of the courtier and the birds, similar in content to the two in the Morgan cycle but quite unlike them in composition.³⁶ In short, none of these miniatures suggest an Arabic prototype for the Morgan cycle.

Furthermore, Mrs. Husselman has suggested the following explanations for the distortions of the text of the Bidpai fables:³⁷

35. It is true that the Sasanian motive of the sacred tree was never as well established in Italian art as the similar Roman axial composition of birds or animals at either side of a vase filled with fruits, or with a flowering plant issuing from its mouth. As Christian art developed, the cross or monogram was often substituted for the vase, but the decorative value of the Roman motive was not forgotten, as the well-known eleventh-century transennae at Torcello bear witness (cf. P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, III, 789). Another eleventh-century panel from San Marco, Venice, shows a combination of the sacred tree motive with the vase (*ibid.*, 435).

36. Lack of knowledge on my part of the Arabic and Persian languages prevents me from attempting a discussion of the Bidpai cycles, tempting as a study of them has proved to be. The literature of the subject, which has been greatly increased in recent years, has been listed by Kurt Holter (*Die islamische Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350*, Leipzig, 1937); a considerable supplement to this list by H. Buchthal, Otto Kurz, and R. Ettinghausen is soon to appear in *Ars Islamica*. For this reference I am indebted to Dr. Ettinghausen.

37. See her monograph, pp. 21-22.

- 1) The text . . . is a Greek adaptation, rather than a translation, of certain stories in the Arabic version of the *Kalilah and Dimnah*.
- 2) The Arabic manuscript was of the most common type . . . but it was defective when it came into the hands of the Greek adapter.
- 3) The Greek adapter ~~misunderstood~~ some portions of the text . . . and was obliged to supply some details from his own ~~imagination~~. He thus provided us with an apparently unique text of the *Kalilah and Dimnah*.

It will be seen that while none of these explanations exclude the possibility that the original Arabic text was illustrated, they all require the conclusion that several of the Morgan miniatures must have been composed for the Greek translation or adaptation. An archetype, therefore, based on any one of these explanations, would necessarily have been made up partly of Arabic and partly of western miniatures; but in view of the consistency in style and treatment of the scenes in the Bidpai cycle, it would be difficult to accept such an archetype. I therefore have found it impossible to establish the probability of an Arabic archetype for the Bidpai scenes.

The Aesop miniatures were certainly based on late classical formulas, of which the *orans* pose of the priestess of Isis (Fig. 23) is a familiar example.³⁸ The resemblance noted above between this figure and the Virgo of the ninth-century manuscripts at St. Gall and Montecassino (both obviously late classical in derivation),³⁹ while implying a connection between them as yet unexplained, gives some ground for the possibility of an archetype influenced by a Hellenistic illustrated manuscript of Aratus (fl. third century B.C.). That the Aesop miniatures were copied from an earlier cycle seems implicit in the unfilled spaces, and these indicate further that the Morgan scribe copied the exact pagination of his model, a conclusion corroborated by Professor Perry, reasoning from the treatment of a certain lacuna in the text.⁴⁰ Whether the miniatures originated with the model or the model itself was a copy of earlier miniatures remains conjectural.⁴¹

38. The *orans* attitude, though best known in Early Christian usage, was an ancient pagan pose, whose place of origin and primitive significance is not clear. It must have been familiar to the common people of Greece as it occurs on small gravestones found in Attica, Asia Minor, and the islands, examples of which will be illustrated in a forthcoming book on the art of the people in Hellenistic and Early Roman times by Karl Lehmann-Hartleben of New York University. As a pagan prayer motive it appears on a gem with the words *PROVIDENTIA DEORUM COSII*, showing a female figure raising her arms toward the sun (cf. A. Conze, "Der betende Knabe," *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, I, 1886, p. 12). An Etruscan example on a gold fibula in Providence has recently been published by George M. A. Hanfmann of Harvard ("The Etruscans and their Art," *Bulletin of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design*, xxviii, 1940, p. 11). A study of the subject is promised by Mary B. Swindler of Bryn Mawr, who showed some of the more recently discovered examples at the annual meeting of the American Archaeological Institute in Baltimore, December, 1940. (For a résumé of her paper see *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlv, 1941, 87.)

39. See pp. 109-110, note 29.

40. Perry, *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, p. 8.

41. Conditions in Europe have prevented the search for illuminated Aesop manuscripts which I had hoped to make, but Professor Perry writes me as follows, "A fourteenth-century Life of Aesop in Moscow has a small miniature of Aesop (Cod. Mosquensis 436, fol. 439), showing him in a

monkish robe of relatively modern appearance, with one hand in the palm of the other as if making a calculation; on his head is a tall turban with conspicuous and irregular spiral folds tapering off to a point at the top. No resemblance to Morgan ms 397. The codex came from Mt. Athos but there is some reason to believe that it may have been brought thither from Iberia (Georgia) or that part of the world. Apart from the Morgan manuscript this is the only Greek manuscript of the Life which has a picture of Aesop. I have seen all the manuscripts of the Life except seven or eight of its latest form and I have never heard of any other illustration in the Life or Fables of Aesop in Greek." Photographs of an eighteenth-century Georgian manuscript of the Life and Fables said to have been translated from the Greek, which have recently come into the possession of Professor Perry, show at the end of the Life a crude drawing of a man with distorted limbs apparently caught in a net, presumably a portrait of Aesop. The eleventh-century Latin manuscript of Aesop at Leyden has a conventional portrait at the beginning of a confused mass of illustrations of the Fables, showing the author seated in his house with none of the distortions ascribed to him in the texts (cf. Georg Thiele, *Der illustrierte lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Adamar: Cod. Vossianus lat. oct. 15, fol. 195-205*, Leyden, 1905).

Nothing in existing Greek painting suggests that there was a cycle for the Life, nor even that Aesop was a popular subject in early Greek art. The cup in the Museo Gregoriana at Rome (E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, 182, fig. 495), showing Aesop (caricatured

The figure style of the Bidpai cycle is farther removed from Hellenistic models than that of the Aesop scenes, and more consistently South Italian in its awkward but vivacious movement and expression, and in its over-large heads, hands, and eyes with their drooping lower lids.⁴² This difference in style can be understood if the archetype was composed for the Greek translation by a Latin miniaturist⁴³ in a monastery located in the Campanian or Abruzzese region, such as Montecassino or St. Vincenzo al Volturno, or at Capua at the end of the ninth or early tenth century when the monks of both these monasteries were there. It can be supposed that an illustrated life of Aesop was available whose miniatures not only were incorporated into the text but provided a model for the style and composition of the Bidpai cycle. The Morgan miniatures would then be a copy produced by a Latin hand perhaps a hundred years later, in which the two styles were so blended as to provide a series of miniatures similar stylistically but preserving certain characteristics of the figure style of their prototypes.⁴⁴

In conclusion, the Morgan miniatures appear to have been copied in the late tenth or early eleventh century, in a South Italian scriptorium, from a Greek folklore book containing illustrations for a fragment of the Bidpai tales and a Life of Aesop, for which each cycle may have had a still earlier prototype. The archetype for the Bidpai miniatures may conceivably have been Arabic, but the archetype for the Aesop scenes was late classical. Although the text is written in Greek,⁴⁵ the miniatures were copied by a Latin hand in the characteristic broken-down classical style of the Campania-Abruzzi region of South Italy. The work of the Latin miniaturist was interrupted after fol. 24^r and never resumed.

The location of the scriptorium remains unknown; the presence of the manuscript in Grottaferrata in the eighteenth century is not conclusive as to its provenance, since the library at Grottaferrata had been previously dispersed.⁴⁶ But that it was located somewhere

with an enormous head) and the fox, seems to be the one example recognized by writers on classical painting. (On Aesop in art, see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Stuttgart, 1909, VI, cols. 1714-16.) The Elder Philostratus, however, writing early in the third century A.D., lists, in his *Einokles*, Aesop and a procession of his fables, along with scenes of playful child life. Dr. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, in an interesting and important article defending the validity of the descriptions of Philostratus (ART BULLETIN, XXIII, 1941, 16-44), throws a little doubt on this subject as being so loosely connected with the adjacent scenes as to permit one to "wonder whether it could have been inserted by Philostratus" (*op. cit.*, p. 38). This seems an unnecessarily generous gesture on the part of Dr. Lehmann-Hartleben, since Aesop's fables appear to me to be quite felicitously connected with subjects of child play; but even if it is an insertion, it implies that Aesopica as a subject for painting was fairly familiar in the early third century A.D., i.e., shortly after the time when Professor Perry dates the archetype of the Morgan text.

42. Cf. the miniatures in the Rule of St. Benedict (Montecassino MS 175) written at Capua by the Cassinese monks, 915-34 (*The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, pl. cxcvi); also, the tenth-century Exultet Roll now at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, England (*The Exultet Rolls* . . . , pl. LII-LV). A very early example of eyes with drooping lid, conventionalized for decoration, occurs in a letter O in a Cava manuscript (no. 2), written at Montecassino an. 779-97 (Fig. 39). Although this treatment of the eye is current elsewhere in pre-Carolingian illumination, it is peculiarly persistent in manuscripts in Beneventan script. It was conventionalized in the tenth century for the illumination of Greek manuscripts written at Capua (Fig. 40), and it appears in a portrait head inclosed in the letter O,

in one of the manuscripts written by St. Nilus still preserved at Grottaferrata (K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, pl. xciii, 604).

43. The manuscript has no decorative initials nor strips of ornament in the Greek manner (cf. Figs. 40, 41), but the effect of a frontispiece given to fol. 1^r (Fig. 1) perhaps indicates influence from Greek illumination.

44. I.e., the early tenth-century style of the Capuan region, for the prototype of the Bidpai cycle and a more Hellenistic style for the archetype of the Aesop scenes. The last scene (Fig. 25) by a later hand almost as unskilled as the one which worked over the twelfth-century addition to the Exultet Roll at Mirabella-Eclano (cf. *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, pl. LX) is perhaps an original composition based on the Bidpai scenes, since the king sits on a seat whose back shows only one upright, like that of the Bidpai king (Fig. 4); the contour of the right side of the king's head and neck is similar to that of the Bidpai king (Fig. 8); and the tripartite crown and sceptre are later types of those of the Bidpai cycle. There is, however, nothing about the miniature which is inconsistent with later retouching by unskilled scribes such as often mars South Italian illumination.

45. The possibility that the Greek text might have been written by a Latin monk who knew Greek has been suggested, but Mrs. Kirsopp Lake points out that the Latinisms which occur are not those characteristic of Latin scribes when writing Greek.

46. Cf. A. Rocchi, *De coenobio cryptoferratensi eiusque biblioteca et codicibus praesertim graecis commentarii*, Tusculum, 1893, 269, 274-75, 280-84. The Morgan manuscript was seen at Grottaferrata in 1789 by P. Ramolino (Otto Crusius, *Babrii fabulae Aesopaeae*, editio major, Leipzig, 1897, p. ix), but the lack of early catalogues makes it im-

near the valley of the Volturno, where Campanian and Abruzzese influences mingled, seems assured in view of the implications of the miniature style. Such a location would be provided at Valletta, the monastery in the mountains between Montecassino and S. Vincenzo al Volturno, which was granted to the Calabrian St. Nilus by the abbot of Montecassino, and to which St. Nilus brought his monks in the second half of the tenth century, establishing them there for fifteen years.⁴⁷ Later St. Nilus spent some time at Capua and Gaeta before founding the monastery at Grottaferrata in 1004.

Dr. Kirsopp Lake has always insisted that the script had Calabrian characteristics. This would lend plausibility to a conjecture that this copy of a mutilated Greek folklore book was planned in one of the Campanian scriptoria of St. Nilus during the visit of a Latin miniaturist, who began to copy the miniatures but was called away before finishing his work; the text was then copied by resident Calabrian monks who left the spaces for illumination as they appeared in the archetype, hoping for a return of the artist-scribe. It is obvious that the known presence of the manuscript at Grottaferrata in the eighteenth century adds some weight to such a conjecture, since the codex might well have been brought there by St. Nilus or his monks and remained forgotten in some cupboard during the dispersion of the library.

Whatever may be their history, the Morgan miniatures present themselves as additions to our scanty list of early South Italian miniatures, and the comparatively untouched condition of most of the Aesop scenes gives them some stylistic importance. They also offer some evidence for coöperation between Greek and Italian scribes and miniaturists and for their common interests and activities in South Italy in the early Middle Ages. In addition, they are themselves at present unique early illustrations of the Bidpai fables and the *Vita Aesopi*. Like editors of the texts, students of medieval illumination must hope for the discovery of other examples, Greek or Arabic, to throw further light upon this important collection of folk tales in early versions.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

APPENDIX

In examining the Morgan Bidpai cycle with Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, we became interested in noting elements which might be considered Persian, and he has listed those he recognized. He understands quite well that these elements appear also in western miniatures—some of them a common inheritance from early archaic vase painting—but as his list brings into comparison several interesting examples, I give it below, at the same time pointing out that many of these so-called Sasanian features are shown in the few South Italian examples reproduced in Figs. 26-41.

NOTE BY RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN: "The minia-

tures in the Pierpont Morgan Library ms 397 reveal only a few features which could be traced back to Iranian art. As Byzantine art contains throughout a certain amount of Iranian elements, we do not necessarily have to assume that there was a Persian prototype for ms 397 which was directly copied or which formed the direct source of inspiration.

A. The miniature on fol. 57, (Fig. 13), "The Wolves Eat Figs," shows the following Iranian features:

1) The typically Persian heraldic composition with two animals on either side of a tree, appearing in textiles, seals, and stuccoes, and becoming widespread through the diffusion of Persian silks.

possible to know when it entered the library. Cf. N. B. Ieromonaco, "La biblioteca della badia greca di Grottaferrata," *Accademie e biblioteche*, vi, 2, 1930. The considerable collection of manuscripts from Grottaferrata now at the Vatican was examined in the hope that some of their illumination might throw light on the Morgan miniatures, but the search produced no results.

47. Batiffol, in his *L'abbaye de Rossano* (Paris, 1891, Pref. p. xxi) places the monastery of S. Angelo at Valletta "near Gaeta" and this location is given to it in the Catholic

Encyclopedia (s.v. "Nilus"); but the records and traditions at Montecassino leave no doubt that the site of the monastery given to St. Nilus was the little valley, where the name still lingers, about four kilometers from S. Elia on the river Rapido (cf. A. Caravita, *I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino*, Montecassino, 1869, 1, 156). A visit to the region in search of some fragment of fresco or miniature which might support the possibility that the Morgan codex was produced there proved fruitless, nothing earlier than the thirteenth century being anywhere visible.

2) The raising of an animal's foreleg on the side away from the spectator (found also on fols. 4^r, 4^v, 5^r). For parallels in Sasanian and medieval Islamic art objects, see J. Orbeli, "Sasanian and Early Islamic Metalwork," in *Survey of Persian Art*, New York and London, 1938, iv, pl. 135; A. U. Pope, "Ceramic Art in Islamic Times: A. The History," in *Survey of Persian Art*, 1938, v, pl. 575a, 583b, 596a, 616; Ralston Hariri, "Metalwork after the Early Islamic Period," in *Survey of Persian Art*, 1939, vi, pl. 1288a, 1292a.

3) The inorganic application of flat cardboard-like front legs or wings to the animals' bodies somewhat in the manner of the application of limbs to a jumping-jack (seen also on fols. 2^r, 3^r, 4^r, 5^r, 5^v, 6^r, 6^v). This tendency is foreshadowed in certain Sasanian works (see J. Orbeli-C. Trever, *Orfèvrerie sassanide* [in Russian and French], Leningrad, 1935, pl. 4). It is quite apparent in Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 29 (central bird), 31, 72; I. I. Smirnov, *Argentierie orientale*, St. Petersburg, 1909, pl. LXX; P. Ackerman, "Textiles of the Islamic Period," in *Survey of Persian Art*, 1939, vi, pl. 981 (elephants, camels).

4) A well-padded animal foot, somewhat too large and long (also on fols. 4^r, 4^v, 5^r, 6^r), foreshadowed in such works as Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 22, 30. See also Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pl. LVII; *Survey of Persian Art*, v, pl. 614a, 615a, 615b; E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin, 1927, fig. 38; P. Horn, "Sasanidische Gemmen aus dem British Museum," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLIV, 1890, pl. 1b, fourth row, no. 727a; pl. 2a, third row, no. 563.

5) Double line on lower part of animal's body to indicate its rotundity. See Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pls. 23, 24, 26, for possible earlier forms of this convention.

6) The telescopic arrangement which fits subsequent parts of a tree trunk into each other as observed in certain grass species (*schachtelhalmartig*). See Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pl. LI; E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin, 1920, pl. xxxviii. This is the common way of tree construction in late Sasanian art.

7) The lowest unit of the tree trunk with its two excrescences has its counterpart in *A Survey of Persian Art*, iv, pl. 177c; and in Horn, *op. cit.*, pl. 1b, second row, no. 624. The same seal is also illustrated in E. Thomas, "Notes Introductory to Sassanian Mint Monograms and Gems," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xiii, 1852, pl. iii, 39. This particular seal in the British Museum shows also a vertical succession of small rectangular fields on the tree trunk which are similar to the vertical succession of small horizontal rectangles in Morgan ms 397, fol. 5^v.

8) The floral forms superimposed on tree trunk. This feature might be a misunderstanding of a Sasanian iconographic feature which puts a tree on top of a scale-like hill symbol on which a floral form is drawn. It is possible that the tree in Morgan ms 397, fol. 5^v, is a unification of a hill symbol showing a superimposed plant with a tree. For the Sasanian prototype, see Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII (here the two animals seem to eat from the tree as in Morgan ms 397, fol. 5^v); *Survey of Persian Art*, iv, pl. 177e. In some other instances a tree rises from a triangular-shaped root symbol covered on the sides by leaf forms. See E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pl. xxxviii, liv.

9) Pointed cone-shaped leaves at the end of a branch. See Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 27, 33, 52; *Survey of Persian Art*, iv, pl. 229b.

10) There are no real parallels for the arrangement of the branches with leaves (or fruits) in the manner of spikes emanating from one central point. The closest parallel found was Horn, *op. cit.*, XLIV, pl. 1b, second row, no. 624; also H. H. von der Osten, "The Ancient Seals from the Near East in the Metropolitan Museum," *ART BULLETIN*, XIII, 1931, Seal no. 100. This particular seal in the Metropolitan Museum has three flowers emanating from one point. They are accompanied by little stems which have leaves in cross-bar shape, somewhat similar to the miniature on fol. 5^v.

11) Other Iranian features are perhaps:

1) The sceptre of a floral nature in the hand of the king in the miniature on fol. 3^r, which has many counterparts in old Persian and Islamic art. See O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, London, 1905, p. 92, no. 38 (where further references are given), pl. XII; von der Osten, *op. cit.*, fig. 123; A. Pavlovskij, "Décoration des plafonds de la Chapelle Palatine," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II, 1893, 380, 412.

2) Raising of the hands of the three companions on fols. 1^r and 3^v. This gesture might express only the conversation going on between the king and his companions, as in the miniatures on fols. 2^r, 3^r. In fols. 1^r and 3^v it is noticeable that the hands of the companions are raised much higher than that of the king. It may therefore be possible that it is a last remnant of the raising of the hand in supplication to a Persian king, as shown in two Sasanian rock carvings (see E. Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre de la Perse sassanide," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, v, 1928, pl. xli, fig. 14; xlii, fig. 15; and in one wall painting from Qusayr 'Amra (K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, 1932, I, 268-69, pl. 48).

3) The mustachioed lion. See Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pls. 26, 30. At least, anthropomorphic qualities are indicated in Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 33."

Dr. Ettinghausen also noticed the following Persian features, but did not consider them sufficiently characteristic to include them in the foregoing list:

1) A figure with head seen in profile looking and pointing upward, and seated near to, or being part of, a decorative scheme, as on the Morgan miniature of fol. 1^r. Cf. T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, London, 1929, pl. 3a.

2) The ending of the animal tail in a floral form as in fols. 4^r, 5^r, 6^r. Cf. Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 22; *Survey of Persian Art*, iv, pl. 135.

3) Circular neck opening of coat like the one worn by the two courtiers, fols. 1^r, 2^r, 2^v, 3^r, 3^v. Cf. Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 13, 16, 19.

4) The tripartite crown. Cf. Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, 2, 5, 6.

It is interesting to observe that the only feature listed by Dr. Ettinghausen that was not part of common practice in South Italian painting in the eleventh century is the sacred tree motive of the fig-tree scene. If there was an Arabic archetype for the Morgan cycle, this scene must surely have been one of its miniatures.



Fig. 1 Chicago, Art Institute: Seurat, La Grande-Jatte, 1886



Fig. 2 Merion, Barnes Foundation: Seurat, Les Poseuses, 1887

SOME ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEURAT'S STYLE

By ROBERT J. GOLDWATER

THE painting of Georges Seurat has suffered many critical vicissitudes. Since that day when Puvis passed the *Cirque* by, to its author's great disappointment, Seurat's art has been much analyzed. Originally viewed as a sort of belated and more orderly impressionist, Seurat was somewhat later valued for qualities of spatial organization and of composition that appeared to be very far from the earlier impressionist standard by which his painting had been judged. From the very start his name has been identified with the *Grande-Jatte* (Fig. 1), and with rare exceptions this canvas, undoubtedly his greatest, has been taken as a kind of criterion of what Seurat's art was striving for, and his other paintings judged in its light. This point of view does just honor to the *Grande-Jatte*, but it ignores two essential facts: first that the *Grande-Jatte* is, within the decade of Seurat's activity, an "early" canvas which, to conclude from his later evolution, did not necessarily represent the highest level of achievement; and secondly that Seurat's painting is not an isolated point suspended between an earlier impressionism and a later highly appreciative cubism, but is contemporary with, associated with, and undoubtedly influenced by a general movement in the painting of his own time. Seurat's art is far from being static, as his *méthode*, his deliberate system of painting, and even the tone of his first pictures might lead one to suppose.¹ On the contrary, it changes rapidly and profoundly. Nor must we forget that Seurat is the youngest of the four great "post-impressionist" figures. Born in 1859, he is twenty years younger than Cézanne, with whom he is so often compared in his transformation of impressionism, eleven years younger than Gauguin, and six years younger than van Gogh. It would thus not be surprising if his style should also bear affinities to those more nearly his contemporaries, and to the most advanced currents of his time. Others (and especially Rey, Barr, Rich, Schapiro, and Novotny),² have touched upon these problems and made valuable suggestions concerning them; we wish to carry the discussion further. It is then the progression of Seurat's art, especially from the completion of the *Grande-Jatte* in 1886 until his death five years later, and its relation to that of his contemporaries, that we propose to study here.

The *Poseuses* (Merion, Barnes Foundation) (Fig. 2) was the first large picture to follow the *Grande-Jatte*. Exhibited as no. 113 in the *Indépendants* of 1888, it had occupied Seurat in that and the preceding year.³ An examination of the drawings and *croquetons* made for it

1. Seurat's first drawing (portrait of Aman-Jean) was exhibited at the Salon in 1883. His first more or less independent pictures were presumably done in 1880-81, though none of them bear dates. The dating of Seurat's early works stems originally from the inventory of his atelier taken at his death, and the catalogue of the 1900 exhibition of *La Revue Blanche*. See Lucie Cousturier, *Seurat*, 2nd ed., Paris, Crès, 1926, for reproductions (not very good) and generally accepted dates for most of the paintings.

2. Robert Rey, *La renaissance du sentiment classique*, Paris, Beaux-Arts, 1931, pp. 95-134; Alfred Barr, ed., *The*

Museum of Modern Art, Catalogue of the First Loan Exhibition, New York, 1929, pp. 23-27; Meyer Schapiro, "Seurat and La Grande-Jatte," *Columbia Review*, xvii, 1935, pp. 9-16; Fritz Novotny, *Cézanne und das Ende der wissenschaftlichen Perspektive*, Vienna, Schroll, 1938, pp. 145-152; Roger Fry, *Transformations*, New York, Brentano, 1926, pp. 188-196. —It will be noted by the reader that Daniel Catton Rich's exhaustive analysis of the *Grande-Jatte* has been assumed as one of the bases of the discussion of my article (*Seurat and the Evolution of the Grande-Jatte*, Chicago, University Press, 1935).

3. Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 123. The *Grande-Jatte*, worked on

will therefore give us some indication of the direction in which Seurat's art was moving.⁴ One of the first studies is the conté-crayon of a *Poseuse de Face* (Kahn no. 99) shown standing in the studio with her back to a wall which runs nearly parallel to the picture plane (Fig. 3). Her position is the same as that of the central figure in the Barnes canvas except that she has a perfectly symmetrical rigidity, with legs close together and head straight, and that her palms are turned down rather than up. The squatter proportions of the figure, the broader face, the hair flat on the head, are taken directly from the posing model. A color sketch formerly in the collection of Félix Fénéon is somewhat closer to the final version: here the hands have been turned, the proportions elongated, the right leg extended; the white towel has been put beneath the feet and the wall turned at a slight angle. But the corner of the room has not yet been indicated, and the passe-partout sketches on the wall remain directly behind the head of the model. Now it is interesting that what follows these two studies is an outline drawing in which contours are indicated by a solid, continuous line and areas by strokes of varying density which follow these contours (Kahn no. 98) (Fig. 4). Moreover, this outline drawing was preceded by at least one other conté-crayon, and two other *croquetons*. One of the *croquetons*, done in very broad strokes and surrounded by a painted contrasting frame, is a study for the woman on the right (Fig. 6).⁵ She is shown with stockings and shoes missing, with the bag hanging on the wall omitted, and the stool placed considerably lower than in the definitive composition, so that the right leg is further extended. The back of the stool is not covered with towel and dress as it is later, and its legs are thus still visible. Here, as in the other preliminary study, the line of the baseboard runs more nearly parallel to the picture plane than in the finished version. The other *croqueton* is a similar study of the figure to the left, also shown without any of the surrounding still-life. The conté-crayon (Kahn no. 97) is a realistic still-life study comparable to that of the central figure (Fig. 5). Towel, dress, hat, and umbrella are all shown as they

from 1884-86, was first shown at the Eighth Impressionist Exhibition, rue Laffitte, May 15-June 15, 1886.

I wish to thank Mr. Stephen C. Clark and the Barnes Foundation for their permission to reproduce their pictures; the Museum of Modern Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, Knoedler and Co., and Jacques Seligmann and Co., for illustrations used here; and the Frick Art Reference Library and the Metropolitan Museum for help in obtaining others.

4. The drawings have largely been studied from the facsimiles in Gustave Kahn, *Les dessins de Georges Seurat*, 2 vols., Paris, Bernheim-Jeune, n.d. Of the 149 items only seven are dated, and of these four are before 1878.—*Croqueton* is Seurat's word for his color studies in oil.

5. The purpose of the contrasting frame is, as Roger Fry has pointed out (*Transformations*, p. 195), to isolate the picture and enhance its color. Seurat, in the letter on his theory which we will have occasion to quote below, says: "Le cadre est dans l'harmonie opposée à celle des tons, des teintes, et des lignes du tableau." A word as to the origin of this frame: it appears first in 1885 as a band on the painting itself (the *Bec du Hoc*, Cousturier, *op. cit.*, pl. 10; *Marée Basse à Grandcamp*, *ibid.*, pl. 15; *Port-en-Bessin*, Museum of Modern Art, *Catalogue, First Loan Exhibition*, 1929, pl. 57, where it is shown without this band) to isolate the picture from the white frame Seurat had adopted to replace the traditional gold; and then, about 1889, the frame itself is done in contrasting colors (Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 130). Seurat is usually considered as having been the first to use both white and contrasting frames. Some doubt is cast on this by the juxtaposition of the two following quotations. Georges

Lecomte, in his biography of Pissarro (Paris, Bernheim-Jeune, 1922), says: "C'est ainsi que, à une exposition de 1877, après plusieurs essais, il [Pissarro] fait une manière de petite scandale en présentant ses toiles dans des cadres laqués dont la blancheur immaculée ne dérange pas les heureux accords réalisés, tandis que, au contraire, l'or risque d'y mettre un peu de perturbation. . . . Enfin, un peu plus tard, en 1880, Camille Pissarro se met à teindre ses cadres avec la complémentaire de la couleur dominante du tableau. . . . Ainsi les harmonies rayonnent dans leur splendeur intacte et même accentuée" (pp. 70-71). Now the above might be considered simply the enthusiasm of a biographer wishing to give precedence to his subject, were it not for the following statement of J. K. Huysmans, in his review of "L'Exposition des Indépendants en 1880": "Je laisserai de côté l'œuvre gravée de M. Pissarro, cernée par le violet de ses cadres entourant un papier jaune, de ce jaune des papiers à autographie, sur lequel sont piquées les pointes sèches et les eaux-fortes. . . ." (*L'art moderne*, Paris, Plon, 1927, p. 106). Huysmans makes no reference to paintings, but the theory is there, and already put into execution (though in a rather special case), in 1880, therefore previous to Seurat. Further, Seurat was introduced to Pissarro by Signac (who had met him through Guillaumin) at the beginning of 1885, when the contrasting frames begin (cf. A. Tabarant, *Pissarro*, Paris, Rieder, 1931, p. 51). This suggests that the practice is perhaps originally due to Pissarro. However, no sure conclusion can be reached until some paintings of Pissarro are found, done between 1880 and 1884, and possessing contrasting color frames that are surely contemporary with the paintings.

were in the model Seurat copied. The hat is broad and flat, its brim tilts equally on both sides, its crown is round rather than conical and its high feather behind is missing; the umbrella does not yet have its gay red bow. The stuff of the dress below falls in broad contours, its silhouette rounded instead of in the jagged points of the painting. The white ribbon that, falling from the hat, gives added emphasis to the verticality of the whole, has not yet been introduced. In the outline drawing (Fig. 4), however, all these features of the still-life on the right, as well as all the other details of the corner of the room and the central figure, have been indicated as they will finally appear, so that the drawing is of a later stage than the two *conté*-crayons and the two *croquetons* we have just described and must directly precede the definitive *esquisse* now in the McIlhenny collection. Thus Seurat's final study for the *Poseuses* is one which emphasizes the organization of his picture surface into flat, bounded areas, areas whose spatial relationship is given, not by intervals realized as spatial and atmospheric volumes as in the *Grande-Jatte* (Fig. 1), but by linear overlappings whose representation omits atmospheric perspective, and greatly reduces the volume of the figure. It is true that in the final painting this change from the deep and emphasized recession of the *Grande-Jatte* is not quite so drastic; atmosphere and space do surround the central figure. Yet the angle of the room with its compression of planes is in itself a great change from the vast outdoor scenes that have thus far been Seurat's subjects. The introduction of the *Grande-Jatte* on the left wall only serves to increase this constraint; as the spreading out of the composition, the linear, scattered still-lives to right and left, the figures turned away from each other (two of them in broadest silhouette), the deliberate hiding of the corner of the room, and the treatment of the floor and the towel upon it, serve to flatten the space and give to the whole picture an aspect of confined relief.⁶ Coupled with the introduction of angular silhouettes and jagged lines within specific forms is a general elongation of proportions, an attenuation of head and neck, a heaping of hair on the top of the head, which add a lightness and grace and even (as in the hat with its feather and ribbon) a humor that were not present in the models Seurat had before him. We may note just one more instance of this sort of stylization: the way in which the stocking that the model to the right is putting on has been twisted and then distended to contrast the broken outline of heel, instep, and toe with the smooth form of the stocking already drawn on the other leg. These are instances of stylization very different from that of the *Grande-Jatte*, a stylization of a decorative intent that will increase in Seurat's later pictures.

The extent and the direction of these stylizations may perhaps be better realized by contrasting these drawings for the *Poseuses* with a number of studies for the picture which immediately precedes the *Grande-Jatte*—the *Baignade* (London, National Gallery, Millbank).⁷ Number 88 in Kahn's publication is a study for the *Chapeau, Souliers, Linge* of the center foreground of the *Baignade*; it contains no emphasis at all upon linear arrangement or decoration, and its chiaroscuro relief modeling has been preserved in the final painting. Number 86 is the first version of the man lying in the foreground; number 87 a later study

6. Schapiro (*op. cit.*, p. 13) has remarked upon the fact that the figures have no psychological relation to each other. This is likewise to be found in certain of Cézanne's works, the *Bathers*, for example. Spatially, however, there is a great difference, since Cézanne's figures help to define and limit the "hollow volume" of the center space, as indicated by their moving and turning in relation to this space, if not to each other. With Seurat this is not the case; the figures are strung out, one cannot revolve them around the central space as with Cézanne. It is also to be noted that

the perspective of the upper half of the *Grande-Jatte* has been changed so that the shadows lie more horizontal than they should, in order again that the angle of the room shall not appear to be too great.

7. The *Baignade* (Cousturier, *op. cit.*, pl. 10), done in 1883-84, was shown in 1884 both at the transitory *Groupe des Artistes Indépendants*, and at the first exhibition of the *Société des Artistes Indépendants*, after having been refused by the Salon (Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 116).

almost identical with the painting (Figs. 7 and 8). Here the direction of stylization is the opposite of that which we have noted in the *Poseuses*; here there is simplification and smoothing of the silhouette, a rounding off of the contours of hat and shoulder, a suppression of the interior details of the folds of the shirt. The study for the boy seated on the bank (Kahn no. 127, now in the Morrison collection, London) shows this same simplification and the same preservation of the relief and the modeling of the figure, as does number 85, a conté crayon of the legs of this same figure.⁸ We can thus see that the flattening, the linearization, and the introduction of detail that characterize the progress of the *Poseuses* are new and significant tendencies in Seurat's art.

Les Grues et la Percée of 1888 (Fig. 17) is typical of the tendencies which lead to this flatter, more decorative style, while retaining features of the older spatial composition. The main diagonal which runs from right to left is in itself a conventional feature, and its use is emphasized by the subsidiary diagonal, not actually established, but suggested by the break in the rocks and the buoy out beyond toward the horizon. The pattern of the rocks is still in the line of Seurat's older work, especially in the balancing of the two bare patches, with their curved irregular outlines; we have noted this method and these shapes occurring as early as the studies for the *Baignade*. But it is significant that the base of the picture is no strong horizontal but a waving line. For this line picks up the lines of the clouds and serves to emphasize how much the picture is now seen as flat pattern, and how while the middle space recedes, the sky has been deliberately brought forward to complete this pattern. Thus the increasing largeness of the rhythm of the rocks, which changes from the short sharp outlines of the upper left to the slow broad curves of the lower right foreground, is stopped by the bright curves at the bottom, and the eye is thrown back again to the sky, where the linear movement of the ribboned bands is similar to the jagged rocks.

The *Poudreuse* of the Courtauld collection was exhibited at the Indépendants in 1890, and may therefore be dated shortly before this (Fig. 12).⁹ It shows an increasing use of that sort of pattern which, in contrast to the kind of pattern to be found in the *Baignade* and the *Grande-Jatte*, we may designate as "arbitrary." Table, plant, mirror, stylized bow, all are conceived according to a succession of curves that are continued both in the color pattern of the wall behind and the form of the woman herself. The skirt is modeled by a series of curves that not only repeat the shapes of arms and shoulder-straps but complete the circular pattern of the shadows on the wall. This is to say that these shapes, themselves established

8. The *Baignade* drawings suggest a characteristic of Seurat's early painting that has been little remarked and yet is important to note—the extremely close connection of these early studies with just ordinary academies. (Seurat studied at the Beaux-Arts in 1878 and 1879 under Lehmann, pupil and friend of Ingres. There are no drawings dated as of these two years; but we may note two copies of Holbein portraits [Kahn nos. 7 and 8] and associate them with the fact that, after Raphael, Holbein's portraits held the highest place in Ingres' esteem.) Compare the Morrison drawing with Kahn no. 42, a study of the back and head of a boy. Here the easel in the background shows us that this is nothing more than an academy, and the technique of both is the sort of thing on which many long hours are spent at the Beaux-Arts. Just as revealing is the *Nude Woman Standing* (Kahn no. 62, now Courtauld collection, London) where the pose with leg bent and the arms presumably resting on the back of a chair (which is not shown) is a pose typical of the academic model. The *Baignade* and the *Grande-Jatte*, as well as other pictures of 1884 and 1885, are thus still impregnated with an academic tradition that

forms an essential ingredient of Seurat's style, but one whose influence lessens as his painting develops and as he comes closer to other contemporary currents. This is not to say that the *Baignade* and the *Grande-Jatte* (much less the later paintings) are either "academic" or "classic," but simply that the solidity of the "art of the museums" for which Cézanne longed was not something that Seurat had to recapture, but was rather an element of style with which he began. Cf. Rich, *op. cit.*, and Schapiro, *op. cit.*, for a discussion of the relative classicism of the *Grande-Jatte*. The stage-set arrangement of the figures, which was abandoned in the *Grande-Jatte*, is still found in the study for the *Casseurs de Pierre* (New York, Museum of Modern Art, *Catalogue of the Bliss Collection*, 1934, p. 66, pl. 61, "1884 or earlier"). Here a classic background has been replaced by a realistic one, but the triangle of figures in the center foreground, the repetition of their lines in the buildings behind, the opening of the space in the left center, all are in the classic tradition.

9. Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 125. It was no. 727 in the exhibition.



Fig. 9 - Paris, Louvre: Color Sketch for *Le Cirque*



Fig. 11 - Paris, Musée du Luxembourg: Seurat, *Le Cirque*, 1890-91



Fig. 10 - Conté-crayon Study for *Le Cirque*



Fig. 12 - London, Courtauld Collection: Seurat, *La Poudreuse*, 1889



Fig. 13 - Wassenaar, Kröller-Müller Foundation: Seurat, *Le Chahut*, 1890

by contrasting color areas, are deliberately made to play a double rôle, functioning on the one hand as three-dimensional modeled form, and on the other as two-dimensional pattern. This is of course true of many another picture, and to say that it is here done consciously is no definition of this particular style. It is rather that the surface pattern remains as an imposed design, instead of apparently growing out of the construction of the whole. The result is a play between the design of the painting and its subject that, by leaving each of them separate rather than fusing the two into a single interpreted subject" produces a tension, and thus a humor that is one of the chief effects of the picture. The folds of the skirt and the other forms of the robust woman are played upon by the pattern of the table legs (which define a shape just as voluminous but empty), by the flattened symmetrical design of the plant behind it, and finally by the curved lines on the wall itself. Seurat has juxtaposed without merging (as he merged in the *Grande-Jatte*) his decorative scheme and his three-dimensional, spatial form. This consciousness of pattern apart from the objects involved shows how closely Seurat is allied to the general style of his time. Quite aside from such *art nouveau* details as the shape of the table, the outline of the hair behind the neck, the points of the ribbon upon the mirror, this consciousness allies Seurat to the "symbolist" theories of his contemporaries. That Seurat employs this abstract pattern in a humorous way does not dissociate him from its influence. How easy it would be—and one would hardly be stretching the point—to fit *La Poudreuse* into the mold of Gauguin's "objective" and "subjective" deformations.¹⁰

The fundamental pictures for the "final" style of Seurat are of course the *Parade* (1888-89) (Fig. 16), the *Chahut* (1890) (Fig. 13), and the *Cirque* (1890-91) (Fig. 11), the last of which was not altogether finished at the time of Seurat's death, although he considered it far enough advanced to exhibit. Essential also for our consideration of this style are the sketches made for these pictures. Great emphasis has been laid on the number and the nature of the sketches executed for the earlier canvases, and especially of course for the *Grande-Jatte*. The spatial layout, the detailing of the parts, the crayon drawings of the figures, the filling in of the space with these figures are correctly seen as leading to an understanding of Seurat's conception and purpose, and to a grasp of the method and manner of his transformation and integration of nature. But it has not been sufficiently noted that for these latter pictures, as large in conception as the *Grande-Jatte*, such sketches are almost entirely lacking. In Seurat's atelier at the time of his death there were found thirty-eight *croquetons* for the *Grande-Jatte*; for the *Chahut* and the *Cirque* there exist but one such sketch apiece.¹¹ For the *Grande-Jatte* there were twenty-three preparatory drawings in addition to the *croquetons*; for the *Chahut* there was only one, and for the *Cirque* but three. If further we take into account those pictures done immediately before and after the *Grande-Jatte*, we see that this is no sudden change: for the *Baignade* there were ten drawings and thirteen *croquetons*; for the *Poseuses* five drawings and four *croquetons*; for the *Parade* four drawings and three *croquetons*. These are significant figures, whose full import we will return to later; for the moment we may remark that they indicate something very different from an increasing mastery over a style.

10. We will see below that this consciousness of surface pattern is one of the features that allies Seurat with the general artistic trend of 1885-1890. Novotny, *op. cit.*, p. 148, also notes Seurat's concern with pattern, and points out that the pattern form of the individual object is related to that of the picture as a whole.

11. This enumeration is taken from Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 144,

who had access to it through Félix Fénéon, one of the executors. That the list may not be altogether accurate is indicated by the fact that Rich (*op. cit.*, pp. 53-61) cites twenty-one drawings, twenty-six sketches and three studies "preparatory" to the *Grande-Jatte*, and sixteen drawings and four sketches as "associated" works.

How true this is becomes clear when we examine not alone the number, but also the character of the drawings. For the *Grande-Fatte* there are no line drawings. All the sketches, whether in conté-crayon or in color, are conceived in three-dimensional terms, either of the modeling of the individual figure, or of the organization of space.¹² For the linear organization, for the flat decorative pattern, there are no studies. But in these last paintings, Seurat's concern with this aspect of composition dominates the others. It is not simply that he makes outline drawings, as we have already seen him doing for the *Poseuses*, but that tensions and balances, whether in black and white or in color, as they exist upon the surface of the picture plane, become his almost exclusive concern. Take for example the conté-crayon study for *La Parade* (Kahn no. 123) (Fig. 14). Here within the individual figures, there is no modeling, hardly even a contrast of flat planes; there is only the juxtaposition and contrast of the plane of the figure with the planes surrounding it.¹³ The consciousness of the continuity of spatial recession, which, in spite of all emphasis on "measuring posts," exists from the very beginning of the three-dimensional conception of the *Grande-Fatte*, is here replaced by jumps from one parallel plane to the next, the distance between the planes being indicated by a variation in their values and a reduction in size of the figures they contain. Moreover the preparatory color study for *La Parade* (formerly in the Vildrac collection, Paris) is entirely a study in linear, decorative tensions (Fig. 15). The uniformity of stroke, which we have seen partly sacrificed before, here gives way entirely to modifications designed to indicate force and direction. The stroke of the foreground figures follows their contours; to emphasize their repetitive pattern the railing is done in long horizontal strokes; the gas-jets above are centers of light which radiate strong strokes of color towards each other and down into the picture. The shapes of the objects themselves, however, do not necessarily determine the lines of force: the windows at the right, vertical in shape, are nevertheless carried out in horizontal strokes, in order that the balance of horizontal and vertical, obviously one of the main decorative themes of the picture, may be preserved. (In the finished painting this horizontality is maintained by breaking the window into a light area above and dark area below, and by further emphasizing the row of lights that shine through from the room behind.) Even the legs of the trombone player are broken by horizontal touches, while his chest and arms are done in vertical lines. And finally, the distribution of these strokes is far from being even, as it is in the sketches for the *Grande-Fatte* and the *Poseuses*, so that density of area is likewise made to play its part in the distribution of the decorative pattern.

The studies for the *Cirque* show Seurat with the same predominant attitude, occupied with the same problems. The drawing of equestrienne and tumbler (Kahn no. 124) (Fig. 10) is above all a surface design: the movement of the figures is entirely across the picture plane, with rider and clown spread out flat as they are in the finished painting, their actions conveyed entirely by linear contour. These figures are spots of light against the summarily indicated bands of the grandstand in the background, shown as strips of varying darkness with no interior detail. Spatial relations are reduced to a minimum; there is some distance suggested between the rider and the clown by variation in size, but little indication of the depth of the circus ring or the recession of the seats. The whole serves primarily as a decorative background with which to set off the jagged contours of the moving figures.¹⁴

12. Cf. Rich, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

13. This change is the reason why many preparatory conté drawings of individual figures cannot exist.

14. A drawing for the clown of the lower foreground

(Kahn no. 103, inscribed "Dernier dessin de G. Seurat") is again a study of angular contour and emphasizes its straight line contrasts considerably more than does the final version.

The colored *esquisse* for the *Cirque* (Paris, Louvre) (Fig. 9) bears the same marks as those we have found in the *Parade*—the mood is of course a very different one, but this only serves to emphasize how much Seurat is now thinking in terms of total surface decoration conveyed by linear means.¹⁵ Swirling lines replace the stolid horizontals and verticals, and the strokes follow these lines. Areas which are to be light are left entirely blank so that the horse and the head of the clown have become rather flat, reserved areas with no interior modeling. Similarly, by leaving large areas of the grandstand white they are brought further forward than in the finished composition; on the other hand the curves of the seats, shown in the sketch, are flattened to straight lines in the final painting.

The *Parade*, the *Chahut*, and the *Cirque* all exhibit certain stylistic characteristics which we have seen in milder form in the *Poseuses* and the *Poudreuse*, and they thus represent a new stage in Seurat's style. The *Parade* (Fig. 16) is a directly frontal composition, placed above the spectator's eye-level, and lacking in orthogonal lines.¹⁶ A foreground plane (though we cannot be sure it is the same one) is established by the gas-jets above and the silhouetted heads below.¹⁷ There are a great many planes indicated behind this first one, but the intervals between them are omitted, and their distance is only suggested by slight changes of clarity. The silhouetting of the figures against the lighter middle ground is very different from those three-dimensional silhouettes that characterize the earlier paintings; they lead the eye across from figure to figure rather than into the picture space. In the *Chahut* (Fig. 13) this spatial compression increases further. The foreground plane is again established by a figure looking in with his back turned to the spectator, but the effect of this figure is by no means to create a deep space. Rather the approximately parallel lines of flute, double-bass, and legs of the chorus are seen as on the same plane, so that the diminishing feet do not actually realize a recession in depth.¹⁸ The upward glances of orchestra leader and spectator, each on a different plane, looking at the ballet which is on a third plane, are both directed across the picture and not at all at their actual object. The background plane, as in the *Parade*, is parallel to the picture plane, and though represented as rather far away (as we can see if we look at the spectators' heads below), appears to be rather close. The gas-jets to the left and above serve further to increase the surface pattern. The *Cirque* (Fig. 11) has the same foreground figure as have the two other pictures. But now the spectator is looking down into the circus ring so that a horizontal plane can be represented and thus give depth to the composition. In addition, the curve of the circus ring should lead the eye back into the space. In spite of this, the *Cirque* is effective largely as a surface design. This "poster-like" effect is in part due to the light and bright colors employed, colors in a strident key, almost all of the same intensity and with little suggestion either of modeling or of atmospheric perspective.¹⁹ In part also it is due to the repetition of line and stripe patterns that cause the eye to play over the surface as a whole. But in large measure it is due to a multiple perspective that treats every part of the composition

15. A reproduction of this sketch is to be found in René Huyghe (ed.), *Histoire de l'art contemporain*, Paris, 1935. Chapter II, p. 27.

16. Cf. Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 25, and Roger Fry, "Seurat's La Parade," *Burlington Magazine*, LV, 1929, pp. 289-93, for analyses of this picture. Barr here sees Seurat as "consciously or unconsciously . . . affected by Egyptian reliefs which he had seen at the Louvre."

17. The frieze-like use of the gas-jets begins as early as 1885, according to Cousturier's dating of the drawing of the *Banquistes* (Cousturier, *op. cit.*, pl. 62; Kahn no. 102). Here the desire to flatten the composition is clearly evident from the profile posing of the figures, and the twisted

shoulders of the clown, which suggest a relation to Egyptian relief that Barr (*loc. cit.*) has suggested for the *Parade*.

18. What a change has taken place here since the *Grande-Jatte* may be suggested by a comparison of Rey's analysis of the *Chahut* (*op. cit.*, pp. 124-27), with the straight- and curved-line analysis Rich makes of the *Grande-Jatte* (*op. cit.*, pp. 27, 29). Without subscribing to Rey's geometrical conclusions, we can observe how much more of the total effect of the picture is given by a linear analysis than in the case of the earlier work.

19. Cf. Florent Fels, "Les dessins de Seurat," *L'amour de l'art*, VIII, 1927, 43-46.

as if the spectator were at its own level. Thus we do not look down nearly enough upon the foreground clown, nor up enough at the spectators in the balcony, most of whom are drawn as silhouettes at eye level. We can see the belly and hind leg under the belly of the horse, even though the nearly horizontal and practically parallel lines of the upper balcony (in reality a section of a curve) indicate our eye-level is near the top of the picture. At the same time the supposed angle of vertical vision is many times too great, so that we of necessity flatten the picture by looking at it in separate parts. Thus the imagined relation of the foreground clown to the ring as it would continue forward under him is impossible to construct, and each row of spectators in the stands is seen as silhouettes looking straight out at the observer on their own level. To a lesser extent this "absolutizing" of the perspective is also to be found in the *Parade* and the *Chahut*. In the *Parade* the eye-level is even with the stand of the trombone player. In certain details this is taken into account: the end of the trombone is seen from below, the stand in front of the three musicians is in receding perspective. On the other hand, the ring master and the boy in profile are viewed from in front rather than from beneath, and the row of decorative gas-jets across the top is entirely outside the perspective of the picture. Indeed the arrangement of the whole is such that an abstraction of space seems to be made in favor of a decorative recession of planes that is as absolute for the position of the figures as it is immobile for their poses. In the *Chahut* the eye-level similarly moves up and down the picture at will: conductor and chorus man are each seen directly horizontally, the girls' heads are viewed from below, but not their left arms, and the lights to the left and at the top are once more decorative motives with no specific spatial relationship to the rest of the picture.

These three canvases are in effect the final stage in a gradual evolution of Seurat's vision. Seurat begins by seeing in the round, by seeing volume and space as a gradual transition from light to dark, by seeing in terms of modeling. In his last pictures he sees space in terms of parallel planes one behind the other with almost no modeling involved. This seems to carry with it, in the compositions we have just discussed, a flattening of the total space represented, but that it need not do so is shown by certain of the landscapes of these last three years.²⁰ It is only natural that the change should be somewhat less marked in the drawings than in the finished compositions, that to the end the drawings should remain rounder than the paintings. There is nevertheless a great difference in conception between such a drawing as the *Portrait of Signac* (1890; Cousturier, plate 53), and studies like the *Portrait of his Father* (1881; Kahn no. 46) or the *Woman Sewing* in the Museum of Modern Art (1883; Kahn no. 63); and within the limitations of the medium we can observe a tendency towards a flattening of planes parallel to that found in the paintings. The very fact that the conté-crayon drawings decrease so rapidly after about 1885 is indicative of this tendency, since the nature of the medium lends itself to continuous, graduated modeling rather than to line, and it was for this peculiarity that Seurat had singled it out at the start.

In this connection it is perhaps possible to clarify a peculiarity of composition that is found in several paintings of the period 1885-87. Schapiro has already noticed "the remark-

20. In this connection compare especially the *Chenal de Gravelines, un Soir* (1890; Cousturier, *op. cit.*, pl. 34) with *Marée Basse à Grandcamp* (1885; *ibid.*, pl. 15). The earlier canvas still preserves the impressionist desire for a continuity of atmospheric perspective as an essential element of recession. The later canvas conveys no less an effect of distance, but is composed in the separate bands of quay, water, and sea wall, each parallel to the picture plane, and each a distinct light and color area sharply separated from

its neighbor. Thus the recession is given in jumps, rather than through a gradually changing continuum. Compare also *Le Hospice et le Phare à Honfleur* (1886) and *L'Entrée et le Port de Honfleur* (1886; formerly Goetz collection, Berlin) with *Le Crottoy: à val* (Edward G. Robinson collection, Beverly Hills) and *Le Crottoy: à mont* (both 1889) for a similar, though less marked change (reproductions in Cousturier, *op. cit.*, pl. 23, 21, 31, and 32, respectively).



Fig. 14 Conté-crayon

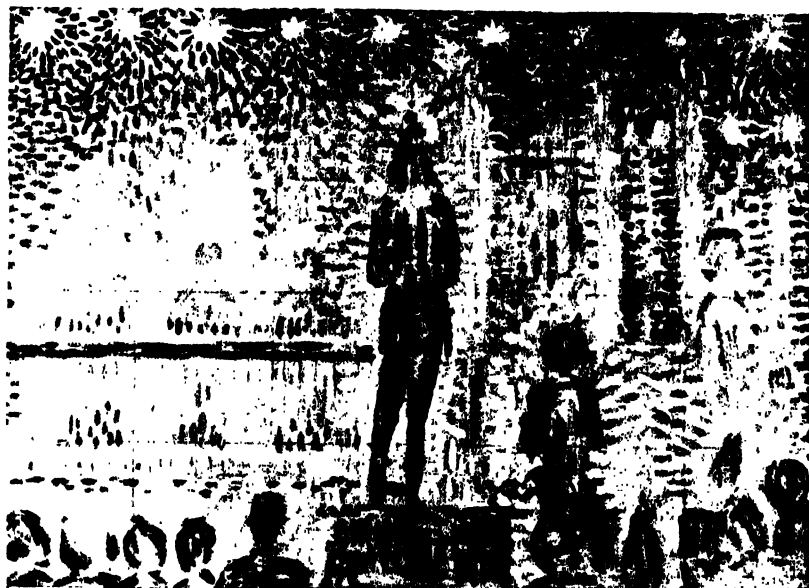


Fig. 15 Color Study

FIGS. 14-15 STUDIES FOR LA PARADE

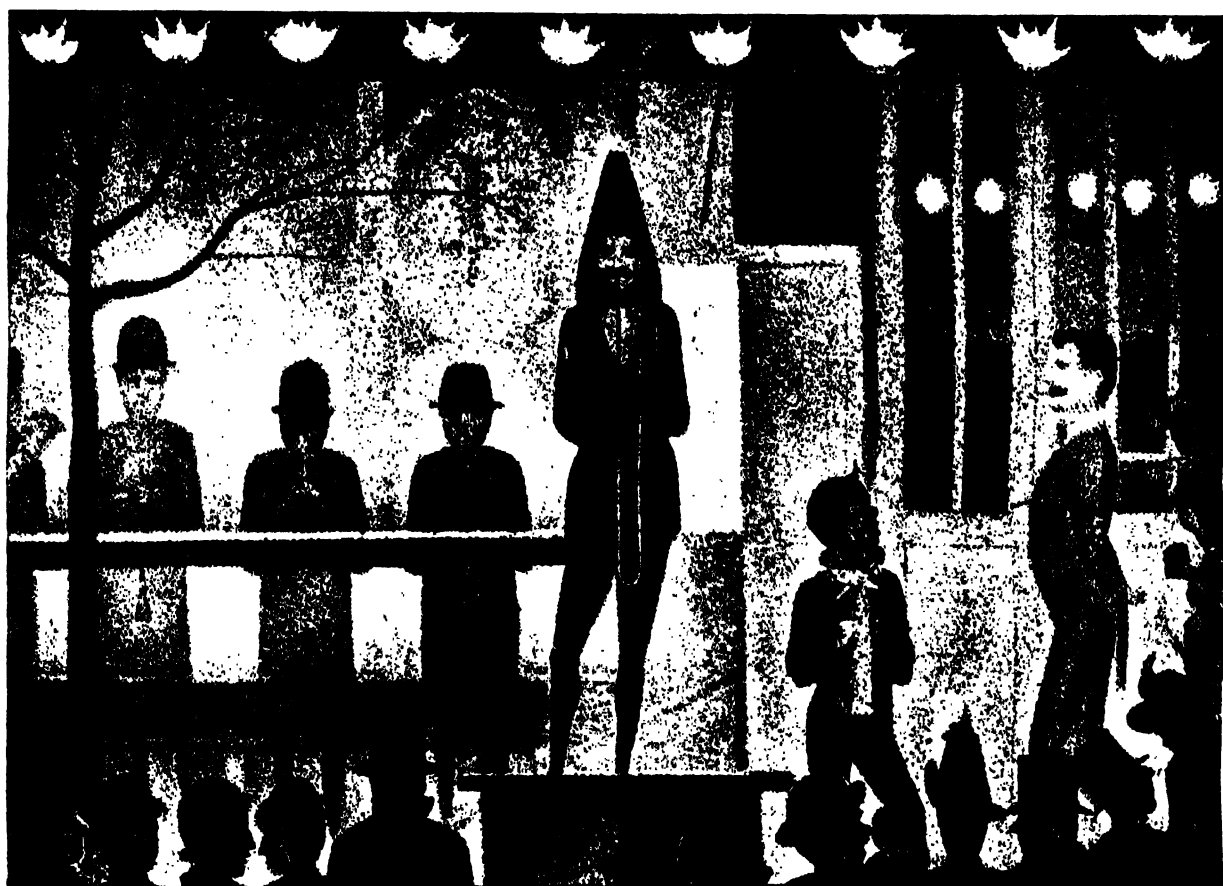


Fig. 16 -New York, Stephen C. Clark Collection: Seurat, *La Parade*, 1888-89



Fig. 17--New York, Market: Seurat, *Les Grues et la Percée*, 1888



Fig. 18 - New York, Market: Seurat, *La Berge à la Grande-Jatte*, 1885

able dualism in perspective whereby the figures in the first plane are all rendered in uniform profile, as if seen from points in front of each figure, but are graded in size as if seen from the extreme right side of the space."²¹ Now this dualism is not confined to the *Grande-Jatte*. Thus in *La Berge à la Grande-Jatte* (1885) (Fig. 18), the trees to right and left which serve to frame the picture and to establish the first, repoussoir plane, are themselves at different points upon a spatial diagonal that recedes from right to left; this latter fact is obscured by a uniform intensity that brings them equally forward, and also by the repetition of this frontal plane in that of the shore in the distance. This same construction is used in *Le Pont de Courbevoie* (1887; Courtauld collection, London). Here the first frontal plane is formed by the tree at the right border and by the overhanging leaves in the upper left corner, coming from a tree which is much further back upon the bank. The horizontal planes of docks and bridge in the distance emphasize the construction in planes parallel to the frontal plane and establish that balance of receding and surface composition that is a characteristic feature of these pictures.²² There is here, in effect, a balance between such more diagonally-viewed compositions as the *Fishermen* (1883) which are to be found among Seurat's early work, compositions that are close to the impressionist manner of seeing, and his later, flatter compositions.²³ The *Fishermen* is still viewed from above, in the manner of a Japanese print, and the recession of the parallel fishing-rods is given by the point of view. But in the *Berge à la Grande-Jatte* and the *Pont de Courbevoie* this point of view is at variance with the tall vertical objects that rise far to the top of and even out of the picture, all of them taller than the spectator, above his eye-level, and yet seen at every point in their height as if in a horizontal line of vision. This combination is of course especially characteristic of the *Grande-Jatte*, where the tall couple to the right and the trees in the middle ground are at right angles to the picture plane, while one looks down upon the rising diagonal shore line.²⁴ The union of these two points of view may once more be seen if one compares the landscape sketch for the *Baignade* without its figures, with the finished picture: the introduction in the latter of a right and left, up and down movement is quite clear.²⁵

There is one further observation to be made about the germs of Seurat's later style found in his earlier works. In none of his paintings are the spatial relations of his figures established to any important extent by the overlapping of those figures. Characteristically, his figures stand free and clear of each other, and each one has its own completed silhouette. In the *Parade*, for example, the silhouettes of the crowd in the foreground are arranged in an even rhythm side by side across the canvas. There is no bunching, no three-dimensional grouping, no overlapping. The rule holds good for the *Baignade* and the *Poseuses*, and for the large majority of the landscapes. It applies also to the *Grande-Jatte* for all but two of the figures, the two top-hatted men, one seated to the left, the other standing behind the woman at the right; and it is significant that the distance of these figures from those in front of them should be the least clearly defined of the whole canvas. This separation and isolation

21. *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

22. *Le Pont de Courbevoie* is reproduced in the Museum of Modern Art Catalogue, *First Loan Exhibition*, 1929, pl. 71.—Compare also the drawing *Au Concert Européen* (Museum of Modern Art; Kahn no. 36, dated by Cousturier 1884, but not shown until the *Indépendants* of 1888). Here the scene is cut at an angle and the direction of the audience's heads is diagonally to the left. But the space of the picture with the silhouetted singer at the deep end is composed in planes parallel to the picture plane.

23. Compare the *Fishermen* (Cousturier, *op. cit.*, pl. 5) with Monet's *Déchargeurs de Charbon à Argenteuil* (1872), although, characteristically, Monet's figures are moving ones, and Seurat's are immobile.

24. Cf. Rich, *op. cit.*, Chapter III, *passim*.

25. The composition of this study, with its arrangement of foreground and background shores, its view from the high bank down on to the water, is one of the typical impressionist arrangements. It is the type that Cézanne adopted for his *Estaque series*.

of the individual silhouette is indicative of a vision that sees space in planes rather than as a continuum, and so is potentially capable of flattening the space it renders by bringing these planes closer together. Thus though the space of the *Grande-Fatte* is "endlessly peopled," in that the figures move back with the space and seem to continue indefinitely, it is, as Rich has noted, by no means continuously or haphazardly peopled.²⁶ Rather the personages create planes of measurement through which the recession of the space may be judged by the repetition of intervals. But, as Schapiro points out, this is very different from confining the figures to the few planes of a foreground stage.²⁷

The *Chahut* and the *Cirque* seem to present some exceptions to this analysis in that they show figures viewed as directly in front of others. In the *Chahut*, however, the overlapping of the figures is reduced to a repetition of outline of forms spread out parallel to the picture plane, so that the problem of the relative positions of three-dimensional masses is not at all considered. In minor instances the *Cirque* simplifies the question in like fashion, as in the figures behind the ringmaster; major overlappings are, however, carefully avoided. The spectators in the stand are spaced so that horse and equestrienne and tumbler fall into the spaces between them, and a large section of the stand is left empty for the extended arms and flying skirts and hair of the rider. Whole rows are left unfilled so that the figures in front will not hide those behind. And when, at the right edge, Seurat wishes to produce the impression of a crowd, he does it as in the *Chahut*, by the repetition of a single form which is in its turn built up by the multiplication of a single silhouetted shape.²⁸

II

Our concern thus far has been with the direction of Seurat's art. Before turning our attention to the relation of his stylistic evolution to the painting of the time, we would do well to recall briefly the work of his contemporaries. The decade 1880-90 witnessed the dissolution of the impressionist group that had been exhibiting together since 1874; and it was in part due to disaffections within the group and a desire to widen its appeal, that Seurat was asked to join the eighth, and last, exhibition in 1886. By 1890 Monet had gone far along the road that took him away from a concern with naturalistic transcription toward color harmonies growing solely from the internal laws of the canvas: in 1886 he did the series at Étretat, in 1891 the sequences of *Poplars* and *Haystacks*. From 1883 to 1887, Renoir painted in his "dry" style under Italian influence. Cézanne worked on his own transformation of impressionism, but he did not show in Paris until 1895. Of the younger generation—Seurat's real contemporaries—van Gogh was in Paris from 1886 to 1888, where he was friendly with Emile Bernard; Gauguin, whose disciple Bernard soon became, painted his Brittany pictures with flat colors and heavily outlined areas that were at the basis of the "synthetist" theories of his followers. Between 1885 and 1890 Lautrec developed his characteristic style, and in 1889 he and Bonnard did their first posters. During the same

26. Cf. Schapiro, *loc. cit.*, and Rich, *loc. cit.*

27. In this respect *La Baignade* is considerably more "classic." Classic also is the way in which the triangle of the seated figures repeats the triangle of the shore (microcosm and macrocosm), and the double diagonal composition of the whole, both characteristics more striking in the *croquetons* with figures (e.g., one with two figures in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City) than in the finished version.

28. The reader will have noticed that the subject of Seurat's color and its changes in his later works has been largely neglected in the foregoing analysis. This has been

deliberate, since the writer has not recently seen many of the pictures discussed. A few general observations may, however, be permitted. First, there are often variations from the theory of simultaneous color contrasts—e.g., in many of the early pictures, notably *La Baignade*. Secondly, there is a general lightening and brightening of the colors used in the later pictures (with the exception of *La Parade*, which shows a night scene). And thirdly, there is a general decrease in the contrasts of tone in the later pictures. It will be seen that the last two tendencies are in line with that flattening of the individual figure and narrowing of the total space that has been described.

period Eugène Grasset, partly under the influence of English "Arts and Crafts," evolved his own influential "modern" manner of poster and decoration. And in 1889 *La Plume*, organ of the younger painters and writers, was founded. Thus in his last five years Seurat was the contemporary of various developing aspects of a new style—which, suddenly growing from such origins as these, flowered into that omniprevalant manner of poster, crafts, and architectural decoration of the decade 1890–1900 known as *art nouveau*. Seurat's own later work has close affinities with that of these other artists who were among the founders of *art nouveau*.

It is well known that the last pictures of Seurat were painted in accordance with a conscious and well-defined theory. This is the theory of simultaneous contrasts of color that Seurat had studied in the books of Chevreul²⁹ and Rood. Later admirably explained and analyzed by Rey, it was first presented to the public by Félix Fénéon in 1886, à propos of his criticism of the *Grande-Jatte*, shown at the Eighth Impressionist Exhibition held in the Rue Laffitte: "Si, dans la *Grande-Jatte* de M. Seurat, l'on considère par exemple, un dm². couvert d'un ton uniforme, on trouvera sur chacun des centimètres de cette superficie, en une tourbillante cohue de menues macules, tous les éléments constitutifs du ton. Cette pelouse dans l'ombre: des touches, en majorité, donnent la valeur locale de l'herbe; d'autres, d'orangées, se clairesèment, exprimant la peu sensible action solaire; d'autres, de pourpre, font intervenir la complémentaire du vert; un bleu cyané, provoqué par la proximité d'une nappe d'herbe au soleil, accumule ses criblures vers la ligne de démarcation et les rarifie progressivement en deçà."³⁰ There are the contrasts of *tons* (light and dark) and the contrasts of *teintes* (the three fundamental color complementaries: red-green, blue-orange, violet-yellow), which, in their interaction, modify each other almost to infinity. But between the time of Fénéon's description and Seurat's own explanation in his famous letter to Maurice Beaubourg in 1890, a change took place.³¹ Fénéon expounded the theory entirely on the basis of tone and color; Seurat added the contrasts of line. The first is an exposition that fits the *Baignade* and the *Grande-Jatte*; the second is appropriate to the *Cirque*, the *Chahut*, and (to a lesser extent) the *Parade*. Moreover, Seurat worked out a theory of the symbolic expression of mood in terms of tone, color, and line, and his emphasis was on its ability to translate emotion through objectively-determined means: "L'art, c'est l'harmonie. L'harmonie, c'est l'analogie des contraires, l'analogie des semblables, de ton, de teinte, de ligne, considérés par la dominante et sous l'influence d'un éclairage en combinaisons gaies, calmes, ou tristes . . . La gaîté de *ton*, c'est la dominante lumineuse; de *teinte*, la dominante chaude; de *ligne*, les lignes au dessus de l'horizontale. Le calme du ton, c'est l'égalité du sombre et du clair; de teinte, du chaude et du froid, et l'horizontale pour la ligne. La triste du ton, c'est la dominante froide, et de ligne, les directions abaissées."³² These sentences are part of the first section of his letter, to which he gave the theoretical title "Esthétique," while on "technique" there is only a second and minor section; but it was with just such technical questions of method that Fénéon was chiefly concerned.

Rey has pointed out that the theories of Charles Henry and Signac probably played a large part in Seurat's interest in linear expression.³³ He has also pointed to Seurat's study

29. *Loi du contraste simultané*, 1st ed., Paris, 1827; 2nd ed., Paris, 1887.

30. Félix Fénéon, *Les impressionnistes en 1886*, Paris, Publications de la Vogue, 1886, p. 20.

31. This letter, written to correct some errors that had crept into Jules Christophe's transcription of Seurat's theory (in his *Georges Seurat*, Paris, Léon Vannier, 1890),

is quoted by Gustave Coquiott, *Seurat*, Paris, Albin Michel, ca. 1924, pp. 232–33, and given in facsimile by Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

32. Coquiott, *loc. cit.*

33. Rey, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 140. It should be noted that of Henry's three books, two (*Le rapporteur esthétique*, and *La cercle chromatique*) were published in 1888.

of the geometrical analyses of antique art that a certain M. D. Sutter published in *L'art* in 1880, though again we do not know exactly when Seurat first read them.³⁴ But little stress has been laid upon the fact that interest in this sort of theory, as well as the form that it takes in the paintings, is characteristic of the period in which Seurat was working (1885-91). This is the time of Gauguin and Emile Bernard and Paul Serusier in Brittany and Paris, the time of "synthetists" and "symbolists."³⁵ Maurice Denis (in 1885?) invents the terms "objective" and "subjective deformation" (stylizations of pattern, and of expression) and thus defines the intention of his art: "À chaque état de notre sensibilité devait correspondre une harmonie objective capable de le traduire."³⁶ In 1891 Paul Serusier published his *A B C de la peinture*, which like the theories of Sutter attempted to find laws of harmony, of construction, of proportion through an analysis of the works of the ancients.³⁷ Serusier finds his touchstone in the Pythagorean theory of numbers, and the proportions of the golden section, much as did Charles Henry. Sutter talks of "les lois de l'unité, de l'ordre, de l'harmonie," "quel que soit le degré d'élévation du sujet."³⁸ (Whatever terms such attempts to find laws of composition employ, they tend to eliminate the suggested third dimension from their paradigms, and to find their principles in two-dimensional relationships, so that Seurat's concern with this type of analysis was related to the tendency of his later works.) Thus not Seurat alone, but many others of his time, and more especially of his generation, were trying to find a wider basis for their art than the "nature seen through a temperament" that was the conscious theoretical justification of the impressionists. When Seurat studied the scientific treatises of Rood and Charles Henry, and when he proclaimed that "L'art c'est l'harmonie. L'harmonie, c'est l'analogie des contraires," he was seeking for some means other than his own taste, sensibility, and judgment by which to produce a good work of art, and to judge the work of art once it is produced. That is why he and the others of this time were interested in geometrical analyses of the ancients. By these means they hoped to arrive at objective and time-tested methods of composition which would be, as Serusier claimed for his number relationships (and as Seurat sought in his color relationships) those "sur lesquelles est construit le monde extérieur"; and moreover which were, just for this reason, significant and expressive of emotions and ideas.³⁹

Now it is clear that there was nothing of the mystic about Seurat. He would certainly not have wanted to reestablish the "preëminence of the imagination" that was the proud claim of the symbolists, he would not have wanted to "reach for the stars" with Albert Aurier, nor would he have wished to justify his art by metaphysical theories.⁴⁰ Yet in the light of his letter to Maurice Beaubourg, we may justly suppose that he would later have modified the well-known sentence quoted by Charles Angrand: "Certains critiques me font l'honneur de mettre de la poésie. Mais je peins d'après ma méthode, sans aucun autre souci."⁴¹ We have seen that in his last years he was beginning to be concerned with the effects and significance of his method. Nor must we forget that the extreme concern of the synthetists with "subjective deformation" and the "centre mystérieux de la pensée" was extremely short-lived, and that they too, following Serusier, were soon concerned with the general laws of art. They quickly abandoned their interest in the naïve, and by 1895

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-29, 143.

35. On the subject of Gauguin and the synthetists, cf. Charles Chassé, *Gauguin et le groupe de Pont Aven*, Paris, Floury, 1921; and Anne Armstrong Wallis, *The Symbolist Painters of 1890*, New York University (Thesis), 1938.

36. Maurice Denis, "De Gauguin et de van Gogh au classicisme," *Théories: 1890-1910*, Paris, Rouart et Wa-

telin, 1920, p. 267.

37. A second edition was issued in Paris by Floury, 1921.

38. Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

39. Serusier, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

40. Denis, *op. cit.*, pp. 264, 268.

41. Quoted by Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

both Bernard and Denis were looking for models and for laws in the art and the philosophy of the ancients.⁴² To be sure, Seurat's art always remained less personally expressive, and he was always more interested in finding an "equivalent" for the mood of the object than in his personal reaction to it; yet his conscious and theoretical solution of his problem was in the spirit of his time. Akin to the symbolists, too, was his consciousness of the abstract surface pattern of his pictures, and his willingness to "deform" a naturalistic representation so that he might achieve this "certain order" of the arrangement of line and color.⁴³ We have seen that in his later pictures he is willing to abandon the fusions of pattern and representation that had existed in his earlier work; he now lets them exist side by side or lets the pattern dominate. Like the synthetists, during the same years when they were working—and for the first time in modern art—he, and they, substitute for the "illusion" of reality, the "suggestion" of the heavily-laden reference to, and interpretation of, reality. Thus the desire for systematization and stylization connects Seurat closely with his younger contemporaries of 1880-90, and shows an affinity that grows as his style and theory develop, an affinity that must not be hidden by an initial adoption of an "impressionist" technique, or his initial alliance with an "Impressionist" exhibition.

But Seurat's affinity with the currents of his own time and generation is more than theoretical. As has already been suggested, it is to be found from the beginning of his work, and grows as his painting changes. The affinity itself does not, naturally, keep the same character throughout, although it retains some permanent elements. From 1885 to about 1888 the relationship is found mainly in those irregularly shaped areas, usually made up of balanced fields of light and dark, that have been noted in the *Baignade* and the *Grues et la Percée*. The colors of these areas are carried out according to the theory of color contrasts, and their tones are determined by the surface pattern. But their outlines, irregular yet continuous, broken yet flowing, used to pick up and repeat the rhythm of the figures, decorative rather than massive in effect, employed to bind horizontal and vertical planes together, may be found in the work of other men of the time. Perhaps the most striking analogy is with Gauguin's use of similar forms. They are to be found, to select but a few characteristic examples, in the trees and landscape of the *Yellow Christ* (1889),⁴⁴ in the plants and flowers of *Joyfulness* (1892),⁴⁵ and in the decorative arrangement of the foreground areas in the *Day of the God* (1894) (Fig. 22). The affinity of Seurat's early work is then with that part of the growing *art nouveau* movement (which like most such movements had begun long before it received its name) that makes large use of decorative *areas* in its compositions, areas of irregular, stylized shape which yet carry with them the reminiscence of naturalistic forms.

The affinity of Seurat's later style is in his use of line, line that may be called "symbolic" if we bear in mind the limitations of this adjective imposed by Seurat's theory. We have seen the process of stylization that took place in the formation of the *Poseuses*, not alone the introduction of line, but the elongation and the pointing of the forms, and especially the characteristic form of taut curves meeting in a point, found in the still-lives and in the hair. Here decorative area and expressive contour line are balanced as in many similar forms employed in Gauguin's pictures (where, however, they remain more flat and uniform in tone), where the same stylization with typifying repetitive intention has taken place.⁴⁶ The same

42. Wallis, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

43. Maurice Denis, "Définition du néo-traditionisme," *Théories: 1890-1910*, p. 1 (first published in *Art et critique*, August 23, 1890): "Se rappeler qu'un tableau—avant d'être un cheval de bataille, une femme nue, ou une quelconque anecdote—est essentiellement une surface plane recouverte de couleurs en un certain ordre assemblées."

44. New York, Art Market (reproduced in John Rewald, *Gauguin*, Paris, 1938, pl. 80).

45. *Ibid.*, pl. 106.

46. Compare especially the use that Gauguin makes of the floral designs on the printed stuffs of native clothes, as in *La Orana Maria* and *Tahitian Women on the Beach*.

characteristics are found in that curved group of silhouettes that makes up the right edge of the *Parade*, and in its frieze of gas-jets along the top. The mood this line is intended to convey in these pictures remains somewhat doubtful.⁴⁷ In *Port-en-Bessin, un Dimanche* (1888; *Indépendants*, 1890) (Fig. 20), where this decorative, and at the same time descriptive, line appears for the first time in all its force, there can be no question: the waving flags have been painted in a manner obviously at variance with the rest of the picture, and clearly motivated by theoretical and "symbolic" considerations; they are there to show the gaiety of this otherwise tranquil scene. Seurat's affinity with this side of *art nouveau* is strikingly evident in an amusing design of 1887, a study for the jacket of Victor Joze's novel, *L'homme à femmes* (Kahn no. 81) (Fig. 19). Here, in spite of all pointillism, is a flat, decorative composition in two-dimensional bands of color that attempts the spirit and manner of Seurat's contemporaries and demonstrates just how far Seurat could go in this direction. (It is significant that Victor Joze also collaborated with other painters of this time and style: for his *Reine de joie* Toulouse-Lautrec executed both jacket and poster, and also did the poster for his *Babylone d'Allemagne*, the jacket for which was done by Bonnard.)⁴⁸ The limitations suggested here—limitations as to mordant draughtsmanship and quickly-caught anecdote that are the concomitants of the positive qualities of Seurat's art—have been accepted in the severe and typified stylization of the *Chahut* and the *Cirque*, yet these pictures belong to the style of their time no less for that. The use of bands, the half flame-like, half floral character of the repeated upward sweeping line, now carry out completely the details we have noted in earlier pictures. That style—the linear extreme of *art nouveau*—needs no lengthy description; in France alone it stretched from Grasset (Fig. 21) to Emile Bernard, from Gallé to the Rose Croix, in England it included Beardsley, and in America it was best known through the glass of Tiffany.⁴⁹ The line upon which it is based is derived from plant and animal motives, and it is essentially a decorative style in that it thinks in terms of the organization of a two-dimensional unit—that is perhaps why it found one of its most typical and popular expressions in the poster. Here we wish to do no more than point out Seurat's increasing affinity with this other aspect of the most progressive current of the art of his time. Would Seurat's connection have continued to grow? One of *art nouveau's* most important and creative figures, Henry van de Velde, was for a brief time among his disciples. He carried on the direction of Seurat's work.

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47. Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 26. "Of the seven great Seurats, this [the *Parade*] is the most geometric in design as well as the most mysterious in sentiment."

48. Rey, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.

49. On *art nouveau* cf. Ernst Michalski, "Die entwicklungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Jugendstils," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xlv, 1925, pp. 133-49; and Fritz Schmalenbach, *Jugendstil*, Würzburg (Thesis), 1935.



Fig. 19 Seurat, Design for a Book Jacket, 1887



Fig. 20 Seurat, Port-en-Bessin, un Dimanche, 1888



Fig. 21 Grasset, Poster for an Exhibition of His Own Work



Fig. 22 Chicago, Art Institute: Gauguin, The Day of the God, 1894

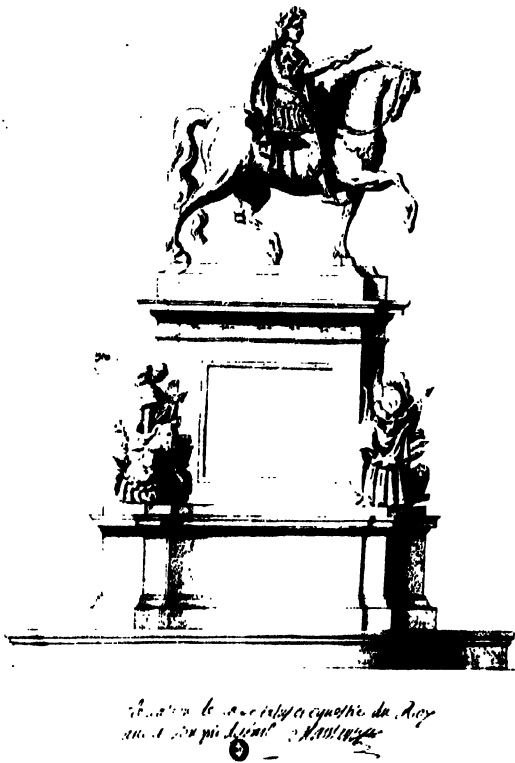


Fig. 1 Paris, Sorbonne Library: Mansart (?), Side Elevation of Monument of Louis XIV, Dijon

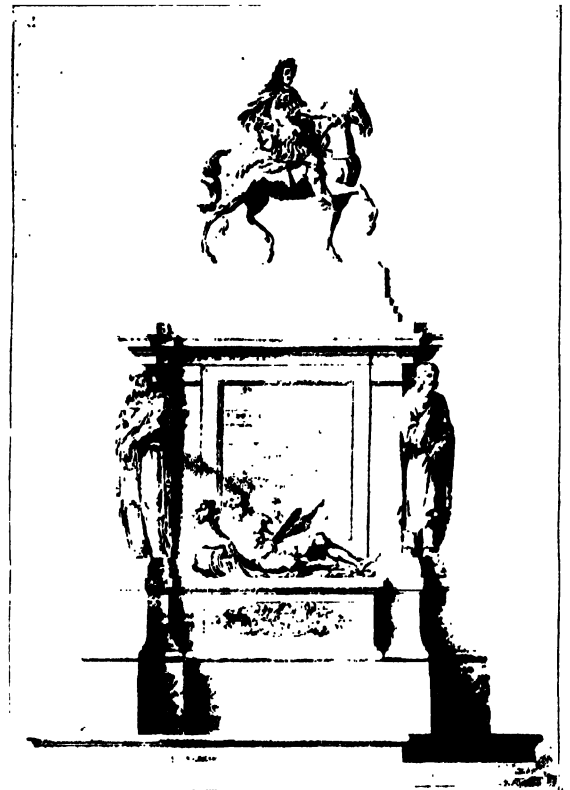


Fig. 2 Lyon, Municipal Archives: Side Elevation of Monument of Louis XIV, Lyon

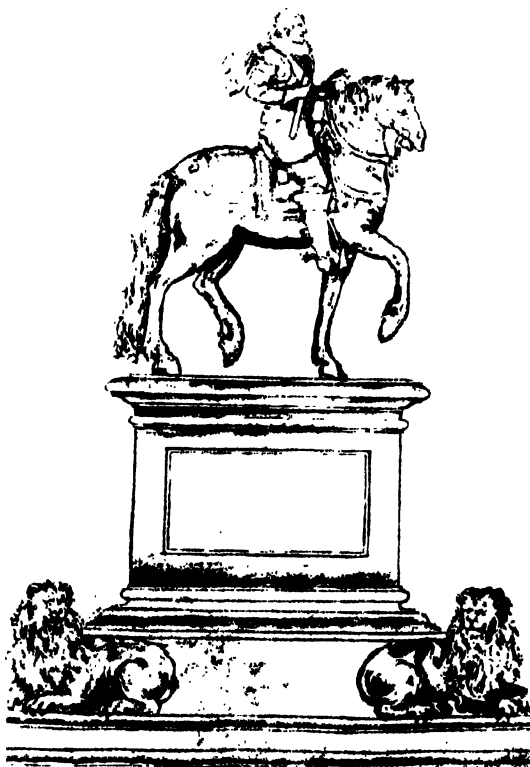


Fig. 3 Lyon, Municipal Archives: Clément Gendre, Side Elevation of Monument of Louis XIII

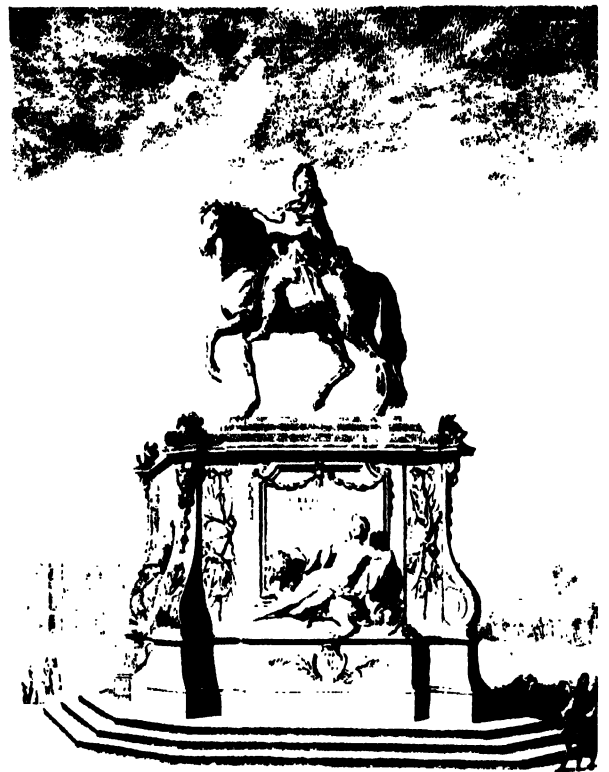


Fig. 4 Engraving by J. and B. Audran: Monument of Louis XIV, Lyon

THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF LOUIS XIV IN DIJON AND RELATED MONUMENTS

By S. A. CALLISEN

... Et à ériger des monuments à sa gloire, qui l'élevoient non seulement au-dessus des héros de la race ou de ceux des autres peuples, mais bien au delà de la portée et de bornes de la condition mortelle.

Baron von Spanheim.¹

DURING the years 1685-86 the larger French cities displayed an unexpected and astonishingly unanimous desire to honor Louis XIV by erecting his statue in their principal squares. Le Havre,² Caen,³ and Poitiers⁴ decided upon standing figures of the King, and even in far away Quebec⁵ the sovereign's bust was set up. But Grenoble,⁶ Rennes,⁷ Aix,⁸ Montpellier,⁹ Lyon,¹⁰ and Dijon¹¹ were more ambitious, and desired bronze equestrian statues. Thus it appeared as if a surge of popular enthusiasm had suddenly swept over France, and that all its citizens were more than ever delighted with their ruler. Actually there was much grumbling throughout the realm, for the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was threatening, and the increasing taxes began to press heavily upon the provinces. Louis, securely insulated against the truth by those who surrounded him, never realized that he was being victimized by an intriguing courtier who, to further his own ends, played upon the King's vanity by engendering a fictitious wave of popularity.

On September 2, 1683, after almost twenty years of devoted service as Surintendant des Bâtiments du Roi,¹² Colbert died, and was presently succeeded by his arch-enemy, Louvois.¹³ Colbert had opposed as much as possible the fantastic and unproductive projects favored by Louis XIV,¹⁴ and tried to improve the condition of France by fostering commerce, building roads and canals, and encouraging industry, policies which if carried out unhindered would have been Louis' most enduring monument. But even the canny, practical Colbert had felt that a statue which preserved the actual appearance of an individual enhanced the person's fame. "Comme ce travail peut contribuer à la gloire du Roy . . ." ¹⁵ he wrote in 1672 to D'Estrées, Bishop of Laon, regarding the equestrian statue of the King then being carved by Bernini. The Royal Academy, of course, felt that pictures and statues rather than buildings could most truly mirror the glory of the King. As Guillet de Saint-Georges wrote in 1682 " . . . et qu'il croit avec justice les talents du ciseau et du

1. Baron von Spanheim was the ambassador of the Elector of Brandenburg at the court of Louis XIV. See Émile Bourgeois, ed., *Ézéchiel Spanheim: Relations de la cour de France en 1690*, Paris, 1900, p. 94. I wish to thank Messrs. S. Friedberg, H. Halvorson, L. Opdycke, C. Niver, and E. C. Rae for valuable advice and assistance.

2. A. de Boislisle, "Notices historiques sur la Place des Victoires et sur la Place Vendôme," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, xv, 1888, 211-12. Erected in the Place d'Armes.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 212-14. Statue by Jean Postel; pedestal by J. H. Mansart; erected 1685.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-37. By Girouard; erected in the Place Royale, 1687.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 245-46. Erected in 1686.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-15. Not carried out.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 215-23. By Antoine Coysevox under the

direction of J. H. Mansart. Planned for Nantes, but erected in the Place du Palais, Rennes, 1726.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-26. Ordered in 1685 from Desjardins; not executed.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-29. By Mazeline and Hurtrelle; erected 1718.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-32. By Desjardins under the direction of J. H. Mansart; erected in the Place Bellecour, 1713.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-35.

12. Alfred Neymarck, *Colbert et son temps*, Paris, 1877, II, 452. He had been made Surintendant on January 1, 1664.

13. Pierre Clément, *Histoire de Colbert et son administration*, Paris, 1874, II, 433-46.

14. *Ibid.*, II, 205.

15. Pierre Clément, *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert*, Paris, 1868, v, 320. The letter is dated January 15.

pinceau plus propres que les autres à publier dignement les grandes actions d'un héros."¹⁶ Le Brun, Colbert's closest satellite, had been directing the building of a huge fountain near the Louvre. It was to consist of a marble mountain over one hundred feet high with figures of chained slaves and eight river-gods who poured forth streams of water. On the summit was to be an equestrian statue of Louis XIV trampling the figures of Rebellion and Heresy.¹⁷ Louvois, as opposed to Colbert, had no objections to wasteful display, but he nevertheless spitefully ordered the work abandoned, even though such an action might hurt his standing at court. For the fountain had been approved by the King, and Louis would certainly expect some other monument to his glory to be erected. Furthermore, Louvois found a dangerous rival in François d'Aubusson, Duc de la Feuillade, who at his own expense was building the Place des Victoires as a fitting site for the statue of Louis XIV which the Duke had ordered of Desjardins. In 1685, square and statue had still to be dedicated, but it was already known that the Duke planned to keep four great flambeaux burning like votive candles about the King's likeness. Louvois clearly foresaw that this adulation would increase the popularity of the Duc de la Feuillade with the King, and at once set about a plan to further his own career. Louvois' scheme, to be most effective, must flatter the King's ego, compensate for the destroyed fountain, outdo the Duc de la Feuillade, and still not benefit Paris, which city Louis hated ever since the days of the Fronde. All of these conditions would be met if Louvois could present to Louis the demands for His Majesty's statue, made simultaneously and apparently spontaneously by all the important cities of the realm. Hence in June or July 1685 the Intendants of the various provinces received strong hints, if not actual orders, to make such requests, and Pontchartrain, president of the Parlement of Brittany, wrote on August 5: "Outre l'autorité de M. de la Feuillade, qu'on nous a cité mille et mille fois comme un auteur grave et souverain en cette matière on nous cité quantité d'intendans qui, suivant une instruction générale pour tous les intendans du royaume, avoient déjà fait élever de pareilles statues dans quelques provinces . . ."¹⁸

The statues thus called forth were to prove an expensive luxury, for although the King sometimes paid for the casting of the bronze figures in Balthasar Keller's foundry, the cities bore the tremendous cost of the transportation and of the pedestals.¹⁹

The Estates of Burgundy were somewhat tardy in asking for an equestrian statue of the King to be erected in Dijon, for not until May 8, 1686, did the Abbé Langeron-Maulévrier present their petition in a well-received speech.²⁰ The delay was due in part to the time consumed in enlarging the square in front of the Palais des États (or Palais Ducal). The King had authorized the city to buy the necessary land on May 3, 1681, but the actual construction of the present hemicycle of rusticated arcades was not initiated until 1686, and was finished only in 1692, when the name was changed from Place Saint-Barthélemy to Place Royale.²¹ On May 18, 1686, a contract was signed with the sculptor Étienne le Hongre for the statue which was to be of bronze: the King 12 feet high; the horse 13 feet long; the price 90,000 livres; J. H. Mansart was to supervise and pass on the work which was to be completed by December 31, 1690. Le Hongre died on April 27, 1690, but the

16. L. Dussieux, *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, Paris, 1887, I, 85.

17. L. Dussieux, *op. cit.*, I, 60; R. Josephson, "Le monument du triomphe pour le Louvre," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, LIII, 1928, 21-34.

18. A. de Boislisle, *Correspondance des contrôleurs généraux des finances avec les intendans des provinces*, Paris, 1874, I, 52.

19. Boislisle, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 1888, xv, 210, 237-38.

20. *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau*, Paris, 1854, I, 331-32.

21. A. Cornereau, "La statue de Louis XIV à Dijon," *Revue de Bourgogne*, II, 1912, 1-11. He has published much of the following information concerning the erection of the statue, but his statements cannot always be checked even in the local archives at Dijon.

model of the statue had been finished previous to his death, for it was cast sometime during the next two years. In May, 1692, the completed work was moved from his studio to the banks of the Seine, and eventually transported by boat to Auxerre. Once on land, however, the vast weight of the monument, 19½ tons (18,000 kgms.) for the horse and 8½ tons (8,000 kgms.) for the rider,²² caused unforeseen difficulties, and it came to rest in a barn in the hamlet of La Brosse, four and a quarter miles along the road to Dijon. There it remained for years until its non-appearance in the capital became a standing joke, and was taken as the subject of a satirical poem. Finally in 1720 Pierre Morin, engineer and inspector of bridges for Burgundy and Bresse, brought the statue to Dijon packed on two huge drays drawn by thirty yoke of oxen. The wagons arrived on September 19 and 21 respectively, but in order for them to reach the Place Royale it was necessary to tear down the Porte Guillaume, and widen the Rue Condé by demolishing some of the house façades in the region of the Coin du Miroir. No provision had been made for the pedestal, and the statue was stored in a court of the Palais des États until 1725 when it was erected, on a temporary base, in the center of the Place Royale, but it was only in 1748, sixty-two years after the inception of the monument, that all the work was completed.²³

It has been noted that Jules Hardouin Mansart was to supervise and pass upon the work of Le Hongre prior to its acceptance by the Burgundian Estates. Mansart had been active in the King's service since 1672, and belonging to the Louvois faction was ennobled in 1683 and made Premier Architecte du Roi in 1685. Since he stood in high favor at court, and had acquitted himself well in the construction of the Place des Victoires, it is quite understandable that he should have been put in charge of the work at Dijon and similar projects at Caen, Nantes (Rennes), and Lyon. But already in 1682 he had furnished plans for the rebuilding of the Palais des États, and was general supervisor of the work carried on there by Gétard and De Noinville.²⁴ The drawings of the plan of the pedestal, and the front and side elevations of the pedestal and statue (Fig. 1) now in the library of the Sorbonne,²⁵ are from Mansart's shop, but are not by Mansart himself, although labeled and signed by his own hand.²⁶ Indeed, their execution is so very weak that they merit no discussion save for the light that they throw on early designs for the base of the monument. It was not alone motives of economy which caused Mansart, in the case of the Dijon monument, to substitute trophies of arms for bound captives such as had been designed for the pedestal of the statue at Lyon (Fig. 2). Chained slaves, inspired in turn by those on the base of the statue of Henry IV on the Pont Neuf, had been placed at the corners of the

22. C. X. Girault, *Essais historiques et biographiques sur Dijon*, Dijon, 1814, p. 342.

23. Henri Chabeuf, "Documents inédits sur le Logis du Roi et le Palais des États," *Mémoires de la commission des antiquités du département de la Côte-d'Or*, xiii, 1895-1900, 76; Chabeuf says that the statue was cast by Keller and erected in 1726. Expilly, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et politique des Gaules et de la France*, Amsterdam, 1764, II, 644; Expilly gives the date 1724. Pierre Patte, *Monumens érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV*, Paris, 1765, pp. 114-15; Patte states that the statue was placed on its pedestal by M. Brisse in 1725 and the inscriptions added in 1746. Cornereau, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-9; Cornereau intimates that the statue was not set up until 1740 or 1741. Charles Maillard de Chambure, *Dijon ancien et moderne*, Dijon, 1840, p. 148; Chambure, the most reliable author, states that the statue was erected March 26-27, 1725 on a pedestal of ls-sur-Tille stone. The marble revetment was added later by a Sig. Antoine Spignola. There is a parallel here to the statue of Louis XIV in the Place Vendôme which

was erected on August 13, 1699, although the pedestal did not receive its final marble revetment until January 2, 1704. See Boislisle, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 1888, xv, 151, 153. The method of erection was probably similar to that used at Lyon; see Émile Bourgeois (trans. C. Hoey), *The Century of Louis XIV*, London, 1895, p. 317.

24. A. Cornereau, "Le Palais des États de Bourgogne à Dijon," *Mémoires de la société bourguignonne de géographie et d'histoire*, vi, 1890, 244-45.

25. Catalogued R, IV, 15, no. 10 gr., folios 25-27. I hope to publish fully these and other drawings of the set which are mentioned by Henri Chabeuf, *op. cit.*, and which have been photographed through the kindness of Dr. Bernard Lemann.

26. One may compare the writing with a portion of a letter published in facsimile by Pierre de Nolhac, "Le Versailles de Mansart," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 3^e pér., xxvii, 1902, 11.

pedestal of the statue of Louis XIV in the Place des Victoires. But hardly had the latter been unveiled before they occasioned violent protests on the part of Sweden, and according to Sir William Trumbull caused Lobkowitz to object to M. de Croissy: "That ye Emper^r was not in ye Condition of a Slave with his Hands tyd in Chaines, otherwise than in ye Fancy of Mons^r de la Feuillade."²⁷ Indeed, this monument was one of the excuses given in 1687 for the formation of the League of Augsburg which was directed against France,²⁸ and hence all figures likely to cause offense to other countries were omitted from the base of the equestrian statue of Louis XIV set up in the Place Vendôme in 1699.²⁹ Apparently when a final model for the Dijon pedestal was made under J. J. Gabriel's supervision in 1731³⁰ the Mansart plans were adhered to, and the cost of the bronze enrichments—lions' masks, arms, standards, etc.—were estimated at 17,600 livres. In the end the city, weary of the useless outlay, eliminated the bronze work, but even the payments for the marble revetment appear to have been outrageously large.³¹ As far as can be judged from the brief contemporary descriptions, and the drawings by J. B. Lallemant now in the Dijon Museum (Fig. 9),³² the pedestal was exceedingly plain, and only the corners were relieved by volutes much like those on the base of the statue at Lyon, as finally erected in 1713 (Fig. 4).³³

Le Hongre represented Louis XIV seated astride his horse on a pad without saddle or stirrups. His left hand was advanced to the neck of his steed, his right clutched a baton of command. He was clothed *à la romaine* with bare arms and legs, and a cloak over his shoulder. On his head was a great full-bottomed wig, the most characteristic yet incongruous feature of the whole group of royal effigies, but one which hardly a single Frenchman criticized, so long as the government remained completely autocratic and bureaucratic, and the aesthetic standards of the nation were set by the Royal Academy. The Academicians, in turn, tried to form their art upon what they conceived to be the best monuments of antiquity: actually the remains of late Hellenistic art visible in Italy. They frequently recommended the study of measured drawings and casts of classical sculpture,³⁴ but they firmly believed that no truly competent artist could form his style save by observing the ancient prototypes *in situ*, and they lamented that Desjardins because of an early marriage found it impossible to study in Rome.³⁵ In their eyes antique art was the only perfect model: "Il n'y eut personne qui ne convînt que c'est sur ce modèle qu'on peut apprendre à corriger même les défauts qui se trouvent d'ordinaire dans la naturel . . ."³⁶ Despite this archaeological enthusiasm the artists were of necessity obliged to approach antiquity largely through literary sources, and the results made themselves manifest in the subject matter chosen by painters and sculptors alike.³⁷ The representations of current events were forced

27. Ruth Clark, *Sir William Trumbull in Paris 1685-1686*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 104, 108.

28. E. Steinmann, "Die Zerstörung der Königsdenkmäler in Paris," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, x, 1917, 348-49.

29. Boislisle, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

30. Cornereau, *Revue de Bourgogne*, II, 1912, 9. L. Jarrot, ed., "Événements à Dijon quelques années avant la révolution, et depuis l'an 1788 jusqu'à l'année 1800 inclusive-ment," *Revue de Bourgogne*, II, 1912, 78-79. The anonymous author says without justification that the final designs for the pedestal were by Boffrand.

31. They totaled about 11,000 to 15,000 livres.

32. Reproduced by Cornereau, *Revue de Bourgogne*, II, 1912, opp. p. 2.

33. Reproduced by Léon Galle, "Projet d'une statue équestre du Roi à Lyon. Premier projet de la statue de Louis XIV élevée dans la même ville en 1713," *Réunion des sociétés des beaux-arts des départements*, xxvii, 1903, pl. xxvi.

34. Sebastian Bourdon, "L'étude de l'antique," published by Henri Jouin, *Conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, Paris, 1883, pp. 139-40; see also pp. 168-69. After Bourdon's death, this discourse was repeated by Guillet de Saint-Georges on March 3, 1696. See A. de Montaignon, ed., "Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, 1646-1793," *Société de l'histoire de l'art française*, Paris, 1880, III, 183. On May 15, 1703, Monier gave a discourse, "Entretien sur la nécessité de l'étude des belles antiques"; see *ibid.*, pp. 365-66. In 1651 Michel Anguier brought back casts of Hercules, Flora, the Laocoön, etc., to be used in the Royal Academy; see Dussieux, *Mémoires inédits . . . de l'Académie*, I, 437.

35. *Ibid.*, I, 388.

36. Jouin, *Conférences*, p. 21. The quotation is taken from a discussion of the Laocoön by Géraud van Opstal at a conference.

37. Dussieux, *op. cit.*, I, 52-53. Guillet de Saint-Georges in discussing Le Brun's painting in the Galerie des Glaces

into antique moulds, and came out replete with the most complicated mythological and allegorical allusions. In portraying Louis XIV the artists gave full reign to their classical-literary zeal, and the King appears under the guise of Alexander,³⁸ Mars, Hercules,³⁹ Apollo or even the sun itself.⁴⁰ But the artists' approach was literal as well as literary. Thus Le Brun criticized Poussin's *Rebecca at the Well* (Louvre, no. 704) because of the omission of the camels mentioned in Genesis 24.⁴¹ The native French taste for exact representation in portraiture accorded with the artists' views and was further justified by Roman precedent: "... les Romains avoient attaché à la noblesse du sang une sorte d'obligation de conserver chez soi les portraits de ses ancêtres."⁴² Hence the statues which portrayed Louis XIV as a Roman conqueror in a fashionable peruke fulfilled the avowed aims of the Academicians. The antique garb and pose, the allegorical representation, and the literal portraiture (could one conceive of Louis XIV without his wig?) all had their proper share in the final achievement. As early as 1698 an unregimented Englishman, Martin Lister, might write of Girardon's equestrian statue of Louis XIV for the Place Vendôme: "The King is in the Habit of a Roman Emperor, without Stirrups or Saddle, and on his Head a French large Periwig *à-la-mode*. Whence this great Liberty of Sculpture arises, I am much to seek.

"Tis true, that in a building precisely to follow the ancient manner and simplicity is very commendable, because all those Orders were founded upon good Principles in Mathematicks: but the Cloathing of an Emperor was no more, than the weak fancy of the People. For *Louis le Grand* to be thus dressed up at the head of his Army now a-days would be very Comical. What need other Emblems, when Truth may be had; as though the perfect Age need be ashamed of their Modes, or that the *Statua Equestris* of Henry the Fourth or Louis the Thirteenth were the less to be valued for being done in the true Dress of their times."⁴³

But most good Frenchmen of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century would no doubt have agreed with Germain Brice who wrote of the monument in the Place Vendôme: "Le Roi est représenté dans ce monument, en habit à l'antique, sans selle et sans étriers, tel qu'on depeint ordinairement les héros de la superbe antiquité."⁴⁴

In 1775 when archaeology was becoming a science and the Academy enfeebled, Charles de Lubersac in his *Discours sur les monuments publics*, dedicated to Louis XVI, criticized

says: "De plus les tableaux sont le plus souvent des idées que l'on s'est formées sur la lecture ou sur les récits."

38. Dussieux, *op. cit.*, I, 235.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 338-39.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

42. Antoine Coypel, "L'excellence de la peinture," published by Jouin, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

43. *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698*, London, 1699,

p. 27. The full-bottomed wig was introduced by the Abbé de la Rivière in 1630. Such wigs weighed 2½ lbs. and cost 50 to 80 livres; see L. Cicognara, *Storia della scultura*, Prato, 1824, VI, 275, note 1.

44. *Nouvelle description de la ville de Paris et de tout ce qu'elle contient de plus remarquable*, Paris, 1725, I, 314. Lister's sentiments are echoed by only one contemporary Frenchman, Michel de Marolles, Abbé de Villeloin:

C'est de Charles le Brun que l'on voit d'Alexandre
Les tableaux inventez dans le grand goust du Roy,
Pour marquer de son cœur le belliqueux employ.
Où quelqu'autre que luy ozerait-il pretendre?

Le cavalier Bernin le depeint tout de meisme,
Avec cet air si haut qui veut estre adoré;

L'ouvrage de Varin y seroit comparé,
Tant son bust glorieux est fier sans diadème.

Le Brun, Bernin, Varin, l'habillent à l'antique;
Mignard l'habille ainsi, quand il est à cheval,
Les bras nuds et les pieds presque nuds bien en mal,
Sans étrieux encore, ce qu'on tient héroïque.

Je ne t'entens pas bien, n'aimant que trop l'histoire.
Pour depeindre au public le prince tel qu'il est,
Faut-il estre menteur, sans y prendre interest?
Quel tort la verité, feroit-elle à sa gloire?

Couronner donc son front d'un brin d'herbe est-il juste
Parce qu'un Empereur en eut son front orné
Dans la mode d'un temps où tout fut si borné?
On en fit cependant un autre pour Auguste.

See Michel de Marolles, *Le livre des peintres et graveurs*, new edition, G. Duplessis, ed., Paris, 1855, pp. 28-29. The *Livre* was written in the 1670's; see *ibid.*, p. 81, note. Michel de Marolles died in 1681. La Bruyère's statement made in a discourse delivered before the Académie Française, June 15, 1693: "... ce prince humain et bienfaisant, que les peintres et les statuaires nous défigurent, ..." is a criticism leveled at artists because they represented the peace-loving (*sic*) Louis as a warrior, and not because of any incongruity of costume. See La Bruyère, *Les caractères*

the same statue: "La statue équestre qu'est placée au centre, a quelques beautés; mais on ne conçoit point le mauvais goût des Artistes qui ont coiffé d'une énorme perruque un roi vêtu à la romaine; perruque que les mouvemens d'un cheval, dont l'action doit être animée et relevée, ne peuvent que déranger à tous momens, et par conséquent embarrasser le Cavalier."⁴⁵

As nearly as one can tell from the study of engravings and drawings, Le Hongre's horse at Dijon resembled in general that of Desjardin at Lyon and both were similar to Girardon's for the Place Vendôme. In Desjardin's contract it is stated that: "... l'attitude duquel cheval sera marchant le plus gravement qu'il sera possible avec la jambe droite élevée . . ."⁴⁶ If one adds to the pictorial⁴⁷ and documentary evidence that afforded by a number of small models or statuettes in various museums (Fig. 7),⁴⁸ one gains the impression that whereas the sculptors represented the horses at a slow walk, motion forward was not implied. The alternate legs on which the steed rests are conceived as columns carrying the rider's weight directly to the base, and the raised forefoot and sweeping tail give the composition a closed outline, so that none of the elements predicate movement forward.

The prototype for the horse is to be found in the statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome (Fig. 5), a monument which interested the French artists from an early period.⁴⁹ Francis I caused Primaticcio to bring back a mould of the horse of Marcus Aurelius,⁵⁰ and "Jean le Roux, dit Picart, imager," was paid for "commencement de l'assemblable du mousle du grand cheval, aussy puis naguères apporté de Rome," and later "pour avoir vacqué à jetter en plâtre la figure d'un grand cheval sur les mousles qui sont aussy de plâtre qui ont esté apportez de Rome audit Fontainebleau."⁵¹ The horse was set up at Fontainebleau in one of the courtyards which in consequence received the name of the Cour de Cheval Blanc, but because of the frail material in which the figure was cast it became shabby, and was removed in 1626.⁵² A sixteenth-century enamel (Fig. 8) depicts Henry II clothed in a Roman toga (with just a suspicion of a lace collar), together with Diane de Poitiers, riding a horse

accompagnés des caractères de théophraste et du discours à l'Académie Française, Paris, 1913, p. 638. The King appeared as a Roman emperor at the tournament of 1662, but wore a helmet as well as a wig; see Émile Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

45. *Discours sur les monumens publics de tous les âges et de tous les peuples connus*, Paris, 1775, appendix, p. iv.

46. Galle, *Réunion des sociétés des beaux-arts des départemens*, xxvii, 1903, 448. The contract was drawn up May 20, 1688. In the engraving the position of the forelegs has been reversed.

47. Statue at Lyon engraved by B. and J. Audran, reproduced by Ragnar Josephson, "Martin Desjardins et ses monumens de Louis XIV," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, LIII, 1928, 173, fig. 3, statue at Beauvais engraved by Chevallier, reproduced by Peter Jessen, *Das Barock im Ornamentstich*, Berlin, n. d., II, 198; statue at Rennes engraved by S. Thomassin, reproduced by H. Friis, *Rytterstatuens Historie i Europa*, Copenhagen, 1933, fig. 184.

48. In the Louvre, no. 1320 and replica in the Detroit Institute of Arts; Munich, no. 3972; Versailles, no. 2194; Copenhagen; Stockholm; also M. F. Sommier collection, Paris, published by Pierre Francastel, *Girardon*, Paris, 1928, p. 81, pl. xxxvi, fig. 48.

49. Steinmann (*Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, x, 1917, 338-43) felt that the horse for the statue of Henry IV on the Pont Neuf and that for Louis XIII in the Place Royale, Paris, being of Italian origin were more naturalistic than classical in feeling. The horse for the Louis XIII monument was ordered from Michelangelo in 1559; cast by Daniello Riccarelli in 1566; arrived in Paris about 1623;

and was erected in 1639. Two sixteenth-century Italian writers state that the horse by Daniello imitated the steed of Marcus Aurelius, thus contradicting Steinmann. See Lomazzo, *Trattato della pittura*, Milan, 1585, p. 632, and Andrea Fulvio, *L'antichità di Roma*, Venice, 1588, pp. 220-21; quoted by A. de Montaiglon, *Notice sur l'ancienne statue équestre ouvrage de Daniello Riccarelli et de Biard le fils*, Paris, 1874, pp. 19-23. The place with a statue in the center appears to have derived from Michelangelo's plan for the Campidoglio; see Ilse Dahl, *Das barocke Reitermonument*, Düsseldorf, 1935, p. 65. For the influence of the statue of Marcus Aurelius on medieval art see Jean Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français*, London, 1939, pp. 208-16. The *Regisole* of Pavia survived until May 16, 1796, when it was destroyed during an uprising. It must have been well known in France, but for some reason was not imitated. The rider at Pavia had a saddle, stirrups, and spurs which do not appear on any French equestrian statue in which the horseman is represented *à la romaine*; see R. Maiocchi, "Un vessillo di Pavia del secolo XVI e la statua del Regisole," *Bollettino storico pavese*, II, 1894, 218-49.

50. L. Dimier, *Le Primatice: peintre, sculpteur et architecte des Rois de France*, Paris, 1900, p. 328. The rider is not mentioned. Primaticcio's trip to Rome took place in 1540 or 1543.

51. Léon de Laborde, *Les comptes des bâtimens du Roi, 1528-1571*, Paris, 1877, I, 193. The payments were made between 1540 and 1550.

52. Pierre Dan, *Le trésor des merveilles de la maison royale de Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1642, p. 31.

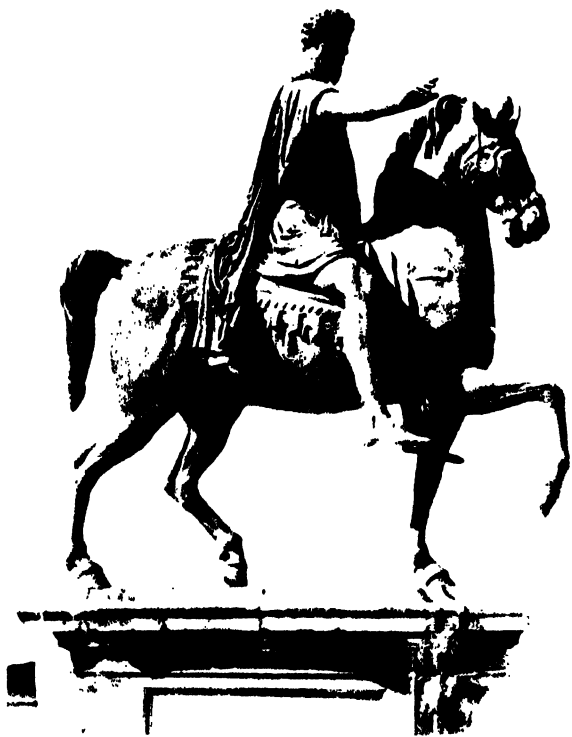


Fig. 5 Rome, Campidoglio: Statue of Marcus Aurelius



Fig. 6 Codex Marcianus: Statue of Marcus Aurelius

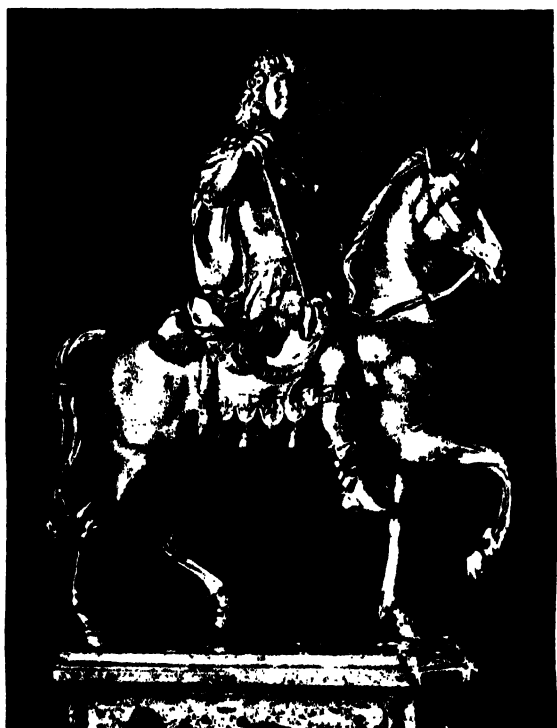


Fig. 7 Versailles: Girardon (?), Zinc Study for Statue of Louis XIV for Château de Boufflers (Musée, no. 2194)



Fig. 8 Paris, Lenoir Collection (formerly): Enamel, Henry II and Diane de Poitiers (From an Engraving)



Fig. 9 Dijon, Museum: J. B. Lallemand, Place Royale, Dijon



Fig. 10 Rome, Vatican, Scala Regia: Bernini, Emperor Constantine



Fig. 11 Versailles, Gardens: Bernini, Statue of Louis XIV, Recut by Girardon as Marcus Curtius



Fig. 12— Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Le Brun, Louis XIV, Study for Louvre Fountain



Fig. 13 —Rôme, Borghese Gallery: Bernini, Terra Cotta Model for Statue of Louis XIV

copied from the Fontainebleau cast.⁵³ To this we may add the relief dating about 1604–1606 of Henry IV by Pierre Biard the Elder,⁵⁴ “qui a voulu imiter le cheval de Marc-Aurèle, du Capitole à Rome.”⁵⁵ Inspiration from another source accounts for the peculiar design by Clément Gendre for an equestrian statue of Louis XIII (or Henry IV) which the city of Lyon planned to erect in 1627 (Fig. 3), but never carried out. Galle⁵⁶ recognized that the horse of Marcus Aurelius was the prototype adapted by Gendre but was at a loss to account for the lions upholding the base. It seems probable, however, that Gendre was relying on some ancient drawing like that in the Codex Marcanova⁵⁷ in which the monument of Marcus Aurelius is shown supported in a similar fashion (Fig. 6) previous to various repairs made about 1474.⁵⁸

During the last half of the seventeenth century a renewed interest in the statue of Marcus Aurelius was evinced. On January 8, 1669, the French ambassador to Rome, Abbé Louis d'Anglur de Bourlemont, wrote to Colbert: “. . . j'ay vu M. Errard pour sçavoir quand il trouveroit à propos que je demandasse les permissions pour mouler les statues de Montécaval et celles de Marc-Aurèle du Campidole . . .”⁵⁹ On June 13, 1685, eighteen cases containing the moulds of the statue of Marcus Aurelius were dispatched to France,⁶⁰ where the figure was cast and set up in a courtyard of the Louvre as Charles Perrault, writing towards the close of the seventeenth century, recorded. In the second *Dialogue* of his *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes* he has the Abbé say: “Quand il falloit aller à Rome pour voir le Marc-Aurèle, rien n'étoit égal à cette fameuse figure équestre, & on ne pouvoit trop envier le bonheur de ceux qui l'avoient veüe. Aujourd'huy que nous l'avons à Paris, il n'est pas croyable combien on la néglige, quoiqu'elle soit moulée très-exactement, & que dans une des Cours du Palais Royal où on l'a placée, elle ait la mesme beauté & la mesme grace que l'Original.”⁶¹ It is not known how soon the Louvre cast disintegrated, but by 1735 when Falconet entered J. B. le Moyne's studio no trace of it remained.⁶² A second cast from the moulds later sent to Paris was set up on the ground floor of the Palais Mancini, seat of the French Academy in Rome, where it remained until destroyed during the disorders of January 13–14, 1793. Chaptal wrote to Talleyrand on June 3, 1801: “Au reste, je dois vous prévenir que la perte des plâtres de la statue équestre de Marc-Aurèle . . . est

53. Steinmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 52, fig. 9.

54. Paul Vitry, “Documents inédits sur Pierre Biard, architecte et sculpteur de connétable de Montmorency,” *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 3^e pér., xxi, 1899, 337.

55. G. Brice, *op. cit.*, II, 124.

56. *Réunion des sociétés des beaux-arts des départements*, xxvii, 1903, 444–47; pl. xxiii.

57. A. Apolloni, “Vicende e restauri della statua equestre di Marco Aurelio,” *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di S. Luca*, II, 1912, 6, fig. 2.

58. The sketch by Martin van Heemskerck dated 1536 depicts the lions standing before the statue proper; see *ibid.*, pp. 5, 10; fig. 3. The statue was moved to the Campidoglio March 23, 1538.

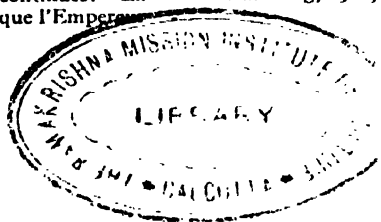
59. Anatole de Montaiglon, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments*, Paris, 1887, I, 17, no. 31.

60. A. Bertolotti, *Artisti francesi in Roma*, Rome, 1886, p. 182. There is mention in 1684 of “la statue équestre de Marc-Aurèle en morceaux séparées,” according to Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, VI, 442, no. 2719.

61. Charles Perrault, *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes, en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences*, Paris, 1690, I, 185–86. In the *Dialogue* the Abbé goes on to point out the weak points of the statue and the Chevalier continues: “La première fois que je vis cette figure, je crus que l'Empereur

Marc-Aurèle montoit une jument poulinière . . .” Perrault does not find fault with contemporary equestrian figures (*op. cit.*, p. 55): “La Sculpture s'est encore perfectionnée depuis (Colbert's dismissal), mais peu considérablement, parce qu'elle estoit déjà arrivée à peu où elle peut aller.” E. M. Falconet (“Observations sur la statue de Marc-Aurèle,” *Œuvres*, Lausanne, 1781, I, 157–348), objected to the statue on the grounds of its being unnaturalistic, and attacked Winckelmann who, he believed, praised it simply because of its antiquity. Winckelmann actually wrote: “Wenn wir das Ganze betrachten, so scheint es uns von Seite der Anordnung nicht zu den groszen Meisterstücken zu gehören. Aber das Pferd ist trefflich gerathen, hat überaus viel Geist, Leben und Handlung, und scheint sich mit seinem Reiter gleichsam von der Stelle zu bewegen.” See his *Werke*, Buch 12, Kap. 2, An. 1397.

62. Falconet wrote (*op. cit.*, I, 272): “On disoit: c'est le cheval de Marc-Aurèle qui lui (Le Moyne) a fait faire celui de Louis XV (set up in Bordeaux, 1743). Mr. Le Moyne qui n'a pas plus vu que moi l'Italie, connoissoit le cheval du capitol par les oui-dire et par des desseins de la fidélité desquels il ne pouvoit pas être jugé.” For the date of Falconet's entry into Le Moyne's studio see F. Hildebrandt, *Leben, Werken und Schriften des Bildhauers E. M. Falconet*, Strassbourg, 1908, p. 8, note.



irréparable . . . ”⁶³ By now the pendulum had swung back, and in a neoclassic age the ancient remains of Rome took on new value and interest.

No large equestrian statue of Louis XIV seated upon a rearing horse was completed by a French sculptor, although Desjardins made a model of one for Aix,⁶⁴ and Le Brun had sketched another for the summit of the great marble fountain planned for Paris.⁶⁵ Bernini, despite the jealous cabal opposed to him at the French court, was commissioned to carve a figure of Louis XIV on a rearing horse.⁶⁶ But even before the monument left his studio in Rome, Frenchmen objected to it because the King appeared to be dispensing favors rather than leading an army.⁶⁷ With more justification it was attacked because it resembled too closely Bernini's equestrian statue of the Emperor Constantine⁶⁸ which was placed on a landing of the Scala Regia in the Vatican (Fig. 10), and hence could be seen from one side only, whereas the statue of Louis XIV was to be free-standing. When the statue finally reached France in March, 1685, it was even more severely criticized. Melani wrote to Modena on March 21, 1685: "La statua del Re fatta dal Cav. Bernino, è stata trovata così mal fatta e meschina, che non sarà più collocata in Parigi, ma a Versaglia."⁶⁹ At Versailles the statue was even less favorably received, for on November 14 of the same year Dangeau reported: ". . . il (Louis XIV) vit la statue équestre du chevalier Bernin qu'on y a placée, et trouva que l'homme et le cheval étoient si mal faits, qu'il résolut non seulement de l'ôter de là, mais même de la fair briser."⁷⁰ Instead of destroying it, however, Girardon was ordered to recut the head, and change the rock under the horse's belly into flames so that the figure would pass for Marcus Curtius (Fig. 11).⁷¹

Louis XIV was too much a part and parcel of his times to contravene the aesthetic principles of the Royal Academy, and therefore criticized the rider's head for its lack of portraiture, while as an ardent horseman he objected to the absence of realism in the steed. The *Mercure Galant* for February, 1687, reported the King's visit to Girardon's workshop to inspect the model of the monument for the Place Vendôme, and stated that: "S. M. parut très contente de la disposition et de ce qu'elle put voir des figures . . . " The King set his seal of approval upon the static type of horse as exemplified by the work of Girardon, but condemned the statue by Bernini, thereby banning the rearing and truly baroque equestrian statue from France. Indeed, the fully developed Italian baroque remained alien to the Frenchmen of the seventeenth century. Nowhere is this fact made more apparent than by the comparison of the rearing equestrian statue of Louis XIV (Fig. 12) as planned by Le Brun⁷² who next to Puget was the most baroque French artist of his generation, and the terra-cotta sketch for the ill-fated monument by Bernini (Fig. 13).⁷³ Bernini's King, like

63. Montaignon, *op. cit.*, xvii, 304, no. 9863. See also xi, 226, no. 5291; xv, 336-37, no. 9003; 340, no. 9005; xvi, 225, no. 9374; 438, no. 9561. Falconet had certain parts of this cast sent to him when he was planning the equestrian statue of Peter the Great (*Œuvres*, I, 162): "Je les ai demandés; ils ont été moulés à Rome sur un beau plâtre de l'Académie, que la été lui, sur le bronze original."

64. Boissière, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, xv, 1888, 223-25.

65. Josephson, *Revue de l'art*, LIII, 1928, 21-34.

66. S. Frascchetti, *Il Bernini: la sua vita, la sua opera, il suo tempo*, Milan, 1900, pp. 358-63; L. Mirot, "Le Bernin en France: les travaux du Louvre et les statues de Louis XIV," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, xxxi, 1904, pp. 276-88. The statue was ordered in 1669, but was still in Bernini's studio at the time of his death in 1680, and was largely shop work.

67. Frascchetti, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 318-21. This despite a letter written by

Bernini to Colbert towards the end of 1669 stating that: "Questa statua sarà del tutto diversa a quella di Constantino." See Mirot, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-80.

69. Frascchetti, *op. cit.*, p. 363, note 1.

70. *Journal*, I, 252.

71. Mirot, *op. cit.*, p. 287. The subject of Marcus Curtius leaping his horse into the flaming pit had been carved in bas-relief by Gilles Guerin about 1648, and had been painted by Claude Vignon; see Dussieux, *Mémoires inédits . . . de l'Académie*, I, 262, 277. Bernini's recut statue survives today at Versailles behind the Bassin des Suisses, but is now much weatherbeaten.

72. Cabinet des dessins, no. 6025-29435. Le Brun's drawings date about 1670, some three years after the inception of Bernini's statue. Le Brun's whole scheme obviously derives from, and attempts to surpass, Bernini.

73. A. F. Brinckmann, *Barock-Bozzetti italienischer Bildhauer*, Frankfurt-a.-M., 1924, II, 62-71.

Le Brun's, is dressed *à la romaine*, but his cloak swirls about him, his horsehair peruke has become an aureole of heavy curls, and his face is that of a young demi-god. The fore- and hind-legs of Bernini's horse form lines that curve towards each other, the mane and tail whip out in heavy locks so that a feeling of inner tension is created as in a coiled spring. Horse and rider seem inherent with life, in constant and violent motion, ready to leap into space. They derive from reality, but transcend it to become vital entities in themselves. Le Brun could not break away from his classical-realistic theories. His horse rears, but there is no expressiveness in the position of its legs, and the figure of the rider is in no wise integrated so as to form a significant group. One feels certain that Le Brun's horse will never move, but at best simply bob up and down at the touch of a finger like the small statue made by Gobert in 1685 for the Duc de Richelieu's Château at Rueil.⁷⁴

In view of the French taste in equestrian statues the Burgundian Estates chose quite wisely when they selected Étienne le Hongre to execute the monument at Dijon. He had proved himself a capable craftsman in wood, stucco, marble, and bronze,⁷⁵ and had had some experience with equestrian monuments, for he cast the plaster figure of Louis XIV which was placed on the horse brought from Nancy in 1671 by the King's victorious armies, and placed in the courtyard of the Hotel Brion, seat of the Royal Academy.⁷⁶ During the years 1653-59 he studied at Rome from whence he "prit le bon goût de l'antique . . ." ⁷⁷ Not unnaturally his only surviving metalwork, the nymph of the Parterre d'Eau at Versailles,⁷⁸ which was cast at the same time as the Dijon statue, shows him to have been a competent if unexciting sculptor strongly tinged by his study of classical art.

In 1725, when the statue at Dijon had finally been erected, the magistrates and the people under arms made a triple tour of the Place Royale.⁷⁹ The procession was patterned after the earlier one marking the dedication of the monument in the Place des Victoires,⁸⁰ which in turn had been copied with antiquarian zeal from the Roman ceremony of the Decursio.⁸¹

The inscriptions composed for the base of the Dijon monument in the 1680's⁸² differed greatly from those ultimately adopted in 1747. In the earlier version Louis XIV is fulsomely praised for his many virtues, triumph over heresy, and military conquests. The later version emphasizes the difficulties involved in transporting the statue, names various local dignitaries of no importance, eulogizes Louis XV and mentions Louis XIV quite briefly.⁸³ After all popular enthusiasm, even if genuine, could hardly remain at fever pitch over a period of more than fifty years.

But a far greater change of popular sentiment was still to make itself manifest. In the mid-eighteenth century, despite an openly expressed dislike for Louis XIV after his death,

74. Boislisle, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, xv, 1888, 250. Louis XIV, *à la romaine*, and bestriding a rearing horse, is represented in a statuette in Versailles (Alinari 25597) which is copied from a painting by Le Brun of the same subject save that Louis is in court dress. Another similar statuette is in Versailles (no. 2172), and a third in the Dijon Municipal Museum (Braun, 32355). See P. Francastel, *Girardon*, p. 78.

75. Dussieux, *Mémoires inédits . . . de l'Académie*, pp. 363-82. " . . . il a toujours été très intelligent et très habile à faire de modèles fort étudiés sur toutes sortes de sujets . . ."; see p. 364. Le Hongre was born in Paris in 1628 and died there in 1690. He was a pupil of Jean Sarrazin.

76. Boislisle, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-18. A. Vitu, *La maison mortuaire de Molière*, Paris, 1880, app. pp. 140-41. Clé-

ment, *Lettres de Colbert*, v, 310, 525, 528-29. The horse was not used at Dijon, for the steed there was signed by Le Hongre on its raised right hoof; see Expilly, *Dictionnaire . . . de la France*, II, 644.

77. Dussieux, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

78. A. E. Brinckmann, *Barockskulptur, Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, 3rd ed., Potsdam, n. d., fig. 355.

79. Expilly, *op. cit.*, II, 644.

80. Boislisle, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

81. C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1892, II, 41.

82. Unpublished. There are several versions in the Sorbonne library (see note 25, above), nos. 28-32.

83. Expilly, *op. cit.*, II, 644. Cornereau, *Revue de Bourgogne*, II, 7-9, 11.

and the great expense⁸⁴ incurred during an increasingly bad economic situation, the Burgundians were pleased with the monument with which they honored their former King. The Parisians, on the other hand, revered the statue of a more popular monarch, Henry IV, almost as though it represented a local deity.⁸⁵ Then with the revolution came a slow but steadily mounting hysteria. On August 11, 1792, M. Sers rose in the National Assembly to announce that the people of Paris were tearing down the effigies of the French Kings, whereby the nation would suffer a great artistic loss if the work were not supervised by competent engineers or architects. M. Thuriot suggested that some of the statues be melted down for cannon and money. M. Albitte had the final word: "Il faut enfin déraciner tous les préjugés royaux. Je demande que l'Assemblée prouve au peuple qu'elle s'occupe de sa liberté, et que la statue de la liberté soit élevée sur les mêmes piédestaux." The motions of MM. Sers and Albitte were carried,⁸⁶ but destruction took precedence over preservation.

Two days later the spokesman for the citizens of the Pont Neuf region reported to the National Assembly that they had destroyed the equestrian statue of Henry IV and stated naively: "Les vertus de Henri nous ont arrêtés quelques temps, mais on s'est souvenu qu'il n'était pas roi constitutionnel. On n'a vu que le despote, et soudain la statue est tombée."⁸⁷ Those two halting sentences sum up the history of destruction by mob violence of so many works of art. A sudden movement of the crowd; the damage is done; and then half fearful they try to justify their act. But the National Assembly applauded. M. Lacroix suggested that all the statues which had been torn down in Paris be converted into cannon. M. Thuriot, not to be outdone, wished to include all the bronze figures throughout the Empire. The Assembly passed the motion of M. Lacroix as amended by M. Thuriot.⁸⁸

The people of Dijon did not wait to hear that the National Assembly had legalized the destruction of royal monuments, for on the evening of August 14 when the news of the uprising in Paris on the tenth reached them, they began to tear down the statue of Louis XIV, which they managed to drag from its pedestal at seven the next morning after eighteen hours of hard work. The mayor cut off Louis' ears and nose, and the public executioner decapitated the fallen monarch.⁸⁹

The statue thus destroyed made but a small contribution to the cause of liberty. The figures were found to consist of a large core of cement and iron rods covered with a thin skin of bronze from which the Creusot works produced only sixteen pieces of ordnance, although some of the metal was used by the local mint.⁹⁰ Even the pedestal was presently stripped of its marble, and then removed.⁹¹ When on December 15, 1796, an English woman visited Dijon no trace of the monument was to be found, and she could write home sententiously: "Thus pass the mighty of this world and the monuments of their grandeur!"⁹²

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84. M. Courtépée, *Description générale et particulière du duché de Bourgogne*, Dijon, 1847, II, 85. Courtépée figures the cost at 139,408 livres. Cornereau, *op. cit.*, II, makes the total cost 220,000 livres. Since he reckons in all the costs, damages, etc., this estimate is more nearly correct. L. Jarrot, *Revue de Bourgogne*, II, 1912, 79, gives a total cost of 280,594 livres which is probably excessive.

85. Steinmann, *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, x, 1917, 338. His statue continued to be illuminated on special holidays, whereas the lights which were to burn before the figure of Louis XIV in the Place des Victoires were ex-

tinguished by 1699; see Boislisle, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

86. *Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur*, Paris, 1854, XIII, 388.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 419.

88. *Idem.*

89. Cornereau, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14. Jarrot, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

90. Cornereau, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

91. Chambure, *Dijon ancien et moderne*, pp. 149-50.

92. Albert Babeau, *La France et Paris sous le directoire: lettres d'une voyageuse anglaise*, Paris, 1888, p. 162.



Fig. 1—The Ten Suns

FIGS. 1-2—SHANTUNG, WU FAMILY TOMBS: DETAILS OF RUBBINGS FROM STONES IN OFFERING CHAMBERS, II A.D.



Fig. 2—The Lost Tripods of Chou



Fig. 3—Shantung, Hsiao-t'ang-shan Offering Chamber: Battle Against 'Barbarians', Rubbing from Stone, II-I B.C.

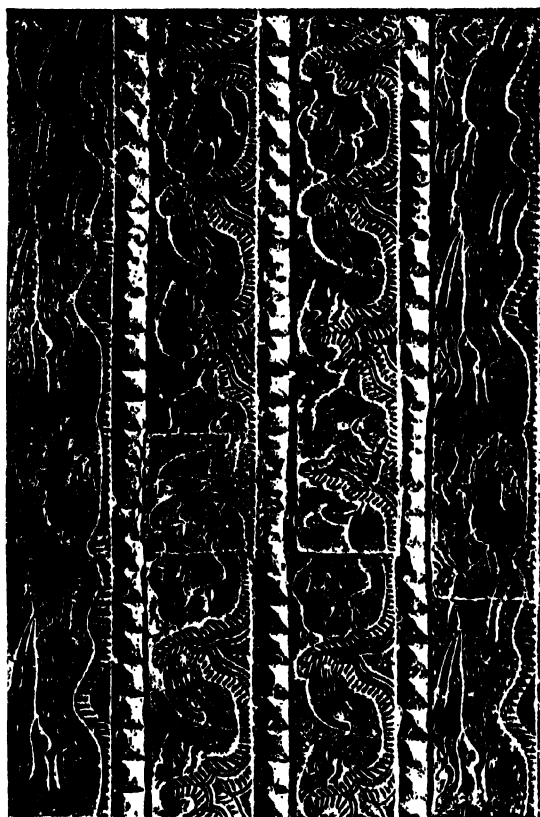


Fig. 4—Loo Collection (formerly): Han Tomb Tile with Stamped Patterns

EARLY CHINESE LANDSCAPE PAINTING

BY ALEXANDER C. SOPER

I—THE CHOU AND CH'IN DYNASTIES (1122?–206 B.C.); THE HAN
DYNASTIES (206 B.C.–221 A.D.)

HOWEVER sensitive the Chinese spirit may have been, from immemorial antiquity, to the forces of Nature, it is certain that a landscape art made its appearance in the cultural history of China almost as late as in that of the Mediterranean world.

The ritual bronzes and jades of the Shang and Chou dynasties, which span the first thousand years of Chinese civilization, stand at an opposite pole in design and content from any sign of interest in the world of Nature for its own sake. In the course of their long development, the magical concerns of the earliest style were forgotten, and a severely regulated symbolism gave way to free decoration. Through all changes of forms and patterns, however, the primitive tradition remained in force to the end of Chou that a ceremonial art should deal only with zoöomorphic and abstract elements; and thus even the first short step toward landscape, a familiarity with the use of natural motives in ornament, was long postponed in the topmost reaches of artistic creation. It is true that ritual vessels and jades must have represented only one side of Chinese production in those centuries—the most respected, and doubtless the most conservative; and that we must complete our picture of the increasingly sophisticated culture of the feudal courts by imagining a highly developed decorative art serving the needs of daily life (in more perishable media than bronze or stone). There is no evidence, however, to show that such work can have differed in essentials from the types of design with which we are familiar.¹ The everyday language came with the passage of time to separate itself from the patterns of ancient ritual; in late Chou art the reverse was true, as the ceremonial style became more and more secularized until it lost all specific character.

In China as in the Mediterranean world, the appreciation of natural beauty showed itself in poetry long before it had any effect on representational art. The earliest Chinese songs, preserved from the first centuries of the Chou dynasty in the *Shih Ching* or "Poetry Classic," are already stirred by the memory of natural shapes and colors.² The life they

1. Among the twelve emblems which are said to have decorated the robes of the ancient emperors, two at least belonged to what would later have been a landscape repertory: the mountain and the pondweed (cf. the "History Classic," *Shu Ching*, III, v, translated by Legge in his *Chinese Classics*, III, p. 80, where the second emblem is rendered as "aquatic grass"). These signs of distinction were widely appropriated as the prestige of the Chou royal house declined. Confucius, a champion of the past, criticized a contemporary who used insignia to which he was not entitled, in giving his mansion "mountain capitals and pondweed kingposts," i.e., a painted or carved ornamentation by these motives on the wooden structural members (in the "Analects," *Lun Yü*, v, xii; translated by Legge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 179, with slight differences). But the motives must have been chosen in the first place for their religious or magical importance, like those on the bronzes, and must have been shown in a highly conventionalized fashion. Plant ornament seems to have entered the repertory of Chinese archi-

tecture only in the Six Dynasties period, as an importation from the west.

2. Legge, *op. cit.*, v, vi, is the classical English translation; latest and perhaps best is that by A. Waley, *Book of Songs*, Boston and New York, 1937. My account of the evolution of the cult of Nature in China has been aided by the convenient summary in Japanese presented by S. Aoki in his pamphlet *Shina no Shizenkan* (translated title, "The Chinese Attitude toward Nature," chap. iv) in the Iwanamikôza series on "Trends of Thought in the Far East," *Tôyô-shichô*, Tôkyô, 1935.

Two songs may be quoted in part to show favorite devices; the first a metaphor, the second a simple natural setting for human emotion (cf. Legge, *op. cit.*, v, p. 12, and vi, p. 261):

1) The peach tree is young and beautiful,
Clear and bright are its blossoms.
That bride, who goes to her wedding,
Well-fitted is she to her (new) household.

describe was even for the patrician an agricultural one, bound closely to the passage of the seasons, familiar with fields and waterways, growing things, animals, and birds. The songs reveal an awakened interest in all these aspects of country living, an appreciation already aesthetic rather than merely practical. On the other hand, they deal first of all with man as a social being, serving his prince and his ancestors in the more respectable odes, implicating himself in amorous entanglements in the less respectable. The principal theme is always a human one; the reference to Nature is used typically as a sort of *Leitmotif*, introducing the general mood of joy, pride, or lamentation by a preliminary statement in non-human terms. In the West at the same general period, a similar device had been brought to rich and vivid maturity in the Homeric metaphor. The Chinese statement is by comparison meager and primitive. The reference is brief, the intended suggestion immediate. Bright-colored birds or flowers set the theme of courtly pomp; fish in their multitudes suggest abundant offerings for the ancestral sacrifice. The technique is not always limited to such purely symbolic references, but very seldom goes so far beyond them as to attempt anything like a description of setting. The contrast with later Chinese ideas may be effectively shown by one motive, the mountain. Here is the principal theme of mature nature worship in China, a total concept of inconceivable richness and majesty, formed by contributions from every level of human thought, metaphysical, poetic, practical, superstitious. For the early Chou songs, a mountain is high, to suggest human eminence; it is immovable and eternal, as the life of the prince should be; it is steep and hard to climb, to set a mood of complaint over difficulties.

Toward the end of the Chou dynasty, a new type of poetry was perfected in a relatively new part of China, the state of Ch'ü, reaching south to the Yang-tzu River. A heightened interest in Nature as a source of poetic emotion is one of the obvious innovations of this new style, which at the hands of its two great originators, Ch'ü Yüan and Sung Yü of the fourth century B.C., was carried in form and content very far beyond the standard of the classical songs.³ The factor of geography was unquestionably a potent stimulus in rousing these men to a wider and more aesthetically conscious appreciation of Nature. Middle China—if for no other reason than the inexhaustible romantic appeal of its landscapes—has in all later periods been the center of nature worship, the home of the great schools of landscape painting and of the hermit ideal; in late Chou it seems to have been the source of the nature philosophy Taoism, as the cold, severe north bred the humanist rationality of Confucius. In the younger poet, Sung Yü, the new emphasis is particularly marked. His great prose-poem, the *Kao-t'ang Fu*, explores the aesthetic possibilities of a description of Nature with unprecedented enthusiasm and thoroughness. The theme is already the romantic mountain prospect of the mature Chinese ideal; the elements are those of the classic land-

2) At first, when we went away,
The willow trees were swaying, swaying;
Now, when we return,
The sleet is falling, falling . . .

3. Cf. Waley, *170 Chinese Poems*, London, 1918, and *The Temple*, New York, 1923, for selected translations. The *K'ao-t'ang Fu* is in the latter, pp. 65 ff.; the "Man-wind and Woman-wind" in the former, pp. 24-26.

Aoki points out that the region to which Ch'ü Yüan is supposed to have been exiled late in life, between the Yüan and Hsiang rivers in Hunan, is particularly rich in natural beauties. A selection from his "The River Crossing" shows how much richer the landscape setting has become, although it is still used to set a human mood—in this case of

sorrow and disappointment:

On the way into Hsü-p'u (Hunan) I faltered,
Bewildered, and not knowing where to go.
Deep forests spreading far, sombrely dark, the haunt of gibbons,
Mountains towering upward, hiding the sun,
With shadows profound beneath them; much rain,
Sleet and snow intermingled and endless . . .

Ch'ü Yüan seems to have been the ancestor, as well, of the long line of Chinese poets who have celebrated the beauties of individual objects in Nature: trees, flowers, bamboo, rocks, etc. His "*Fu* in Praise of the Orange Tree" is already an elaborate example of the genre which was to become popular in the Six Dynasties; its transitional character, again, lies in the hidden meanings which make the description also an allegory of human relationships.

scape style of later ages, mountains, trees, and water; the mood shifts from one to another of these in what will soon become an orthodox pattern. The mountains are a wilderness of terrifying peaks and tumbled rock; the forests are darkened by shadows; the torrent rushes precipitously between rock walls, smashing against obstructions in a cloud of spray and foam. The poem as a whole, however, is by no means as emancipated from tradition as its descriptions alone suggest. The main emphasis is still a humanistic one. Its humanism has a curious transitional character which persisted among the followers of the Ch'u school for centuries: the beauty of Nature, so lovingly and vividly described, is personified in the person of a goddess or tutelary spirit, seen in the guise of a lovely lady entrancingly dressed, winsome in manner and speech. The catalogue of her attractions is lengthened by seductive details, no less vivid and compelling than the splash and roar of the mountain stream; and the surprised western reader finds, all at once, that he has been drawn well past the stage of Wordsworthian revery into the midst of the purest erotic titillation. Sung Yü's other celebrated essay in description, the "*Fu* of the Man-wind and the Woman-wind," shows by its title alone the same sort of transitional character. The theme is on the surface a purely descriptive one, and is handled as such with great gusto. But the taste of the time is still unwilling to allow Nature a full aesthetic independence; and so the two winds, with their contrasted characters, become poetically acceptable when they are finally linked to the human sexes. The hesitation and conservatism which hold Sung Yü still in the "rosy-fingered Dawn, child of the morning" stage of imagery, are obvious. It is obvious also that in comparison to the classical songs of early Chou, the balance has been radically altered. There the reference to Nature had heightened a dominantly human subject; now the reference to humanity balances the natural theme on almost even terms, and may even dwindle to vestigial form.

One final reminder that even late Chou was an age in which awareness of natural beauty and grandeur was still largely beneath the surface, is provided by the writings of the Taoist Fathers, Lao-tzu, Chuang-tzu, and Lieh-tzu. Taoism is essentially a nature philosophy, rejecting the works of civilized man, seeking peace and certainty outside of governments and social systems and all the ethical preoccupations of Confucius. In its later development—roughly from the third century A.D., as we shall see—it furnished the strongest encouragement to the movement which brought Chinese nature worship to maturity, to the hermits who fled from invasion, civil war, and social anarchy to live in the wilderness and learn its secrets. The diluted Taoism of these later centuries implied a profound absorption in the phenomena of Nature, a love of mountains and trees and water for their own sake as well as for the larger truths manifest in them. The Taoism of the Fathers is profoundly concerned with the forces and rhythms of Nature, and interested in the natural world as an antithesis to human society; so far as I know, it contains no slightest suggestion of delight in natural objects.⁴

The four centuries of the Han dynasty added very little to the slow advance of the Chinese capacity to love and understand the world of Nature. Han poetry even declined in this respect from the height reached before it by Sung Yü. Han was a time of empire-building, of immense new wealth and power, of enlarged political and economic responsibilities. The realistic mood of the age gave small encouragement to anti-social dreaming.

4. Curiously enough, it was the prosaic Confucius who paid Chou philosophy's one notable tribute to the forms of Nature, in his celebrated axiom, "The wise find pleasure in

water, the good find pleasure in hills" (*Lun Yü*, vi₁₂₁; Legge, I, p. 192).

The inspiration for nature poetry was either stifled, or diverted into a practical channel. For the articulate man of Han—courtier, soldier, or official, city-dweller absorbed in the brilliant pageant of metropolitan life in a busy and successful empire—the most insistent stimulus to the imagination came from the palace, the prime symbol of human greatness, erected now on an unimaginable scale of splendor, vastness, and multiplicity. An essential part of the palace setting was the closed park beside it, a jealously-guarded hunting preserve complete with real or artificial hills, lakes, and forests. What remained of Sung Yü's tradition of nature poetry was applied by very clever Han imitators like Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju to the description of such half-artificial parks and gardens; and not for their own value alone, but merely as part of a grandiose account of the beauties and remarkable sights of the whole capital.

These same princely parks, of course, mark the Han as the first great age of garden building, and give importance to a field which in time was to become a principal object of nature worship in China (and later in Japan). In Han palaces, they must already have provided a strong aesthetic satisfaction, and a relief from the formality of official relationships. More practical concerns were doubtless still of major importance. The park was on the one hand a hunting preserve, stocked with wild animals, as it had been in Chou times; on the other it satisfied the superstitious fancies of the period by being laid out in imitation of the Taoist fairyland, with magic island peaks rising steeply from the waters of its lake. The most famous garden lake in the earlier Han capital, Ch'ang-an, was actually dug not to gratify any eye, but to provide the imperial troops with a body of water upon which to practice aquatic maneuvers.⁵

The representative arts of Han, products of an age of expansion and extroversion, showed themselves no more interested in the world of Nature than did Han literature. Their total repertory of ideas—the inheritance from late Chou, exotic influences from the West marking the advance of the empire, new creations of the Han itself—remained with a few narrowly confined exceptions exclusively abstract and zoö-morphic. The highest art, painting, was preoccupied almost without exception by human affairs. Historians record the interest of Han emperors only in the field of portraiture; on the one hand to perpetuate the memories of great statesmen and generals, on the other to facilitate the imperial selection of concubines, without the fatigue and bustle of a personal examination. In the description of the wall paintings of the Ling-kuang palace in the state of Lu—the fullest epitome of the monumental art of Han—a great encyclopedia of time and space is shown us, conceived from the still wholly humanistic viewpoint of the age.⁶ There the Han Mirror of History, born of Confucian ethics, is alternately an encouragement to wisdom and virtue by the example of great men of the past, and a restraint upon folly and vice by the example of

5. I.e., Lake K'un-ming, which was greatly widened by the Emperor Wu (140-86 B.C.) to make it a replica of the lake so named in Yunnan, which he intended to attack. The name and memory are preserved in the present Summer Palace lake outside of Peking. Aoki notes that the fashion for garden-making may be carried back into very early Chou, since one of the most ancient odes, dealing with the dynastic founder King Wen, speaks of his "wondrous park, where the deer and doe crouch," and of his "wondrous pond, full of fishes leaping about" (Legge, VI, p. 457). The hunting-preserve tradition, with a new touch of exoticism, is still strong in Ch'ü Yüan's "Great Summons," in which the singer tries to call back an expiring soul by reminding it of all the pleasures of life:

Peacocks shall fill your gardens; you shall rear

The roc and phoenix, and reil jungle-fowl . . .

(translated by Waley, in *More Translations from the Chinese*, New York, 1919, p. 18). Around 100 B.C., Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's "*Fu* of the Ch'ang Gate" tells of the empress gazing about her from the high "Orchid Terrace"; amid the perfume of cassia trees, peacocks flocked together, monkeys screamed, kingfishers gathered, and phoenixes flew about.

6. The *Lu Ling-kuang-tien Fu*, by Wang Yen-shou, of the early second century A.D., purporting to describe a palace built by a prince of the imperial lineage in the second B.C. Translated into German by von Zach, *Asia Major*, III, 1926, 31 ff. The account of the sculptured and painted decorations is given in French by Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, Paris, 1909, I, 31.

notorious scoundrels. The Mirror of Nature, a confused product of popular imagination and Taoist fairytale, presents the world in a multitude of shapes and animals, monsters, and genii of mountain and water. The Ling-kuang paintings are totally lost, with all the other great fresco cycles of Han palaces which our imagination can supply. Fortunately their subject matter seems to have been imitated in Han sepulchral art—perhaps as faithfully as the more difficult (if more permanent) medium of stone would allow. In the stone tomb slabs of the Wu family in Shantung, dating in the second century A.D., the Ling-kuang encyclopedia is repeated in small scale, but with a striking correspondence of themes.⁷ As the description of the frescoes suggests, all these subjects, all the myriad shapes of Heaven and Earth, are illustrated largely by means of the forms of men and animals alone.

In the Wu family slabs (Figs. 1-2), and in those from the somewhat earlier site of Hsiao-t'ang-shan (Fig. 3),⁷ the element of setting is present only where it is indispensable to the theme, and then in primitive form. The architectural background at its most elaborate is the same naively flat combination of front and side elevations which was used in European medieval art (Fig. 1). Landscape setting is omitted almost entirely. On one of the Hsiao-t'ang-shan slabs, at the bottom of the east wall, barbarian horsemen emerge from behind what may have been meant as a range of hills, but which would serve equally well as an indication of nomads' tents (Fig. 3). The pseudo-historic scene of the attempt to recover the tripods of Chou from the river, several times repeated, is provided with what is perhaps a schematic representation of dikes along the bank on either side; but the convention is so far-fetched as to be almost unintelligible (Fig. 2).⁸ Ground lines may be shown; on the other hand, the great battle scene on one of the Wu slabs has no out-of-door indication except its bridge (and a small tree drawn like a large jack-in-the-pulpit, in which one warrior seems to be skulking).

It is true that a conspicuous motive of this sepulchral art of Han is the tree, and that such forms are handled frequently with an interest which reveals itself in a notable beauty of line and pattern. These elements of Nature, however, are shown not for their natural beauty nor for their aid in establishing a landscape setting, but almost always as individuals of literary or talismanic importance. The most elaborate, three times repeated in the Wu slabs with substantially the same shape and surroundings, is a tree whose branches wind upward in an elaborate interlace, supporting a number of large birds (Fig. 1). According to the most plausible explanation of the scene, these last are the ten suns, imagined by the early Chinese in the guise of crows; the tree is the gigantic Fu-sang at the eastern boundary of the world, by means of which each morning one of the suns mounts into the sky. Other trees appear in the tomb series, and particularly on the contemporary memorial slab of Li Hsi, as objects of good omen (Fig. 7);⁹ the famous calendar tree which grew in the

7. Full account in Chavannes' *Mission*, 1. The Wu tombs are well dated by inscriptions on stelae of members of the family who died in 145, 151, 167, etc. Hsiao-t'ang-shan has no sure connection with any date of burial, being connected by tradition only with one of the Han models of filial piety, Kuo Chü. It must have existed some time before it was visited by a worshipper in 129 A.D. In both cases the slabs come not from underground burial chambers, but from small stone offering chapels set up above ground some distance in front of the tumulus. The designs on the walls—incised in the earlier work, relieved against a striated ground in the later—are scenes taken from Taoist mythology or Confucian moralized history. Only in a few cases do they seem to deal directly with the deceased.

8. Most prized among the emblems of royal legitimacy during the Chou dynasty had been a set of nine bronze

tripods, supposedly cast in the reign of the semi-mythical Emperor Yü, and handed down from king to king and from one dynasty to the next. In the confusion which attended the final extinction of the Chou house, they disappeared. The First Emperor of the Ch'in (221-209 B.C.) sent an army of engineers and divers to hunt for them in the river where they were thought to have been concealed, being anxious to secure the symbols of power as well as its actuality. Grappling irons pulled one bronze to the surface; then, as if unseen powers were in league against the tyrant, a dragon rose out of the water and dragged it down again.

9. Discussed and reproduced in Chavannes, *Mission*, 1. The monument to Li Hsi, cut in 171 A.D., is not a tomb slab but a memorial inscribed on the face of a cliff in the place where he served as governor, Kansu near the Ssu-ch'uan border.

courtyard of the sage emperor Yao, and marked the passage of time by the growth or loss of a branch every day; the "joining of the trees which takes place when the sovereign's virtue is unmixed"; miraculous growths which drop ambrosia, or bear jewels. The magical character of these subjects perhaps removes them even farther than usual at the period from any direct observation of Nature. Their representation, at any rate, embodies the characteristics of any archaic age, qualities so universal that several of these Han trees could plausibly take their places without change of form on Greek vases of the sixth century, or on Sasanian silverware, or in Ottonian manuscripts. The tree is perfectly flat. Normally the chief interest of the artist is in the linear rhythm of its branching. Foliage or fruit is added with full decorative formality at the end of each branch; by a familiar symbolic process, the multiplicity of Nature is drastically reduced until a single such terminal motive stands for all the leaves dependent on the branch, and a half dozen branches for the whole tree. Sometimes the tree is shown with even greater brevity, as a single leaf-like silhouette within which the details of subdivision are drawn, like the tree-triangles which punctuate the procession along the great stair of Xerxes at Persepolis.¹⁰

In any art which has not yet reached the stage of landscape, all preparatory moves in the direction of a fuller realization of space are important. A number of such signs of progress may be seen in Han illustrative art. The figures drawn on the slabs of Hsiao-t'ang-shan and the Wu tombs are usually set along a single ground line, or even disposed with absolute freedom over the surface of the stone; the architectural settings are completely flat (Figs. 1-3). On the other hand, primitive attempts to show the relationship of figures in depth are frequently noticeable. In the Hsiao-t'ang-shan processions, the farther line of horsemen is fully shown directly above the nearer; in the battle scene this alignment is loosened, and the barbarians are made to charge out from a series of hill or tent planes, which partially hide the rear horsemen. (On the perfection of just this device rested the fame of the fifth-century Athenian painter Mikon, closest rival of Polygnotus.) On the Hsiao slabs there are even distinctions in the application of a perspective method which suggest that its comparative difficulty and novelty reserved it for subjects of major importance. The usual chariot is drawn in full side elevation, although the far horse projects slightly above and in front of the near. The chariot bearing the enormous drum is elaborated to the extent that its far wheel is shown in front of the near, on the same line. The king's chariot, finally, is shown in an adequate bird's-eye view, with the farther wheel rising above the nearer, and all four posts drawn to support the canopy. In the somewhat later Wu slabs, almost all chariots are represented at least with both wheels visible. Here also a unique figure grouping sets three seated men on a diagonal line in space, almost a normal perspective view in that the heads are approximately on the same line. This advance is further developed in the slabs from the tomb of the Han general Chu Wei, of the first century A.D., which in general maturity far surpass all other Han sepulchral illustrations;¹¹

10. All Han trees are not on the same level of formality. The evidence for a development toward greater naturalness has been plausibly assembled by O. Fischer in his "Die Entwicklung der Baumdarstellung in der chinesische Kunst," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, II, 1913-14, 52-64, 157-77. The comparatively late trees drawn on the memorial to Li Hsi, dated 171 A.D., are much less stiffly symmetrical than those of the Wu slabs etc., even though they represent miraculous growths.

11. Unfortunately these slabs have disappeared, and so are known only through rubbings taken from them some time ago. Published by O. Fischer in his *Die chinesische Malerei der Han-dynastie*, Berlin, 1931, pls. 32-53, pp. 53 ff.

Chu Wei was a loyalist general at the time of the restoration of the Han imperial line in 23-25 A.D. The scene represented is an ancestral offering-feast; some of the attendant figures are so strongly characterized as to seem portraits. The marked maturity of design and drawing in comparison with the standard of the century-later Wu slabs creates a rather vexing problem. G. Rowley has subjected a set of the Chu Wei rubbings to careful examination at Princeton, and is convinced that they show extensive re-cutting. This might account for a good deal of sophistication in details of drawing, but would not normally affect the composition or main outlines of the figures. The late eighteenth-century authors of the official catalogue of ancient inscriptions in



Fig. 5 -Shantung, Tomb of General Chu Wei: Ceremonial Feast, Schematic Drawing from Offering Chamber Stone, 1 A.D.



Fig. 6 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: Seal Cylinder, Sargonid (?) Period (From a Drawing)



Fig. 7 Kansu, Cliff: Inscription in Praise of Li Hsi, and Apparitions of Good Omen, 171 A.D.



Fig. 8 Heijō (Pyong-yang) Museum, Korea: Taoist Goddess on Fairy Mountain, Detail of Red Lacquer Bowl from Lo-lang, 1 A.D.

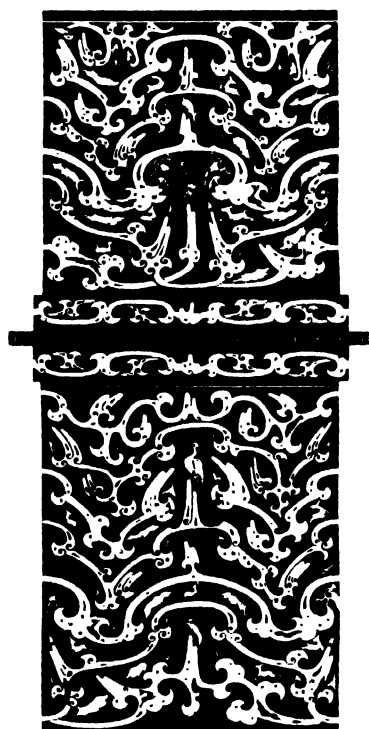


Fig. 9 -Loo Collection (formerly): Drawing of Patterns on Han Inlaid Bronze Cylinder



Fig. 10 - Stockholm, Sirén Collection: Han Bronze Incense Burner



Fig. 11 London, British Museum, Ku K'ai-chih's Scroll of "Admonitions," Detail, IV-V A.D.



Fig. 12 Washington, Freer Gallery: Sung Copy of "Lo Goddess" Scroll with Illustrations Attributed to Ku K'ai-chih

both the figures and the room in which they are placed follow the lines of something like a formal one-point interior perspective, which makes possible the presentation of a great many elements in a convincing spatial relationship (Fig. 5). From this moment to the great T'ang frescoes of the Western Paradise at Tun-huang, the advance lies only in elaboration and perfection of details.

It is in the lesser service of decoration that landscape enters the art of the Han period, and under the strongest suspicion of foreign influence.¹² On tomb tiles, pottery vessels, and inlaid bronzes, the typical Han landscape is often present as a setting for human and animal figures in violent action (Figs. 4, 9, and 10). Hunters pursue their quarry at full gallop across long, swelling ground lines; wild beasts flee from their enemies over a succession of peaks, or halt momentarily at the top to look about. The horsemen seem to be nomads, and turn in their saddles to shoot backwards in the same mid-Asiatic fashion which exasperated the Romans in Parthia; much of the animal repertory is exotic. It can hardly be doubted that the whole idea of a chase among mountains was borrowed by the expanding Han empire from the Near East. The immediate prototypes which should exist in Iranian art are unfortunately lacking; not because they never existed, but through the chances of preservation. The lost Achaemenian chase may be plausibly reconstructed from other evidence. The Iranian renaissance in Sasanian times recalls the idea in debased form, when the shah upon a silver platter pursues his game above a vestigial mountain.¹³ Behind the hypothetical Iranian version must have lain the Assyrian. Here known monuments approach the theme closely from various sides without quite fulfilling all of its conditions. By a curious accident, the closest parallel known to me for the Chinese formula may be more than two thousand years earlier. A Mesopotamian cylinder seal, which Frankfort dates in the period of Sargon of Akkad, around 2500 B.C.,¹⁴ shows bowmen (on foot, since the date is so early), and a pursuit of lions after antelope over precipitous peaks (Fig. 6).

The imported subject is treated by the Chinese in several ways, all carried well beyond the stage of mere imitation. Where the pursuit is dominant, even the least of the Chinese friezes has a wild energy and tumult of linear rhythms which is typically Han, and very

Shantung province, the *Shan Tso Chin Shih Chih*, were so disturbed by the variation from the Wu standard and by what they considered a resemblance to the figure painting of T'ang and Sung that they thought the work might be an archaistic imitation, added by some later antiquarian to the authentic Han memorial inscription (quoted in Japanese in Omura's history of Chinese sculpture, *Shina-bijutsushi, Chōchōhen*, Tōkyō, 1915, p. 72). Against this I should hold two arguments. First, a Sung imitation, as distinguished from a re-cutting, would probably betray itself in composition, by being either a good deal more knowing or a good deal more deliberately simple than the Chu Wei design. Second, the Wu slabs are by no means perfectly satisfactory as a measure of the full capacity of Han style around 150 A.D.; their relative naïveté clashes with the idea of a developing portrait style which literary records prove, and the gap between them and Ku K'ai-chih, two centuries later, is enormous. Perhaps the explanation is that the Chu Wei design was made expressly for the occasion, as a sort of family group portrait, and so made use of the most up-to-date methods of around 50 A.D.; while the Wu scenes were taken from a traditional and perhaps highly conservative repertory, which might have been standardized several centuries earlier. The *Ling-kuang-tien Fu* after all describes a fresco cycle, using the same repertory, which supposedly was executed for a prince of Lu between 154-129 B.C. It

has been presumed that this historical tag was fictitious and that Wang Yen-shou was actually speaking of the paintings of his own time, the second century A.D. The same bias rejects an important account of even earlier cycles (cf. Chavannes, *Mission*, I, 92). The second-century A.D. editor of Ch'ü Yüan's "Heavenly Questionings," Wang I, explains in his preface that the curious subject matter was taken by the poet (in the fourth B.C.) from the paintings which he had seen in the funeral shrines of the great in his state of Ch'u, representing "Heaven and Earth, mountains and waterways, divine and supernatural beings . . . the sages and saints of antiquity . . ." etc. Perhaps there was some historical basis behind these references, and not merely the Chinese passion for hitching one's wagon to the past.

12. The most convenient résumé of objects is given by Sirén in his *Histoire des arts anciens de la Chine*, Paris and Brussels, 1929, vol. II.

13. Iranian versions: *Survey of Persian Art*, London and New York, 1937, IV, pls. 204, 205, 218, 228, 231, etc. (various combinations of hunt plus vestigial landscape theme on silver platters). Cf. also the Tāq-i-būstān rock reliefs of Khusraw II hunting boar and deer (although without mountains).

14. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, fig. 36, p. 140.

different from the slow solidity of the Near East. The mountain-and-animal theme is most thoroughly exploited in the so-called hill jars and censers (Fig. 10), with their tops plastically modeled into a roughly conical peak.¹⁵ The cone is formed by many small, overlapping, mountain-motive planes. On the face of each of these, or between adjacent planes, is indicated a tree, or a human or animal form hunting or being pursued.¹⁶ The resemblance to an Assyrian landscape composition, like the one in relief on a bronze cup in the British Museum, is striking; and it is the more interesting, therefore, to realize that the Chinese version has naturalized the idea as much as possible by making the mountain a Taoist fairyland peak, and even sometimes by transforming the hunters into winged Taoist genii.

Most remarkable and significant are those versions of the Near Eastern chase in which the Han artist has boldly adapted the theme to his own instinctive preferences.¹⁷ It is precisely the landscape, the most unfamiliar element in the borrowed repertory, which is treated most mercilessly in this process. Hunters and beasts may remain in full headlong pursuit, as at the start; but the mountain silhouette may now be repeated upside down at the top of the running frieze, as if it were hanging from the upper border, apparently repeated out of sheer delight in the multiplication of jerky pell-mell rhythms. By a further stride toward full creative license, the whole setting may break down into clouds or meaningless swirling lines, as effective as the mountains from the point of view of linear motion, and less hampering to the imagination of the artist. In highly elaborate form in the inlaid bronzes, and more simply in textiles, the silhouette of repeating peaks may be transformed into an extraordinary abstraction—part mountain still, with a condor perched at the top, or a deer plunging down to escape the tiger behind him; part cloud scroll; and part a derivation from the bird-head ornamental finials of the "Scythian" animal style (Fig. 9). This readiness to substitute more congenial—because more abstract—versions of the mountain theme shows the general indifference of Han art to landscape as anything but an element of decoration, with only the slightest connection with the natural world.

It is in the field of decoration, finally, that the earliest example of any importance exists of a landscape actually executed with a brush. This is the design painted on the surface of a lacquer plate, found among the vestiges of the Han colonial city Lo-lang in Korea (Fig. 8). It is one of three tiny areas of elaboration at the edge of a circle otherwise empty (an extraordinary contrast to the *horror vacui* of the tomb slabs). The central motive is a female figure, doubtless the Taoist goddess of immortality, Hsi-wang-mu, seated on a high, overhanging crag. The magical, almost cloud-like character of the mountain throne is emphasized by fluid brushwork and the long, drifting lines of hanging grasses. Taoist myth makes this setting an iconographic essential, but demands no more than a symbol of the fantastic and supernatural; actual Nature is as far away as ever.

15. Cf. Sirén, *op. cit.*, II, pls. 35-38, 80.

16. *Survey of Persian Art*, IV, pl. 204, presents a Sasanian plate with a tiger standing between two formal trees above a vestigial mountain. The four overlapping mountain-motive silhouettes which make up the latter have in relief against their faces respectively a flower, a pursuing dog, and two birds. For the Assyrian cup, where the silhouetting is much more naturalistic, see Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1884, II, 751. With even greater formality, the Loo tomb tile (Fig. 4) has a single tiny, rudimentary tree spotted against the base of each of its peaks. To this might be compared a roughly contemporary fresco from Dura, where the mountains have been reduced in scale to small hummocks, piling up into a mound (Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura Euphratos*, pl. xlviii). From

such a Near Eastern tradition, probably, the idea entered the early medieval art of Europe, e.g., the Bibles of the Carolingian manuscript school of Tours. It seems to me likely, also, that the same idea is represented in conventionalized form in the long-lived Near Eastern frieze of crenellations, in which the center of each stepped element is occupied by a shape which might very well be a symbolic tree. Among many possible examples, see a Parthian stucco frieze from Assur, in H. Glück and E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte)*, pl. 127. As one would expect, the Chinese mountains stand at the other extreme, with a picturesque moving irregularity of contour.

17. See especially the inlaid bronzes in Sirén, *op. cit.*, or in Rostovtsev, *Inlaid Bronzes of the Han Dynasty*, Paris and Brussels, 1927.

Whatever encouragement the centuries of Han empire may have given to a slowly awakening interest in actual Chinese scenery, may just possibly have shown itself outside the domain of art in the science of map-making.¹⁸ We know that cartography existed in some form under the Chou, and by the end of Ch'in (in the late third century B.C.) had become efficient enough so that the possession of the old Ch'in regional maps was a real advantage to the general who had captured them, in his struggle to erect a new dynasty. Numerous references to map-making may be found in the Han histories, and it is supposed that the progress of the science was hastened in the latter part of the period by the adoption of silk and paper as a ground, instead of the wooden blocks which had served the Ch'in. Unfortunately nothing is known of the appearance of these early maps; and critics like Laufer, who have supposed that the science must have lain close to landscape painting in using the same form of bird's-eye panorama, must take their best evidence from stone-engraved maps no earlier than the twelfth century. Even a primitive map of mountains and rivers, showing the passes which an army must use, might have approximated the effect of a landscape panorama in the Han dynasty. On the other hand, the instances cited in the histories, which presumably represent the maturest achievements of the science, have to do with maps either of so large a terrain or drawn in so limited an area, that landscape features could have been represented on them only in almost stenographic form, with a mountain reduced to a tiny triangle or check; or else by a complete distortion of natural scale relationships.¹⁹ The earliest treatise on cartography, by P'ei Hsiu of the mid-third century A.D., makes just that criticism of earlier efforts in the field: "they give a rough configuration, but are very imperfect; often there are absurdities, and things unrelated or exaggerated which do not agree with actuality and cannot be admitted by good sense." P'ei Hsiu's own system involved a gridiron layout and accurate scale, apparently for the first time. Thus what evidence exists in the field hardly justifies a claim that Han map-making had any important effect on the development of a landscape art.

II—THE THREE KINGDOMS (221-265); THE SIX DYNASTIES (265-589)

Wide-spreading political and social anarchy in the last decades of Han, and the incessant civil warfare which followed, rudely shattered the old imperial mood of confident extraversion. With the barbarian invasions which began in the early fourth century, distress rose to the level of catastrophe. The whole of north China lapsed into a wilderness of raiding,

18. Cf. Chavannes, "Les deux plus anciens spécimens de la cartographie chinoise," *Bull. de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient*, III, 1903, 214-47. More recently, Duyvendak, "An Illustrated Battle Account in the History of the Former Han Dynasty," *T'oung Pao*, xxxiv, 1939, with a comment by Dubs in *idem*, xxxv, 1-3, 211. This last is an interesting attempt to prove that after the victory of a Chinese expeditionary force in middle Asia in 36 B.C.—the capture of the capital of Ferghana—a pictorial record of the campaign, including not only maps but an episodic illustration of the siege, was shown in the Han capital. Duyvendak thinks that in view of the novelty of the idea in China, the illustration may have been done by a Sogdian eyewitness, in the style of his own country (for which the imagination might call up a composite picture of the column of Trajan, the Vatican Joshua Rotulus, Assyrian siege reliefs, and Gandharan style). Dubs imagines a long scroll map showing the route followed, with marginal illustrations above and below as it unfolded; this to be by a Chinese. For neither supposition is the footing very secure.

19. The earliest preserved maps in the Far East are prob-

ably those in the Shōsōin storehouse in Nara, Japan, recording the properties of the monastery Tōdaiji at the mid-eighth century. Here the terrain is limited, so that details are large; but the system followed (doubtless Chinese, like all the apparatus of civilization in Japan at the time) is extremely primitive even at so comparatively late a date, from the standpoint of landscape organization. Cf. *Tōei Shakkō*, Tōkyō, 1927, IV, pls. 204-206. In the more complicated example, the method is to erect a silhouette of a range of hills along whatever axis this would actually follow in plan. The result is a confusion of lines running in every direction, without the slightest resemblance to a coherent view. In the simpler map, dated 756, the ranges run schematically on a checkerboard plan; facing downward at top and bottom, facing outward to the left, and marking a transverse valley across the middle of the property by two ranges, of which the upper is upside down. It is easy to draw parallels to this naïve type of visualization from the conventionalized landscapes of Egypt, Assyria, etc.; and difficult to see how it could contribute much toward the development of a mature landscape art.

massacre, and famine; orderly government survived only in the south, where the Chinese rulers had fled in panic to barricade themselves behind the Yang-tzu. The dynasties which succeeded each other at short intervals in Nanking maintained the showy forms of empire, without anything of the imperial spirit. In these dark ages when all greatness and security lay in the past, the minds of intelligent Chinese were profoundly altered. The old ambition of the scholar, to serve his ruler with loyalty and distinction, lost its meaning in the general collapse of external values. The Confucian ideal of coöperative service struggled helplessly against confusion and disillusionment. In its place the counter-ideal of individualism, which had first been stated in a similar age of chaos in late Chou, rose with renewed persuasiveness. In the settled order of early Han, the writer Chia I had died broken-hearted in his early thirties because he was forbidden the opportunity of serving the state. Four centuries later, in the midst of the civil wars of the Three Kingdoms, the altered spirit of the scholarly class was most sensationally exhibited in the anarchic hedonism of the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove"; and one of that number, Hsi K'ang, so obstinately refused the offices tendered him by the king of Wei and spoke with such open contempt of all authority, that his execution became a political necessity. More typical must have been the case of the great poet T'ao Yüan-ming, of the fourth and early fifth centuries, who held office four times under pressure of poverty, and once spent six years at the capital; his poems during the period express an interminable nostalgia, and the joy of his homecoming to peace and solitude is immortalized in the most famous among them, the "Return of an Official."²⁰

An escapist mentality ruled everywhere, taking many forms in response to one deep-seated impulse. Bodily danger in many cases brought a physical flight from the cities threatened by invasion or coup d'état, into the mountain wilderness beyond the reach of armies; the age was one of famous hermits and mountain wanderers. The intelligent mind, disgusted by human violence and folly, denied its social responsibilities, and turned from human contacts and values toward whatever relief it could find. Here the escape was very often a religious one, as in the Mediterranean world at the same time; this was the great age of Buddhist expansion into China. For the strongest thinkers, peace lay within the mind itself, as it had for the first Taoists in late Chou. For many more on a less strenuous level, the solace of philosophy made itself known through the world of Nature. The slow evolution toward love and understanding of natural beauty, which we have traced in China since the classical songs, was radically accelerated now as a means of escape from the oppression of humanity. Rapidly maturing nature worship created a romantic cult of the wilderness, of precipitous ranges and deep valleys far from the dust of civilization, of immeasurable silences broken only by the splash of mountain streams and the cry of monkeys from the depths of the forest. At the same time the new intensity of feeling was deep and sincere enough to exist without such obvious romanticism; the poet T'ao Yüan-ming found all the beauty and peace which he longed for in a common countryside, and for those who lived perforce at the very center of hustle and confusion, imagination preserved the precious mood of retreat and emptiness in a small garden, or even in a poem, or perhaps even in a painting.

This, then, was the first great age of nature poetry, existing now for its own sake and stripped of the meretricious ornaments of the school of Ch'u. The fifth-century writer Hsieh Ling-yün, composing still in the orthodox forms of Ch'u and Han, declares in his preface a deliberate change of purpose: "What I describe now is not the sumptuousness of capitals and cities, of palaces and towers, of promenades and hunts, of sounds and colors;

20. Selected translations by Waley, *170 Chinese Poems*, pp. 71-79 (under the poet's more formal appellation, T'ao Ch'ien).

I tell only of mountains and plains, of plants and trees, of waters and rocks, of cereals and grains . . . ”²¹

The great achievements of the time, inspired by the beauty and majesty of the natural world, probably lay still in this field of poetry rather than in that of pictorial art. The poems of T'ao Yüan-ming already go as far as the Chinese language permits, in transmitting an emotion of serene beauty. The painted landscapes, judged by any sophisticated standard, must still have been hampered by archaic limitations of technique and visualization. Yet lest we should underestimate their power to stir the imagination, even by imperfect means, history records the life of the painter and critic Tsung Ping (375-443):

Tsung Ping loved landscapes. In the west, he ascended Mounts Ching and Wu; in the south he climbed the peak of Heng. On the last he built himself a hut, cherishing the idea of a peaceful (life there). Then he fell ill, and went home to Chiang-ling. He said, lamenting, "I am old and in poor health as well; I fear it would be difficult for me to roam among the famous mountains (any longer). Now I can only clarify my desires by meditation on the *Tao*, and wander in my dreams." All that he had experienced in his travels, he painted on his walls.²²

The obvious geographic factor -- the picturesque beauty of southern mountain scenery, even the temperate climate which permitted life at the hermit's level the year around -- operated as surely under the southern dynasties as at the end of Chou. Together with the barbarian rule in the north, it made the landscape cult of the Six Dynasties an almost exclusively southern phenomenon. In painting, the northern contribution began very early after the collapse of Han -- it is recorded that the ruler of the Wei kingdom at the mid-third century, Ts'ao Mao, painted "the Flow of the Yellow River"²³ -- and then was interrupted by invasions until the latter part of the sixth. The pace of the southern advance was maintained by famous figures in every century, at the head of numerous lesser men. It was set first in the later fourth by one of the greatest of all, Ku K'ai-chih.

A great deal has been written about Ku, and most of it shows him as anything but a daring innovator. His chief interest was in the field of figure painting and portraiture, in the departments which had been honored beyond all others under the Han, and so must have been strongly entrenched in respectable traditions. His essay on painting, *Lun Hua*, accords a relative importance to landscape, placing it above animals, terraces, and buildings in difficulty of conception and execution; the top rank is still held by human beings. This very conservatism makes the few signs of an altered emphasis all the more important. A striking change from the Han is obvious in the record of his having painted a friend against the background of a grotto; stating as his reason that "The man himself has said that he was at his best with a hill or ravine; so it's only proper to set him in the midst of grottoes and gullies." Here the humanistic prejudice has been assailed at its strongest point, the por-

21. Quoted by Margouliès, *Évolution de la prose artistique chinoise*, Munich, 1929. Hsieh Ling-yün seems to have satisfied his wanderlust with a minimum of discomfort; his biography in the Sung dynastic history tells how his disciples, to the number of several hundred, would accompany him in his search for lonely summits, felling trees and opening passages (cited by Aoki, *op. cit.*, see note 2).

22. From his biography in the ninth-century history of painting, *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, vi, by Chang Yen-yüan.

23. *Ibid.*, iv. This would be far from early in landscape painting history if one could accept the evidence for a well-known story. The *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, iv, under the Ch'in dynasty (221-206), tells of a certain Lieh I who was sent to the court of the First Emperor by way of tribute in 220 B.C., from a realm called Chien-chüan. "He would fill his mouth with red or black, and then spit against a wall,

to make dragons and animals. With a finger he could measure off the ground as if he were using a plumb-line. His circles and squares were all as if made by compass and rule. In the space of a square inch he set the Five Peaks and the Four Seas, with every territory in its place . . ." This is quoted (very carelessly) from a work by Wang Chia (-386 A.D.), the *Shih I Chi*, a highly uncritical collection of traditions. The degree of credence which the tale merits is lowered even further by its sequel; that Lieh I also made the First Emperor two jade tigers, each with a single lacquered eye. Unaccountably they flew off; the next year two white tigers were sent as tribute from Turkestan, each with a single eye. They were killed to satisfy the ruler's curiosity, and when dissected, proved to be really Lieh I's jade carvings (quoted by Omura, *Shina-bijutsushi, Chōchōhen*, p. 37).

trait. Elsewhere Ku gives a description of a real or imagined picture under the title "How to Paint the Cloud-terrace Mountain," in which the setting for a group of Taoist adepts—on a dizzy height among the peach-trees of longevity—is vividly suggested: "I would make purple rocks looking something like solid clouds, five or six of them astride the hill. And ascending between them there should be shapes that writhe and coil like dragons . . ."²⁴

In the total effect of such a scene, the landscape would have had a new importance. Yet one may reasonably imagine that its character would not have been too far from the spirit of Han, turning the natural forms into abstractions, and little interested in sober reality. A landscape poem by Ku states a similar romantic improbability:

A thousand cliffs vie in beauty,
Ten thousand gorges compete in their rushing;
The grasses and trees which screen them
Are like rising clouds and dense vapors.

The T'ang dynasty still knew an existing six-panel landscape screen by Ku K'ai-chih, but nothing is told of its subject matter.

There is already less Taoist fantasy and more of the awakening cult of Nature in the record that his contemporary Tai K'uei (395) painted the "Streams, Hills, and Homesteads of the Land of Wu"; while the latter's son P'o did "Famous Mountains of the Nine Provinces," and "Wind, Clouds, Water, and Moon," and is said to have excelled Ku in landscape.²⁵ Thereafter, references to paintings of Chinese scenery become increasingly common. By the mid-fifth century, as we have seen, the cult had produced a prototype for all later artist philosophers in Tsung Ping, who when he could no longer wander bodily in the wilderness, consoled his old age by meditating on the *Tao* and by recreating the forms he had loved in painting.

Under Tsung Ping's name there is preserved a so-called "Preface to Landscape Painting," in which the point of view of the creative nature worshipper is already well expressed.²⁶ The whole treatise is interesting both for its historical primacy in the field of theory, and for its own sake. I have appended a translation at the end of this article. One cannot be sure of following Tsung Ping's thought everywhere, but its sense is clear enough in crucial passages. "Landscapes have a material existence, and yet reach also into a spiritual domain." The wild beauty of their forms, the "peaks and precipices rising sheer and high, the cloudy forest lying dense and vast," have brought to the wise and virtuous recluses of the past an unending pleasure, "a joy which is of the soul and of the soul only." One approach to the *Tao* is by inward concentration alone; another, almost the same, is through the beauty of mountains and water. "In such a way the beauty of Mount Sung and Mount Hua, the very mystery of the Dark Spirit of the Universe, all may be captured within a single picture." In statements such as these, the sublimity of Nature and its representation in art are joined mystically with the eternal beyond all forms. Landscape painting becomes an aspect of Taoist practice, by an historic inevitability—as figure painting in the previous age had been monopolized by the ethical preachings of Confucius.

For the western critic, bemused by such transcendental claims, it is a healthy corrective to remember that the art for which they were made was still young and awkward. The

24. *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, v; quoted by Waley, *Introduction to the History of Chinese Painting*, New York, 1923, pp. 49-50.

25. *Li Tai*, v; Waley, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

26. *Li Tai*, vi. Translated very badly by Sirén, *The*

Chinese on the Art of Painting, Peiping, 1936, pp. 14-16; and much more satisfactorily by S. Sakanishi, *The Spirit of the Brush (Wisdom of the East Series)*, London, 1939, pp. 37 ff. It will be seen that my own rendering varies from hers only occasionally.

theory itself is in a tentative stage, in comparison with later essays on landscape. Problems which will become critical to the Sung are slurred over. Tsung Ping is sure that "the soul (or divine principle), though in the truest sense without limits, yet dwells in forms and stirs them to its likeness. Truth enters into appearances and images; and surely to be able to copy these in wondrous fashion is to exhaust (all that they may contain)." But the Sung critics like Ching Hao will ask, what is one copying, the inner truth or the external form alone?²⁷ Tsung Ping speaks of landscapes as "captivating" the *Tao*, using a character whose connotations are those of physical seduction. Ching Hao will use the same character to indicate the preoccupation of merely skilful painters with what is merely pretty and captivating; and he carefully contrasts beauty and essential truth. All that Tsung Ping contributes to the problems of visualizing a scene, is an insistence on proper diminution; and he has nothing to say about the problems of expression, which will later produce a whole literature on "brush" and "ink."

There is a good deal less meat and much more gristle in the essay on painting by his rival and contemporary Wang Wei. The latter, too, was a scholar-recluse and a lover of the wilderness, and had such confidence in his ability as an artist that he could write to a friend, "It is my nature to understand painting. Should it be the way the crying herons know (their course) at night, veering one after another in the line, it will be written on my heart and eye. And so with my love of mountains and water, I search and study in a single journey, and then can set down the likeness of everything."

The ninth-century critic Chang Yen-yüan speaks with approval of Wang and Tsung, admiring both the lonely purity of their lives and the sublimity of their works. "Each has his 'Preface to Painting.' Their thoughts are far reaching and their works lofty; it is hard to discuss such a matter with those who do not understand about painting." In the same lofty vein he declares that "paintings are a means of moral instruction by the examples of wise men and fools, and a source of delight to the heart. If one does not pursue the obscure and subtle to full expression in an idea, how can one achieve harmony with the divine process of change, with the operations of Heaven?"²⁸

The intimidating mysticism of Chang Yen-yüan's panegyric is fortunately balanced by a greater sobriety in his section on landscape painting in general. We may suppose, by historic probability, that if the theory of fifth-century landscape art was not yet fully mature, its practitioners must have been even less sure of themselves, being painters still in an archaic period, experimenting in the most difficult and least tried field of representation. From actual observation of their remaining work, Chang seems to have reached the same opinion:

I have seen all the famous works from the Wei and Chin dynasties down, which are now extant. In their depiction of landscapes, the effect of the crowded peaks is like that of (the teeth of) some minutely ornamented rhinoceros horn comb. Sometimes the water could not possibly be floated on, or men are larger than mountains. As a general rule, all of them are filled out by trees and rocks, to set off the rest. The look (of the former), as they stand planted in line on the ground, is like lifted arms with outspread fingers . . . ²⁹

The qualities here suggested are those of a style which is still in many respects not very far from the highest levels of Han. There is the same indifference to natural scale; while the similes of comb teeth and spread out fingers tell of a persistent two-dimensionality. With

27. Ching Hao of the later tenth century, reputed author of a treatise called *Pi Fa Chi*, "An Account of How to Use the Brush." Translated (again badly) by Sirén, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 ff.; and well by Sakanishi, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 ff.

28. *Li Tai*, vi. Wang Wei's essay is translated by Sakanishi, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff.

29. *Li Tai*, i, section on the depiction of mountains, water, trees, and rocks.

such an antidote, then, for the mysticism of Tsung Ping and Wang Wei, we may turn without surprise to examine the two landscape paintings which remain today as acceptable attributions to Ku K'ai-chih.³⁰

That of the scroll of "Admonitions" in the British Museum (Fig. 11) consists of a single mountain mass, elaborate enough in itself but existing in a void without relationship to any exterior element except the proportionately gigantic figure of the archer (who, like it, is necessitated by the text). In such arbitrary scale and isolation it is no farther advanced than the magic trees of Han. The setting of the Lo goddess scroll in the Freer Gallery (assuming that as a good copy it reproduces the archaic original with some care) is presented as a great many elements—trees, peaks, bodies of water—which in general have only the remotest relationship to each other (Fig. 12). Certain formulae of illustration, which we shall see again and again in later works, hold together small areas. Figures are set in an enclosure of trees which emphasizes their spatial grouping. A river moves forward past deeply indented banks which define, for a short space, its progress through advancing planes. The mountains pile up in overlapping planes from foot-hills to wooded summits. None of these small areas has any connection except that of mere juxtaposition to the next, however; the space outside them is entirely amorphous; and even their separate advances toward coherence are so slight as to indicate a very early stage of landscape art.

The interior treatment of the "Admonitions" mountain is surprisingly different; so much so that it is hard to imagine both scrolls as the work of a single painter or indeed of the same century. Here the one striking archaism is the isolation of the whole form. Within it a perceptible effort has been made to overcome the impression of flatness which dominates the landscape of the Lo goddess. The mountain is a rather complex composite form, instead of a single silhouette or a mere series of overlapping parallel mountain-motive planes. The planes are used still; but the very meager suggestion of plasticity which they can give at best, is reinforced by a new element, a sort of plateau, a piece of three-dimensional space (so to speak) made definite by its cliff boundaries. A special version of the device, a roadway or ledge, winds back around the bases of the vertical planes to give them added plastic convincingness. These methods seem at first sight clumsy and obvious, and certainly their handling in the "Admonitions" scroll is far from effortless mastery. Yet in an art which ever since has been anxious to convey the illusion of space, and has deliberately deprived itself of the resources of modeling in light and shade, they were destined to remain in favor throughout the whole course of Far Eastern landscape painting. Thus they appear over and over again, for example, in the great Mori landscape scroll by Sesshu, with no difference beyond a greater subtlety and sureness of execution.

It is with the general purpose of estimating as far as possible the progress made during the Six Dynasties period in the organization of natural elements into something approaching a coherent landscape, that I shall discuss herewith a number of existing remains. These might be studied more closely in other ways: in the developing presentation of details, the increasing elaboration of branch and foliage formulae, the increasing variety of trees shown, the differentiation of various shapes of rock. More difficult and primary than any of these, however, is the problem of space underlying all landscape organization, the prosaic necessity of suggesting three dimensions with a technique of two; and it is to this main line of development that I shall devote my most earnest attention.

30. Data in Waley, *Introduction*, pp. 50 ff., 59 ff.—The scroll in the Freer Gallery, Washington (Fig. 12), is repro-

duced through the courtesy of the Gallery.

The evolution of any early landscape art is largely a matter of the accumulation of small, often rather puerile devices to indicate space. Much has been admirably written by Chinese and admiring westerners about the profoundly mystical relationship between Chinese landscape art and the universal Way, about that spirit-harmony without which the most skillfully executed work is in vain, about the ideal of creative spontaneity exemplified in the divine Wu Tao-tzu, who "concentrated his spirit and harmonized it with the forces of Nature." One result of this campaign has been to set the Chinese representation of Nature at a not always merited height above other landscape arts, by obscuring its humbler and more familiar processes, and to envelop it in a mystery not entirely reasonable. It is a fine story one meets in the literature of Chinese aesthetics, about the cook of Prince Hui who because he had grasped the secret of *Tao*, to know how to overcome without striving, was able to perform the most remarkable feats of dissection with his knife, apparently without effort.³¹ Yet one may observe that the marvel is recorded of a cook, presumably the descendant of cooks and certainly the product of a long, laborious apprenticeship; it is not claimed that Prince Hui concentrated his spirit, seized the cleaver, and performed the act himself. Spontaneity comes at the end of a long period of painful accumulation, when at last so many satisfactory means are available for any artistic purpose that method need no longer be a conscious concern.

Evidence for the development of landscape painting between the fifth and seventh centuries is by no means complete, or even adequate. Progress itself must have been retarded by the concentration of creative ability in the service of formal Buddhism. The bulk of existing remains is preserved in the form of Buddhist illustration, concerned only incidentally with environment. It comprises frescoes from the far frontier station of Tun-huang, and reliefs from the north, executed in the unobliging medium of stone (and reflecting an art perhaps less advanced than the southern). There is a scarcity of dates; and the monuments which can be settled in a definite year doubtless reflect at second or third hand the stages of a progress which had been passed through generations earlier in the central currents of pictorial art. Some remains of the fifth century, in the slow-moving backwaters of religious illustration, are still clearly at the stage of Han. At Yün-kang, for example, one of the cave temples contains a stone relief of the Indian world-mountain Sumeru, encircled by its giant dragons;³² the details are borrowed indiscriminately from Indian and Chinese traditions, and thus recall both the Han "hill-jars" (with a tree, animal, or bird silhouetted against each mountain plane) and the animal chase. In the main, however, the illustration of Buddhist legends required a repertory of settings considerably more complicated, and an area of action more extensive, than had sufficed for the simple moral tales of Han. The minor artists whose works are preserved must have availed themselves sooner or later of every advance made by the masters toward a greater plausibility of composition.

Three early steps in the accumulation of means to suggest an ample space are set out side by side on a stele of 551 in the University of Pennsylvania Museum (Fig. 13).³³ In the scene which is stylistically most primitive, the figures stand on a ground-line of small hummocks, silhouetted against hills which rise immediately behind. No sense of depth exists, and the action is necessarily limited to the length of the single ground line. (With allow-

31. Found, e.g., in Chang Yen-yüan's account of the style of Wu Tao-tzu; quoted by Sirén, *History of Early Chinese Painting*, London and New York, 1933, I, p. 76.

32. Sirén, *A History of Chinese Sculpture*, London, 1925, II, pl. 37.

33. *Ibid.*, III, pl. 234. This stele, reproduced here by

courtesy of the University Museum, now bears an inscription of 1561, recording its re-dedication in that year and noting that the original inscription had been dated 551. A certain amount of re-cutting may have taken place at this time, but I see no sign that the designs of the landscape panels were altered to suit Ming taste.

ance for differences of technique and detail, this is the typical background formula of Italo-Byzantine style, and as such appears in the most primitive landscapes of the St. Francis cycle at Assisi.) Another panel, in which the figures are disposed not only across the front, but on a second plane as if they were standing on the crest of the hills, carries the possibilities of two-dimensional design to their limit. The same rather feeble expedient has occurred often to artists of limited means in the West, in ancient and medieval times. A third scene adopts an ingenious device which places the whole problem on a new basis; the background hills are moved away from the ground line, and a wide stage of convincing depth is secured by setting a small building at an angle between. This is a variant of the stratagem used in the scroll of "Admonitions," a marking off of space by some well-bounded element running back through planes of distance. The same small house, or its derivative group of buildings, will be a favorite device in later centuries both in China and in Japan, to lend something of the persuasive solidity of architecture to the painted landscapes surrounding it. (It is also the means used by Taddeo Gaddi in his Baroncelli Chapel fresco of "St. Benedict as Hermit," to expand the Giottesque tradition.)

A crude solution of a different sort appears in what is commonly thought to be the earliest remaining set of frescoes at Tun-huang, those of cave 110, attributed by Bachhofer to the last decade of the fifth century (Fig. 14).³⁴ Here the long frieze is subdivided by a succession of diagonal lines, along each of which is erected a miniature range of mountains. In addition a similar range runs all along the bottom boundary as a crude repoussoir. The frieze is thus parceled out into areas of action, with something like a ground on which the figures and animals of the *Jātaka* tales may stand. The formality of the scheme is stressed by the dark ground, and a conventional alternation of colors along the line of peaks (this a decorative formula, which also was destined to have a long history).

A step beyond the clumsy repetition of diagonals may be seen in the landscapes of cave 135 at Tun-huang, placed by Bachhofer in the first half of the sixth (Fig. 21).³⁵ The basis of design is again a flat area made definite by mountain boundaries; but these ranges run at different angles, producing fields of action which are variously curved or trapezoidal in form. There is still no horizon beyond the peaks; figures and trees are still disproportionately large. The meaning of the bounded areas is not even consistently limited to level ground, for in one case—otherwise quite like the rest—it signifies a chasm into which the martyr Bodhisattva is hurling himself. This peculiar type of schematized landscape seems clearly too formal to have made any permanent contribution to a developing art. Its curious, almost geometrical layout may indeed be not Chinese at all in origin, but actually an attempt to soften and enliven the absolute diagonal rigidity of the landscape *Jātaka* cycle as it was developed further west in Turkestan (Fig. 15).³⁶ It should be remembered, all the same; for its essential feature, the subdivision of the setting by long ranges of mountains running in various directions at angles to the picture plane, will be essential also in the climax of T'ang landscape at Tun-huang, though in much more sophisticated form.

34. L. Bachhofer, "Die Raumdarstellung der chinesischen Malerei des ersten Jahrtausends," *Münchener Jahrbuch*, N. F. VIII, 1931, 208; dated on "stylistic grounds."

35. *Ibid.*, p. 207; dated by comparison of the donors below the landscape panel with those on dated Buddhist steles of the 530's.

36. Cf. A. Grünwedel, *Alt-kutscha*, Berlin, 1920, II, 57 ff., figs. 42-45; also E. Waldschmidt in von le Coq's *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, Neue Bildwerke, II, Berlin, 1929. The chronological table given in *ibid.*, III, 1933, p. 27, sets the frescoes of this cave, the "Schluchthöhle," Ming Oi, Qyzyl, around 600-50. The subject

matter of this elaborate *Jātaka* series is of course Indian, but the setting seems related to the other great source of early Turkestan style, the Iranian tradition. As possible evidence for the lost Iranian prototype I suggest: 1) the superimposed mountain-crenellation friezes of Parthian date from Assur, mentioned in note 16 above; 2) the fragmentary bath fresco at Qusayr 'Amra, from the early eighth century, in which continuous diagonals divide the field into diamond-shaped areas, each containing the figure of an animal, bird, or human (Glück and Diez, *Kunst des Islam*, pl. 143).



Fig. 13 - Philadelphia, University Museum: Stele with Scenes of Jātaka Tales, 551 A.D.



Fig. 14 - Tun-huang, Cave 110: Jātaka Tale, Detail of Wall Painting, V A.D.

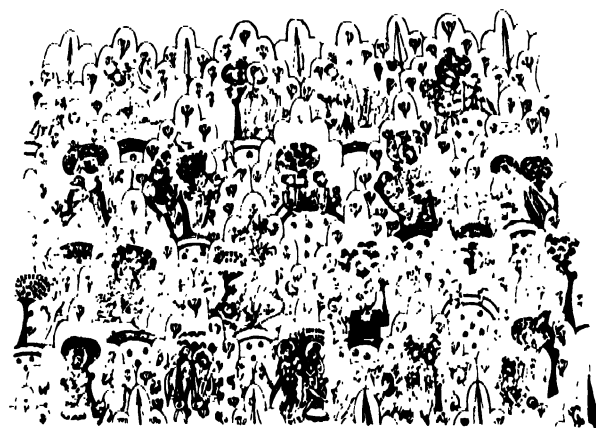


Fig. 15 - Qyzyl, Chinese Turkestan, Buddhist Cave: Jātaka Tale, Detail of Wall Painting, VII A.D.



斯種入元城脫學此想捨禪正得除法

Fig. 16 Owned by Jōbonrendaiji



Fig. 17 Owned by Daigoji: Hōōnin

FIGS. 16-17 KYŌTO, MUSEUM: DETAILS OF ILLUSTRATED SŪTRA OF THE BUDDHA'S LIFE, INGAKYŌ

The same cave 135 contains, as an alternative setting, the device of the field expanded by architecture which we have seen in the stele of 551. This version is interesting in several ways. In the first place, the repetition side by side of several almost identical complexes of mountain, house, and ground, is handled with a proper archaic sense of formal pattern. Again the painted example, naturally, shows a greater continuity and interrelationship than could the relief. In each complex the mountain rises as a roughly pyramidal form, its low base serving as a foreground repoussoir. The pavilion, partly hidden by a shoulder of rock, creates a sense of recession which not only provides level ground for the figure action but suggests as well that the mountain rising behind it is at the same time running back into depth. Manifestly archaic features of the scheme are the inability to present any kind of stop or horizon at the rear, and the building up of each mountain in what is still essentially the manner of the Han "hill jars," by superposition of large, simple, triangular forms, differentiated by a conventional alternation of colors.

A further advance within the same general scheme toward more sophisticated landscape is provided by the various early Japanese copies of the Buddhist "Sūtra of Rewards and Punishments," *Ingakyō*, an illustrated life of the historical Buddha (Figs. 16 and 17).³⁷ It is generally agreed that these copies were made at Nara around the middle of the eighth century, but with considerable fidelity to an earlier prototype imported from China. Various details have been brought up to date, notably costume and architecture; the landscape settings have remained much more archaic than a proper eighth-century style, and resemble the frescoes of cave 135 closely enough to suggest a similar sixth-century attribution for their Chinese original.³⁸ Differences between the scrolls and the wall paintings are doubtless due to the greater geographical closeness of the former to the main currents of sixth-century painting. The artist's repertory is noticeably wider. The great number of more or less adequate formulae which he uses to define a limited space stands in contrast to the comparative poverty of Tun-huang and the usual bas-reliefs. By comparison to the almost complete incoherence of the Lo goddess scroll, it suggests the advances made in two centuries or so in the use of landscape as a setting for figure action.

To add a larger rhythm to what might otherwise seem a rather confusing succession of small elements, the designer of the *Ingakyō* has punctuated his scroll sequences by a series of big landscape masses, irregularly set so as not to interfere with the varying spatial requirements of the story. In general these are rocky crags, rising roughly pyramidal from the lower border but of widely varying shapes; in execution the Tempyō period copies show traces of a knowledge of T'ang technique, but the forms themselves are clearly of the same sort as those of the cave frescoes. Elsewhere, especially in the scenes showing the early life of Prince Siddhartha in his father's city, the same effect of rhythmic alternation is given by long, swelling contours, which actually represent the far edge of a sort of low plateau and

37. Facsimiles of several of the *Ingakyō* scrolls have been made in Japan, while selections from the best known—belonging to the Tōkyō Fine Arts School, and to two temples near Kyōtō, Daigōji Hōōnin and Jōbonrendaiji—are published in the series *Nihonga-taisei*, xvi, Tōkyō, 1931, first volume on Buddhist paintings, 46–57. The scroll formerly owned by Kōfukujī (now in the Macdonald collection) has a fragmentary date: "... month, seventh day, copyist of the Junior Eighth Rank." Scribes seem to have been assigned ranks first in the Tempyō era (729–48), and the work is generally considered to date from that generation. In the diary *Sanetaka-kōki*, an entry for 1528 states that the writer, Sanjō-nishi Sanetaka, had had the honor of inspecting an illustrated *Ingakyō* scroll, written by the

Emperor Shōmu in 735 (an indication of the popularity of the sūtra, no more; information from S. Nakai, "Studies on the Ingwa Kyo scroll" [in Japanese], *Bukkyō-bijitsu*, v, Dec. 1925). The sūtra was translated into Chinese for the first time by the Indian missionary Gunabhadra, in 435–43, in south China.

38. While secular costume has been brought up to date in the Japanese versions, the specifically religious iconography seems to have been treated with more respect. In the scene of the Temptation, the robes of the daughters of Mara look pre-T'ang; and the Bodhisattva dress of Gautama before his Enlightenment resembles that of later sixth-century Chinese sculpture rather than T'ang.

thus provide bounded level ground for figure action. Between these large masses, the terrain has commonly no other boundary than trees, set in groups beside or behind the figures and suggesting a limited depth by the same means as in the Lo goddess scroll (Fig. 12). Here a device has been added to strengthen one's sense of level ground extending backward, a spotting of grass clumps; particularly so as to establish a sort of foreground repoussoir line.

There is constant evidence that the designer is trying to break through the limitations of the archaic picture plane. His figures are generally placed in an accentuated spatial relationship; a procession of ox-carts moves along not in one straight line but on a sharp curve which comes out of depth and then returns. Buildings are shown facing both forward and to the side, in bird's-eye view. As devices for creating space, they are more elaborate than before. One composition represents a palace approached through a gate in a fence; the latter begins behind a foreground rock and runs back to end against another rock in middle distance, marking off by architectural means a good deal of depth. In another scene, a towered gateway leads into a palace courtyard partly hidden by a foreground rock mass; at the rear two buildings are set on different planes and at different angles. Again, the mountain may be opened up by a ravine leading back between sheer cliffs, through which a figure passes (a well-known trick of the Sieneſe Trecento).

It is an obvious weakness of the *Ingakyō* style that like the Tun-huang fresco it loses definition behind a fairly close middle distance, and ordinarily no farther space or any horizon is visualized. Only one scene is exceptional in showing a surprising view between the near mountain masses, toward far-off hill-tops emerging above horizontal lines of cloud (Fig. 16). This is, so far, our first far distance. It is memorable also for what it was intended to suggest. The text which runs below is concerned for some distance to right and left with the interview between Prince Siddhartha and the *rishi* Alāra, one of the former's abortive attempts to discover the way of deliverance between his flight from the palace and his final enlightenment.³⁹ The hermit is explaining the four ascending stages of meditative ecstacy; immediately below the ravine with its distant prospect, the wording runs: "Separating oneself from sensuous imaginings, one enters the realm of emptiness; suppressing all idea of limitations, one enters the realm of understanding; suppressing all understanding of infinite multitude and looking only on an understanding of the One, one enters the realm of nothingness. Separating oneself from thought of every kind one enters the realm of neither thinking nor not thinking . . ."

Much later the Ch'an painters will try to suggest the inexpressible by an empty circle, or even an absolute blank. It seems to me a remarkable sign of the strength of the nature cult in sixth-century China that it should have been able to set its stamp in this way even on Buddhist iconography. The clumsy little vignette in the *Ingakyō* equating natural space with the infinite Unity, has all the essential content of the mature landscape mysticism of Sung.

The representation of details in the *Ingakyō* is still archaic in many respects (while others, like the quite successful plasticity of some of the mountain forms, seem improvements of the eighth century). Individual trees are ~~very much~~ generalized. The artist is interested in none of the things which will attract later men. The whole shape has neither the decorative organization of Han nor the dramatic quality which later generations will seek. There is no interest in roots, or bark texture, or any special effectiveness of foliage.

39. A general idea of the sequence of events at this stage in the life of Gautama may be gained from Wiegner, *A History of the Religious Beliefs and Philosophical Opinions of*

the Chinese, Hsien-hsien, 1927, pp. 456-59 (which seems to be derived from the same sūtra or one like it).

Leaves are dabbed on in solid blobs of color; the trunk is drawn in a single brush-stroke. Even different species are distinguished only in summary fashion, where the T'ang style will take pains to group and separate clearly. The whole tree is thoroughly two-dimensional. Trees intended as a far-distant type are clustered up and down the mountain silhouettes like fungi, without any trunks showing; the formula had been used in the Lo goddess scroll, and is a good index of archaic indifference to plasticity (contrasting with the T'ang carefulness in distributing its trees both in front of and behind the edge, to suggest roundness).

A final detail of interest is the curiously contorted and eroded small vertical rock which occasionally appears in the more civilized settings. It is unquestionably the typical Chinese garden rock, the scholar's delight, which today has driven everything else out of Peking gardens as we are told the common hare or rabbit was once well on the way to doing in Australia. Perhaps the earliest known appearance of a peculiarly Chinese art form, it is also a reminder of the progress of garden design during the Six Dynasties.

By far the most accomplished landscapes in the remaining art of the Six Dynasties are those engraved on the two sides of a stone sarcophagus which is now the property of the Nelson Art Gallery in Kansas City (Figs. 19 and 20).⁴⁰ The subjects of the drawings are the same Confucian anecdotes of filial piety which had been fashionable sepulchral ornaments in Han. Designs and execution are of so remarkably high a quality that the work seems to me a direct copy of some first-class painting of the theme, made probably during the second quarter of the sixth century, in close chronological relationship to the work of contemporary masters. The figure style, even in the difficult medium of stone, has much of the elegance and swift-moving grace of the "Admonitions" scroll, with an added touch of flamboyance which belongs to its period. The same characteristics of a court art at its best appear in the settings, with an elaboration and a sureness of handling which would have been impossible in the age of Ku K'ai-chih. There is no sharp break with the past, but an advance is obvious in every branch of landscape representation, beyond any work so far considered.

The scenes are still set in the immediate foreground, at large scale, and the arrangement of the figures and their enclosure by trees and rocks is only a much more successful application of methods already seen in the *Ingakyō* and even in the Lo goddess scroll. In addition, however, the artist has now made a definite attempt to break through into distances hitherto unexplored. In several scenes a range of far-off hills appears above the nearer action, rising out of layers of cloud. This is clearly a preliminary step toward the representation of a complete landscape. The prime difficulty of managing a transition between near and far is avoided by obliterating the intermediate planes, partly behind high foreground elements and partly by clouds.

In the scene illustrating the story of the virtuous Wang Lin, an even more ambitious experiment is made (Fig. 20). The picture separates into two similar halves, showing different moments of the same episode, with the settings varied slightly for a purely decorative interest. On the outside a group of figures is placed emerging from a narrow defile between precipitous peaks; on the inside the same group, with backs turned, is retracing its steps. In the *Ingakyō* as well, figures are shown as if walking back between mountains, but by much

40. Reproductions from rubbings, together with an excellent critique in Japanese, have been published by Okumura in *Hōun*, xx and in his personal publication *Urinasu*, iv (both Kyōtō, 1937). The slabs are reputed to have come from the same tomb in the Lo-yang region which has produced a stone dated 522, bearing a funerary eulogy of the lady Yüan-shih. Okumura for stylistic reasons believes

that the sarcophagus, of which the Nelson slabs represent the two long sides, dates somewhat later, and so may have belonged to the husband or to a near relative who was buried in the same tomb. He discusses the stone of 522 in *Urinasu*, 1. The sarcophagus slabs were shown in the Chinese exhibition in London in 1935-36, and are published in its catalogue, *The Chinese Exhibition*, nos. 2381, 2473.

more archaic means. One rock shape merely overlaps the other, and the figure is drawn at half-length between. The scheme is almost purely formal, since it is impossible to imagine any real distance between the shapes. In this case, on the contrary, the defile leads straight back, its walls closing in on either side in a simulated perspective. The impression of actual space is heightened by showing the advancing figures between the twin trunks of a tree growing in front of them; and the artist has even attempted the complete foreshortening of a horse and rider, seen first from the front and then from the rear, a naïve audacity typical of periods of experimentation with the illusion of three-dimensionality.⁴¹ It should be noticed, all the same, that the *arroyo* road leads back only a relatively short distance—the formula is too awkward for more extensive use—and that the terrain beyond is conveniently masked by clouds until one reaches the far distant hills at the top.

Further details of the sarcophagus drawings are of great interest. Scale relationships are conventional still, but comparatively plausible. The very important problem of the scale of foreground elements to the height of the whole picture is handled, again, with relative maturity. In earlier and more archaic landscapes like those of the Lo goddess scroll, the unreality of the scene is emphasized by the minuteness of all of its elements, which seem—in so far as they have any existence—to be far away and unrelated to the spectator. In the stage beyond the sarcophagus landscapes, it has been discovered that an apparent closeness of the scene to the spectator is a potent aid to plausibility; to draw him as close as possible in imagination, the foreground elements are made very large, and trees will project boldly through the top frame. I know this stage in the West for the first time in Piero della Francesca's "Baptism"; in China it was probably delayed until Sung. The sarcophagus stage is that immediately preceding, in which the trees are noticeably large, but remain enclosed by the frame, as with Fra Angelico.

A parallel with the West around 1400 suggests itself for more than one reason. The figures have the gaiety and light grace of the International Style, in Chinese dress, with a proper feeling for sumptuous decoration. The landscape is well placed as a Chinese pendant to Fra Angelico and Masolino, with a touch of Uccello in the foreshortened horseman. The story-book charm of an art halting briefly between childhood and maturity is that of the Tyrolean Runkelstein Castle frescoes, or of the last black-figured drawings in Athens about 500. Chang Yen-yüan, the ninth-century critic, pays tribute to the attractiveness of what he calls "the art of middle antiquity," as being "detailed, delicate, and most charming";⁴² and in so doing epitomizes a whole phase of stylistic evolution, rather than the Chinese version alone.

While the Nelson slabs have many parallels in the general qualities which mark the end of an archaic period, their details are of course specifically Chinese. In one respect the contrast with the West is immediate. The landscapes here are suffused with an extraordinary sense of tumultuous activity, blowing scarves, wind-whipped foliage, birds streaking across a sky filled with scudding clouds. There is no justification for such emphatic movement in the stories told. It represents, instead, a final phase of a linear dynamism inherited from Han; and so stands in proper sequence with the wild activity of the animal chase, the lines of pure motion which pursue each other around Han lacquer bowls, and the fluttering ribbons of Ku K'ai-chih. The earliest Buddhist frescoes at Tun-huang retain the same quality. It comes to an end with the solid realities of T'ang.

41. The figure of a cavalier seen head on appears again in the upper left-hand corner of the section of frescoes in

cave 135, Tun-huang (see Pelliot, *Grottes*, pl. cclxxx).
42. Li Tai, I, in his discussion of the "Six Laws."

One of the most profitable indices of a developing landscape art is the degree of recognition which it gives to the infinite variety and multiplicity of Nature. Here once more the Nelson slabs stand on a new level. The few trees are carefully individualized, instead of repeating one or two general types as they do in the *Ingakyō*. The differentiation applies to sizes and shapes and character—a smallish, gnarled cypress, for example, alongside a tall, slender variety—and beyond this, to leaves, and even to bark texture. Within a single tree there is not only more natural variety and accident in the placing of branches than before, but there may be also the stressed contrast of a broken limb in the midst of the others. There are various types of low grasses and underbrush. The rocks are divided into horizontal and vertical forms; both classes in their flinty angularity stand out against the long, flowing curves of the ground lines, and so stand unmistakably for hard rock rather than soft earth. A final note of incidental interest is given by the deer which graze in the foreground—without reference to any story—and which will be repeated over and over for the same purpose by later atelier tradition, both in China and Japan.

The masters whom Chang Yen-yüan names as the typical exponents of his style of “middle antiquity,” Chan Tzu-ch’ien and Cheng Fa-shih, belonged to the latter part of the sixth century. One may imagine their carrying the qualities of the sarcophagus scenes to an even higher point of elegance and elaboration. In view of the remarkable experiments in space representation which are made on the sarcophagus, it is particularly interesting to find Chang Yen-yüan stating that the former’s “landscapes (held) a thousand *li* within a scant foot”; while a Sung opinion amplifies the praise to say that “in representing rivers and mountains, his effects of far distance and nearness were particularly skilful, so that in a scant foot there was the feeling of a thousand *li*.”⁴³ On the other hand, Chang Yen-yüan’s account of the progress of landscape painting in general suggests that the final, minutely ornamental phase of the archaic continued well past the Six Dynasties period into Sui and T’ang (well past the emergence of a “classic” figure style), becoming more and more a stagnant backwater, from which the art could be freed only by the violent attacks of genius. His judgment on the landscapes of early T’ang bears with it a reminiscence of the sarcophagus style; his disapproval implicates not the late archaic style as a whole, but only its last stage of ingrowing decadence.

At the beginning of the present dynasty (618–), the two Yen (brothers, Li-pen and Li-te) brought their individual beauties to the art, while Yang (Ch’i-tan) and Chan (Tzu-ch’ien) concentrated their thoughts upon palaces and Taoist retreats. So gradually these accessories (i.e. the elements of the earliest landscape style, the branches like outspread fingers, etc.) were altered. Nevertheless, in shaping their rocks they still did their best to hollow them out as if they were of ice, melting into axe-sharp edges; and in painting their trees, they still (as it were) scraped out the fibers and engraved the leaves, (favoring) for the most part the paulownia and luxuriant willows. This doubling of effort brought (really) a greater ineptitude, and was not worth the colors.⁴⁴

Chang Yen-yüan goes on to name Wu Tao-tzu as the genius whose revolutionary methods stimulated Chinese landscape painting to renewed efforts in a more profitable direction in the eighth century—much as the influence of Masaccio goaded Florentine art out of the lingering prettiness of the International Style.

The qualities of archaic landscape painting at the very end of the Six Dynasties period, in the last quarter of the sixth century, may be imagined by a collation of evidence from various sources. Its ornamental emphasis is already suggested in the Nelson slabs, as the

43. *Ibid.*, VIII; Sung comment from the catalogue of the collection of Emperor Hui Tsung (1101–26), the *Hsüan Ho*

Hua P'u Hsü Chien, 1.

44. *Li Tai*, 1, in section on landscape painting.

final exaggeration was to be criticized by Chang Yen-yüan. Its tradition must have been continued in the formal, highly colored, courtier's landscape perfected by Wu Tao-tzu's rival, Li Ssu-hsün; and as such is more or less obscurely visible in the many later versions of the "blue and green" school, with their conservative repertory of Taoist fairyland mountains. We very probably see the lingering influence of its insistence on decorative richness, in the many landscape vignettes painted in gold and silver on mid-eighth-century objects in the Shōsōin treasury in Japan. An earlier work, finally, which seems explainable as a provincial reflection of the same ideal, is the celebrated Tamamushi shrine, on the altar of the Hōryūji "golden hall." Tradition places this in the first quarter of the seventh century;⁴⁵ the time-lag involved in transmission from China through Korea to Japan must have been very great at the time, so that the hypothetical Chinese prototype may well have been roughly contemporary with the Nelson slabs. The landscape elements used on the shrine, once more for Buddhist illustration, show an extreme of decorative conventionalization, both in the shapes of rocks and trees and in the use of gold outlines against a dark ground, denying almost all space.

All the landscapes that we have seen so far have been restricted by the necessities of story-telling. They have represented more or less skilfully a side issue to the development of landscape for its own sake; to the sort of painting which we know only by title, but which in name, at least, seems to have been almost wholly undisturbed by figure action. The walls of Tsung Ping's house in the fifth century, with the painted record of his wanderings in the wilderness, must have been work of this sort, with no more insistent reference to humanity than was permitted in later ages; the fisherman or traveler, tiny in the midst of immensity. One can perhaps imagine works of this type—with the reiterated vastness and multiplicity, the "thousand peaks and ten thousand gorges" of the poems—by reference to one more, quite unexpected, source of evidence. The Government General Museum of Chōsen at Keijō possesses a series of square tile plaques, excavated from a tomb within the boundaries of the ancient kingdom of Pekche.⁴⁶ There is a wide variety of ornamental treatments based on the medallion, which may be filled by the Buddhist lotus or by various Chinese motives, swirling spirals, the dragon, or the phoenix. Several of the plaques retain the square frame and make use of landscape elements. Two of these last are almost "pure" landscapes (Fig. 18), filled with tree-topped peaks and terminated by scudding clouds. Details are not unlike those of the Nelson slabs, with allowance for differences of size and technique. There is a similar distinction between the horizontal stratification of rock croppings at the bottom, and stiff vertical chimneys; in addition the Pekche plaques use a middle distance type of rounded mountain silhouette. The clouds are almost identical. The scale is that of a broad panorama with many crowding peaks, within which even architecture is dwarfed. Persistent archaism—a general flatness, trees protruding from the edges of the peaks only, the upsetting of size relationships by a too-large figure of a monk—does not prevent the compositions from being reminiscent of a real (if somewhat fantastic) scene. The only date possible

45. The mid-thirteenth century *Kokon-mokurokushō*, an extensive compilation of Hōryūji records and traditions, states that the Tamamushi shrine had been in the possession of Empress Suikō (r. 592–628), and came into the charge of Hōryūji "at the time of the burning of Tachibana-dera" (a rival temple, probably in 681). It seems to be listed, as a "palace shrine," in the inventory of Hōryūji properties made in 747, the *Hōryūji-garan-engi-narabini-shizaichō*. It is as difficult to accept the thirteenth-century tradition with complete faith as it is to believe that Con-

stantine built all the basilicas and ordered all the great pictorial cycles of Christian art which are piously ascribed to him. In this case, fortunately, the problem is less serious, since the shrine must belong to the seventh century, at least, for stylistic reasons.

46. Published in the catalogue of the museum for 1938, vol. xii; Japanese title, *Hakubutsukan-chinretsū-zōkan*. Found at Gairi, Kigammen, Huyō district, south Chūsei province.

is by a stylistic attribution to the late archaic, which in Korea doubtless persisted longer than in China proper. The kingdom of Pekche was in fairly close contact with all of the southern dynasties, by water, and is known to have depended on south Chinese assistance in its arts during the sixth century.⁴⁷

Throughout almost all of its history, Chinese painting has remained dependent on the memory image. One of its cardinal principles, indeed, has been the transformation of Nature by the creative mind; and this insistence alone has greatly retarded the progress of Chinese art toward realism. The degree of dependence on memory, and the quality of the memory itself, have passed through a perceptible evolution, however. The reminiscences of Nature which lie behind a work like the Lo goddess scroll are naïvely superficial, transforming the complex and multifarious into a childish simplicity. We must imagine a greater interest in the details and variations of landscape, and a greater power of mental assimilation, for enthusiasts like Tsung Ping and Wang Wei. But what we know of their art from literary sources, indicates that it was still the product of pure imaginative reconstruction, carried out perhaps a long time after the preliminary stage of seeing. The width of the gap between the object in Nature and its presentation in art, is here the measure of an archaic style; and in the small tile landscape from Korea, the gap is still very wide. One of the reasons for the rapid advance of landscape painting from the tenth century on, will be the narrowing of the interval. Ching Hao in his "Account of How to Use the Brush" speaks of the impression made on his imagination by a wild mountain scene into which he once stumbled; and how he went back the next day with his brush, and made innumerable sketches. By the Yüan dynasty, Huang Kung-wang will say, "Those who study painting will do well to carry a brush about with them, so that they may make sketches of beautiful views, or of strange varieties of trees."⁴⁸ The final painting will still be a synthetic product, but one immeasurably richer—and closer to actuality—for the change in artistic method.

Perhaps the most vivid evidence for the swift advance of the cult of Nature during the Six Dynasties is furnished by the art of garden making. We saw that under the Han the great imperial and princely parks were half hunting preserves and half a semi-magical imitation of the fairyland of the Immortals. By the sixth century, the cult of the wilderness, of the lonely hermitage, of height and steepness, of rock and forest and water, had gained so much prestige that it no longer represented the dreams of the discontented and dispossessed alone; it was fashionable, and an exciting new interest for the great and secure, at home in cities and courts. The sixth-century description of the Northern Wei capital, Lo-yang, contains a perfect illustration of the result.⁴⁹ The Minister of Agriculture under the Emperor Hsiao Ming (516-27), one Chang Lun, by nature gay and extravagant, a great fancier of mansions, robes, and equipages, had also a taste for garden making; to which he brought such enthusiasm that his parks, groves, hills, and streams were more beautiful than those of any notables of the time:

He built up a mountain called Ching-yang as if it were a work of Nature, with piled-up peaks and multiple ranges rising in steep succession, with deep ravines and caverns and gullies tortuously

47. According to the history of the ancient Korean kingdoms, *Samguk sagi*, section on Pekche, 19th year of King Song (541), that monarch sent a mission to the Liang court at Nanking, bearing tribute and asking that he be sent someone versed in the "Poetry Classic," an exposition of the *Nirvana Sūtra*, and architects and master painters. Furthermore, Sekino T. has demonstrated that the unusual flat tiles found in a large tomb near the old Pekche capital of Kongju—probably belonging to a king of this same

general period—have almost exact duplicates at Nanking, and may well have been imported (*Hōun*, x, 1934, 23 ff.).

48. Ching Hao: cf. Sirén, *Chinese on the Art of Painting*, p. 234; Huang Kung-wang, *ibid.*, p. 112.

49. *Lo-yang Ch'ieh Lan Chih*, II (by Yang Hsüan-chih of Northern Wei); quoted in a collection of historical references to the evolution of garden making (in Chinese) in the *Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture*, IV, 1934, 225.

linked. So lofty were the forests, so gigantic the trees that sun and moon could not penetrate their shadowed obscurity; so luxuriant were the vines and creepers in their festooning as to control the passage of wind and mist. The craggy mountain paths across the rocks would seem to stop short and then go forward again, the precipitous torrents to turn on their course and then straighten. Here the (Taoist) adepts, the lovers of mountains and wilderness, might have roamed until they quite forgot to return to their heaven . . . Here was the ideal of the escapists, the visible likeness of all they favored . . .

The romantic Chinese landscape, with all its connotations of wildness and peril and its deliberate opposition to the standards of civilized mankind, has here become a respectable element of social life. In the T'ang dynasty, landscape painting will be carried by masters like Li Ssu-hsun, Wu Tao-tzu, and Wang Wei to full parity with the ancient figure-painting tradition. In the Sung it will finally pass its rival once and for all, to become the quintessence of pictorial ideals.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

EXCURSUS

TSUNG PING'S "PREFACE TO LANDSCAPE PAINTING"
(*Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, VI)

"The sages harbor the *Tao* (within them) while they adapt themselves to the objective (world); the virtuous purify their affections while they relish represented forms. As for landscapes, they have a material existence and yet also reach into a spiritual (domain). That is why Hsien Yüan, Yao and K'ung, Kuang Ch'eng, Ta Wei, Hsü Yu, Ku Chu, and the like had to wander through the mountains of K'ung-t'ung, Chü-tz'u, Miao-ku, Chi-shou, and Ta-meng; and thus one speaks of 'the pleasures taken by the good and the wise' (in mountains and water). The sages follow after the *Tao* in their souls, and the virtuous have understanding; landscapes captivate the *Tao* by their forms, and the good take their pleasure therein. Is this not almost the same thing?

"(Here am) I, longing for the Lu and Heng (mountains), and cut off from those of Ching and Wu. I had not 'realized the approach of old age'; and (now) I am ashamed (to find) that I cannot concentrate my spirit and harmonize my body. I hate to think of falling into the class of (those who struggle incessantly against the impossible); that is why I draw shapes and spread colors, and build up these cloud ranges. A truth which was lost long ages ago may be sought with confidence in the thousand years yet to come. A subtlety of meaning which is beyond the imagery of words may be captured to one's full satisfaction from books. How much more (must this be so) in respect to the places where one's body has wandered and the sights which one's eyes have taken in; where there are forms to be imitated by forms, and colors to be reproduced by colors.

"Mount K'un-lun is so big, and the pupil of the eye is so small, that at a very short distance its form cannot be made out. At a distance of several *li*, however, it may be encompassed within an inch of pupil; and obviously as one goes farther away one sees it become smaller and smaller. Now as I spread out my plain silk (to catch) the far-away brightness, the form of Mount K'un-lun may be encompassed by

a square inch; a vertical stroke of three inches corresponds to a height of eight thousand feet, and a horizontal passage of ink over a few feet stands for an extent of a hundred *li*. That is why when one examines a painting he should be really troubled only by that lack of skill in catching resemblance (which is the result of) failing to add a convincing diminution; for Nature itself looks that way.

"By such means, the beauty of Mount Sung and Mount Hua, the very mystery of the Dark Spirit of the Universe, all may be caught within a single picture. For if one is agreed that truth lies in conformity with the eye and concurrence with the mind, (a picture in which) the resemblance is cunningly worked out will itself be in full conformity with the eye and complete concurrence with the mind. That conformity and concurrence will stir the soul; the soul will be exalted, and truth will be secured. And though one should return again to empty spaces and seek out the sombre steeps, what more could be added? The soul in the most fundamental sense is without limits, yet it dwells in forms and stirs (them to its) likeness. Truth enters into appearances and images; and surely to be able to copy (something) in wondrous fashion is to exhaust (all that it may contain).

"Therefore I live at leisure and control my breathing; wipe clean my goblet or draw sound from my lute, unroll my pictures and contemplate them in silence, or from my seat search out the uttermost limits of space. I do not oppose the concentration of celestial influences, and in my loneliness I respond to the unpeopled wilderness. Peaks and precipices rising sheer and high, cloudy forests lying dense and vast—to the sages and virtuous men (who have dwelt in obscurity) in past ages, (these have brought) a myriad pleasures to relax their souls and minds. What more should I desire? When a joy is of the soul, and only of the soul, what could be ranked higher than the source of that joy?"

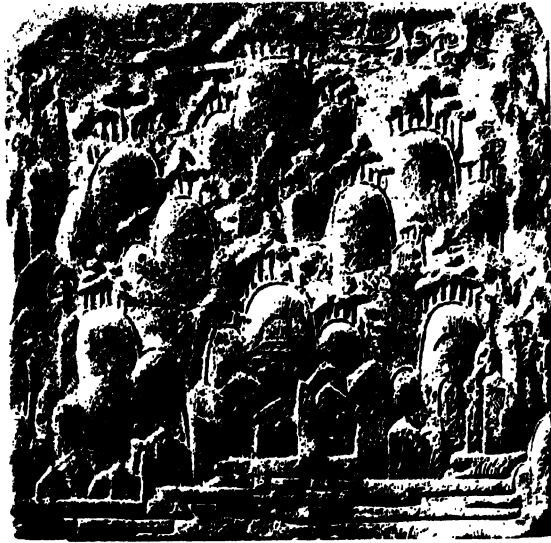


Fig. 18 Keijō (Seoul), Government Museum,
Korea: Tomb Tile of Old Pékche
Kingdom, VI-VII A.D.



Fig. 19 The Filial Shun



Fig. 20 The Filial Wang Li

FIGS. 19-20 KANSAS CITY, NELSON GALLERY, DETAILS OF RUBBINGS
FROM STONE SARCOPHAGUS PANELS, VI A.D.



Fig. 21 Tun-huang, Cave 135: Jātaka Tales, Detail of Wall Paintings, VI A.D.



Fig. 1 New York, Metropolitan Museum:
Coptic Textile Medallion,
Third-Fourth Century



Fig. 2 - New York, Cooper Union Museum:
Coptic Roundel with Horseman,
Sixth Century



Fig. 3 - Brooklyn, Museum: Coptic Limestone Relief,
Sixth (?) Century

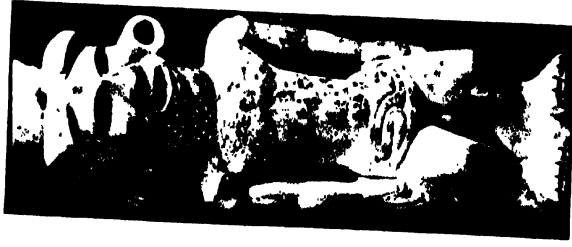


Fig. 1 Columbus, Ohio State Museum:
Stone Pipe from Adena Mound



Fig. 2 - Santa Fe, Laboratory of Anthropology: Stone
Carving, Mountain Sheep, possibly Hohokam Culture

INDIAN ART OF THE UNITED STATES

EXHIBITION REVIEWS

PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN ART IN EGYPT: AN EXHIBITION AT THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM

By SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN

The exhibition held at the Brooklyn Museum from January 23 to March 9 under the title "Pagan and Christian Egypt" was the first important one of its kind. It revealed to the general public a period of art relatively little known. To the students of Christian art, as well as to those of the late classical period, it furnished a welcome opportunity for further study. The director of the Museum and the curators who were especially responsible for the exhibition, Mr. John D. Cooney, Curator of Egyptology, and Mrs. Elizabeth Riefstahl of the Charles Edwin Wilbour Memorial Library, are to be congratulated for their initiative and for the successful achievement of a particularly difficult task. Handicapped by world conditions which did not allow them to draw on foreign collections, they were able to bring together a large number of representative examples of high quality. About three hundred objects were skilfully and beautifully displayed; special mention should be made of the novel and very effective way of showing the coins. All those who have bent over exhibition cases, straining to see the details on the coins placed in these cases, will have welcomed the help offered by the enlarged photographs hanging on the walls.

Every medium was included in the exhibition. As was to be expected the most important paintings, that is, the wall decorations of churches and monasteries, could not be shown, but there were representative examples of Fayum portraits, tempera panels, painted cartonnages, and, in addition to these works of an early date, three fine manuscripts from the outstanding collection of The Pierpont Morgan Library, which take us down to the tenth and eleventh centuries. The sculpture included works in the round, mostly of the first centuries, limestone stelae and architectural reliefs, wooden carvings, and a small but choice group of ivories. The bronze collection gave a good idea of the liturgical objects used in the Coptic church; a censer with New Testament scenes was of particular interest. The textiles formed the most important item of the exhibition. With greater possibilities of choice, Mrs. Riefstahl succeeded in presenting a wide selection of every type of technique and subject matter. If one missed the two fine tapestries of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, one found however a number of smaller pieces which had not been shown before and which added greatly to our knowledge. To complete the list of the different categories of objects displayed, we should mention the jewelry, ceramics, glass, and the coins, already referred to. It is a pity that the latter have not been included in the Catalogue, but this is the only regret that one can voice concerning this

excellent publication which is abundantly illustrated, and contains precise indications, bibliographical references for each object, and interesting articles by Mr. Cooney and Mrs. Riefstahl.

The organizers of the exhibition had the great wisdom to include pagan works done in Egypt during the first centuries of our era; thus objects which form the immediate background of the Coptic period proper could be studied together with Coptic works and help us to understand them better. There was many an opportunity to observe the gradual changes of style. One might compare, for instance, the fine Fayum portraits of the second century with those of the third century and notice how the style becomes more linear, the attitude more frontal, until in the painted cartonnages of the fourth century the faces stare at us with a fixed gaze, their large eyes sharply outlined with heavy dark lines. Similar changes occur in the limestone heads, the ivories, or the textiles.

Coptic art is not very inventive or imaginative; its appeal resides mainly in its highly decorative character and in the beauty of color displayed especially by the textiles. The range of themes or motives is rather limited, the same combinations occurring again and again on works done in different media. The close connections and interchanges between works in different media appear also in the way in which the technique proper to one work is imitated in another. For instance some textiles, such as the square from the Cooper Union Museum (Cat. no. 206), imitate portrait heads with jeweled frames. The tapestry-woven head from the Detroit Institute of Arts (Cat. no. 231), perhaps the finest in the exhibition, is handled in the manner of an impressionistic painting. The striped draperies in later manuscript illumination seem to reproduce woven textiles.

One of the outstanding decorative traits of Coptic art is the tendency to reduce the composition into single units, clearly separated from one another. The whole is thus made up of an aggregate of distinct elements rather than by their fusion or by the subordination of some parts. The gradual steps leading to this new style may easily be observed in the evolution of the rinceau, together with the transformation of natural plant forms into geometric shapes and the loss of plastic feeling. The *acanthus spinosus*, used in preference to the *acanthus mollis*, is cut more and more deeply, the lobes of the leaf forming a succession of sharp arrowheads; the surface is a uniform plane, and the contrast of this flat expanse which receives the light evenly with the deep grooves where the shadow is concentrated, results in a vivid effect of black and white. In the scroll, the leaves projecting from the thin undulating stem often bend and meet at a small central medallion, and the general impression is that of a succession of whorls enclosed in adjoining circles. In the final stages of the evolution the scroll is changed into a row of interlacing circles filled with floral and animal motives or human heads. The desire to break up a continuous design

into a series of single elements is quite clear, for even though each unit may interlace with the neighboring ones it is none the less distinct and complete in itself.

This tendency to separate a composition into small parts which can be easily apprehended appears also in the geometric ornament. The broken fret is used in preference to the continuous one. The interlaced designs are very simple; the most common type is that of looped lines forming a hexagon; the repetition of these hexagons produces an all-over pattern in which each unit is once again distinct and independent from the others.

A number of questions are aroused in one's mind by most of these objects, and we realize how much work needs to be done before we can get a clear and complete picture of Coptic art. Iconographic studies should be among the first. In the numerous textiles with pagan subjects, students of late classical art will undoubtedly discover many an interesting example, even though the themes may be deformed. The syncretism that one finds in the religion of the first centuries appears also in the works of art. A limestone stela from the Walters Art Gallery is a noteworthy example (Cat. no. 34). On a couch flanked by two Anubis jackals, a woman and man are shown reclining as on the Roman sarcophagi. To the right stands a figure in the orans pose. One might suppose that we have here the intrusion of a Christian element, but this seems doubtful in view of examples such as the stela from the Brooklyn Museum with an orans figure standing between two Anubis jackals (Cat. no. 35). These stelae, and similar ones in the Museum of Alexandria, will have to be taken into consideration when one examines the problem of whether the orans type is of Christian or pagan origin. Even if we leave out of the discussion the bronze statue of Berlin, the so-called praying boy, which has been variously interpreted, several pagan works with an orans figure are already known: we need only mention here the engraved gem from Berlin published by Furtwängler and the marble relief discovered at Nemea, on the site of the temple of Zeus (see Dom Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie et de liturgie*, s.v. "orant," xii, 2294-97).

The limestone relief from the Brooklyn Museum of a nude youth crowned with a laurel wreath (Cat. no. 36) should, I believe, be separated from the group of orans figures. I do not think that the right arm has been lowered to make room for the laurel branch held in the right hand, as is stated in the catalogue. I should be inclined to see in this example the representation of a victor and compare it with the textile roundel from the Kelekian collection (Cat. no. 188). This figure is also nude, except that he has a mantle thrown over the shoulder; he raises the right arm and holds a small branch in the left hand. On the Brooklyn relief the left hand touches the wreath and, so far as one can tell from the somewhat crude carving, the youth seems to be holding the wreath as if he had just placed it on his head.

Pagan and Sasanian motives are also combined. On a roundel from the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia (Cat. no. 214), the tree springing from a vase and flanked by confronted lions is treated like

the tree of life; the stylization of the floral motives recalls the Sasanian rock reliefs or silver plates. Two busts in medallions, similar to the representations of the sun and the moon on late classical works, are inserted in the foliage of the tree.

Students of Christian iconography will also find interesting material. The rider piercing a human figure—man or woman—has been identified by Mr. Cooney as St. Sisinnios and the identification seems very probable (Cat. no. 58) (Fig. 3). Sisinnios is represented in this attitude in a number of examples, the most important of which is the fresco at Bawit. But the possibility that the rider might be Solomon cannot be entirely excluded until we know more about the iconography of this theme, for Solomon appears thus even more frequently than St. Sisinnios. The rider saint is a favorite type in Coptic art and several other examples were to be seen in the exhibition, some of which are not quite clear. Is the rider represented on the roundel from the Cooper Union Museum a king or a saint (Cat. no. 252) (Fig. 2)? The small circle which he holds in his hand might be the crown of martyrdom, as in the portrait of St. Phoebammon at Bawit, and the sceptre imitates the sceptre cross, but one would have to find a satisfactory explanation for the two men standing at the sides and the lion trampled by the horse. Whatever the identification may be, saint or king, the composition is clearly influenced by Sasanian examples.

Together with the rider saints one would have to study the standing figures piercing a dragon with their lance. We have such an example in the silk fragment from the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Cat. no. 258). Mrs. Riefstahl identifies this figure as St. Michael, and the same identification is proposed by Kendrick for the companion piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A larger fragment is preserved in the Museum of Decorative Arts in Athens and, in the catalogue of the Coptic textiles there (*Τὰ Κοπτικά ὑφάσματα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθῆναις Μουσείου κοσμητικῶν τεχνῶν*, Athens, 1932, pp. 184-85, fig. 158), Miss Apostolakis suggests that the figure represents Christ and compares it with the examples of Christ treading on the aspis and the basilisk. But if the omission of wings makes the identification as St. Michael somewhat uncertain, it is equally difficult to recognize the figure of Christ in view of the absence of the nimbus. It would seem to me that we have a saint here, an iconographic type comparable to the rider saint slaying a dragon with his lance and holding a cross in the other hand.

While speaking of textiles in the Athens Museum, I should like to mention the large hanging (A. Apostolakis, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47 and Pl. 1), of which the fine head from the Metropolitan Museum is undoubtedly a fragment (Cat. no. 183) (Fig. 1). The upper part of the Athens piece is intact: on the left there is a head with a crenellated crown, on the right a head with a leafed diadem and, in the middle, a narrow band with the names ΕΙΡΗΝΗ and ΜΟΥΣΗC. A third head, also in Athens but in a separate fragment, fits the lower left side, and the rays radiating from this head indicate clearly that it represents the sun. This corroborates the identification as Luna of the Metropolitan fragment, which originally must

have formed the lower right side of the textile in Athens.

Among the objects with Christian subjects the wooden panel from the Kevorkian collection is one of the most curious (Cat. no. 78). The foliage which fills the entire field left free by the figures may be compared with the stucco reliefs of Deir es Suryani, but the iconography is very unusual; the gesture of Abraham, his headdress, the oblong shape of his nimbus, the angel on one side and the hand of God on the other, have no close parallels so far as I know. The large roundel from the same collection (Cat. no. 234) is an interesting example of a theme which is probably pagan, but which recalls very vividly the composition of the Massacre of the Innocents.

The dating of Coptic works presents one of the most difficult problems. The organizers of the exhibition have proceeded with great sagacity and discernment; only occasionally does one find oneself in disagreement with them. The small ivory relief of a nude woman from the Walters Art Gallery (Cat. no. 101) should be placed earlier than the fifth century. We rarely see at this late date such delicacy of carving, such an elegant form, or this type of face; the work is still very close to late classical examples. On the other hand, a date later than the seventh century seems more probable for the ivory from the same collection representing a Sasanian king (Cat. no. 107). The pose of the seated figure, the treatment of the drapery, the manner of carving, the facial type, are all reminiscent of silver plates of the post-Sasanian period. Comparison with the ivory relief of the Virgin and Child from the Walters Art Gallery (Cat. no. 108), as well as with the Morgan manuscripts, also indicates a later date for this work, which seems to have been done in the ninth century at the earliest.

The Antioch mosaics will certainly prove to be very valuable for the dating of the textiles. To note only one of the features which they have in common, we may mention the treatment of the border, fairly narrow in the earlier examples, increasing in width and occupying most of the field as we come to works of a later date. The mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and those of the Great Mosque at Damascus offer interesting parallels for the floral designs. One is more and more impressed by the existence of a kind of decorative *koine* in the entire Eastern Mediterranean. Comparative studies of the works produced within the borders of the Roman and Byzantine empires, as well as those of the neighboring countries such as Persia and Armenia, are indispensable if we wish to understand not only the connections between these arts but the specific character of each. The Islamic element is also very important, though in dealing with Muslim art of the first centuries of the Hegira we are in the presence of highly eclectic works, and it is often difficult to determine if certain features which we associate with Muslim objects are characteristic of this art or whether they are borrowed from models which have disappeared.

In this review we have been able to touch only a few of the many problems which this exhibition sets before us. But even this brief survey may serve to

show the interest of the exhibition and the necessity of further study in the field of Coptic art.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

INDIAN ART OF THE UNITED STATES: AN EXHIBITION AT THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

By GEORGE C. VAILLIANT

The Museum of Modern Art still carries on its brilliant policy of showing the relationship of art to the modern world. Last winter the Museum presented the achievements of the North American Indians, past and present, in a notable show assembled and installed under the direction of René d'Harnoncourt of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the Department of the Interior, and of Frederic H. Douglas of the Denver Art Museum. Sincerity, understanding, and expression of the social and emotional content of Indian art were attained through the medium of sensitive showmanship. The atmosphere of the Museum of Modern Art stimulated these two directors to a magnificent achievement.

The content of the show comprised the cream of the great Museum collections in the United States, supplemented and enriched by work of present-day Indians and by examples recently bought by private individuals. Many centuries of patient work on the part of the Indians and a century and a half of no less assiduous collecting by American whites have produced a notable assemblage, exhibited with that sure sense of intrinsic values which Mr. d'Harnoncourt possesses to an extraordinary degree. The visitor becomes keenly conscious of his Indian heritage, of the presence of a truly continental American art, one which we may hope some day to rival.

The exhibition was arranged on three floors; beginning at the top, the visitor passed in review Indian art before white contact. On the second floor he found the art of the existing tribes, and on the ground floor Indian art adapted to our modern white culture. An infinite variety, and at the same time a universal harmony, makes this art significant and important.

The American Indians were not unified politically, linguistically, racially, or economically. Before white contact, they had no tools of steel or iron—they were neolithic in the technical sense. In the variety and scope of their achievements, they far surpassed the New Stone Age peoples of Europe, Asia, or Africa. The different media used by the Indians make one strongly conscious of the direction which society and economics give to art.

In the prehistoric section a few cases sampled the work of Eskimo hunters, pre-agricultural people in Maine, and the fishermen and shell-fish gatherers of the West Coast. Then came a room devoted to the builders of the burial mounds of southern Ohio dating from 1000 A.D. Here were shown tiny pipes, cun-

ninely worked into the shapes of animals, birds, and men (Fig. 1). At first the lack of size makes the pipes seem trivial, but a closer view, or better, a photographic enlargement, will disclose that the balance and form inherent in great monumental sculpture enhance these carvings into a major art. These early Ohioans worked also in repoussé, beating out designs in native copper. They cut out strange ghost-like conceptions in mica, and in clay evolved sympathetic and creditable reproductions of the human form. This art seems fresh and unfettered by convention. It kills at the outset the idea that an Indian was an ignoble feathered knave.

A long corridor exhibited the work of the later temple builders of our present southeastern states, who flourished in approximately 1500-1600 A.D. Temple building and developed ritual led to laws of formal presentation, customary in a religious art. The stone sculpture is larger; a skilful draughtmanship embellishes gorgets of shell; ritual patterns are applied by incision or by negative painting to jars and bowls. There is a strong flavor of the Mexican civilizations, far to the south, which may none the less have influenced these Indians of Alabama, Oklahoma, and Georgia. An extraordinary inventiveness is displayed in the pottery vessels, some of which have abstract forms, while others are effigy pots in the form of human or animal representations. The southeastern art has the robust effectiveness of early Gothic, in its combination of vigor of presentation with nascent ritualism.

A few carvings in wood from southern Florida, miraculously preserved in the mud of Key Marcos, show how the destructiveness of time has robbed posterity of a marvelous wood-carver's art. A seated cat has all the poise of early Dynastic sculpture in the Valley of the Nile.

However, the scene abruptly changes with the passage into the southwestern section. These Indians of the eighth to sixteenth centuries were sedentary farmers; they were conservative; they expressed themselves in the intricate balance of pure design, rather than in reproducing their perceptions in three dimensions. It is hard for a modern American to think in terms of pure design, but one can see that it was custom, not incompetence, that led the Pueblo to express himself along these lines (Fig. 2).

Some incredible designs of ritualistic import, taken from Pueblo kivas, or ceremonial rooms, accustomed the eye to absorbing this type of art. Mr. d'Harnoncourt changed the mood of the exhibition completely by suddenly displaying a reproduction of a canyon wall, adorned with great crude figures painted by the Basket Makers, the first farmers in the Southwest. This wall painting tears one completely away from the finite constriction of Pueblo design into the infinite expanse of time and space, in which the first Indian colonists found themselves.

The second floor continued the Indians' story by displays of the dress, ornaments, and pottery of the modern Pueblo. Navajo weaving, derived from Pueblo sources, throws warmth and color into the scene. An exquisite cluster of California baskets proved that an Indian tribe may lavish care, technique, and artistic emphasis on a craft, though they

live only by hunting and gathering.

The Plains Indians showed their wares in the next section. These tribes took over the horse from the whites and enriched themselves by trading furs for guns, knives, and other equipment. Their art is expressed on buffalo hides painted with scenes of warlike or hunting exploits. Costume shares in the lavishness of the new economy and richly ornamented skirts and trousers and elaborate headdresses exemplify a design ideal based on movement, which is dynamic in contrast to the static qualities of the Southwest.

The Woodland tribes have none of the drama of the western horsemen. Yet some tribes elaborated on their native curvilinear patterns, a rare trait in primitive art, or else incorporated floral elements, taken over from European sources. A macabre note is introduced by a secret religious society, the "False Face," whose masked members called upon the wood-carver's ingenuity in fabricating horrible concoctions blending terror and the grotesque. That reservation art is only dormant, is proved by wooden figures made by young modern Iroquois, who have revived the astonishing vitality of Indian art.

The Indians of the Northwest Coast achieved a high degree of culture based on the richness of their immediate environment, which yielded abundance of fish, game, and other wild foods. They had no agriculture, usually the associate of high cultural development. Acquiring steel tools by trade with furs-seeking whites, they blossomed out into an incredible artistic expression blending religion with family pride and social dignity. Totem poles, chests, masks, all in wood, form a powerful and definite art, the most imaginative achievement of the North American Indian. This imposing aesthetic expression was cunningly shown, the spot-lighted sculptures being the only illumination in an otherwise dark room. The supernatural forces, with whom the Indian has always been in such intimate and uncomfortable contact, seemed dramatically concentrated here, overawing even the case-hardened New Yorker.

One emerged into a bright white light, the modern Eskimo room, where small masks reflected a fancy that embodies the imaginative concentrate of *surrealism*. Yet walrus ivories are carved into men and animals with the honest objectiveness of those early sculptors in Indian Ohio.

The exhibitions on the ground floor presented modern Indian work, directed toward white consumption. The Indian in his own world, in his old world, was at home and his arts expressed his perfect adjustment to social and environmental conditions. The Indian, in trying to take his place in our modern economy, has not yet struck his stride. The lovely paintings in oils and watercolor have a definite authenticity. The old arts absorb the new techniques, but are not dominated by them. Work in silver also carries on much of the older tradition. Weaving, beadwork, and other applications of the decorative arts in the old American manner, are still reaching out questing tentacles. They have not yet firmly grasped their new lattice on which to thrive and grow. Yet it is only within the last few years that attempts have been made to encourage and resuscitate these

techniques and decorative systems which flourished so successfully in the recent past.

We all like to profit by the experience of the past and to gauge the varying standards of peoples other than ourselves. In recent years we have observed the "primitive" arts of Africa, Oceania, and Asia. Now we dare to look at the work of our first colonists in America. The Museum of Modern Art has pioneered in showing, in 1933 and 1940, the arts of the native populations south of the Rio Grande; and this winter in putting on the art of our own Indians. Thus it has worthily lived up to its ideal of opening broad vistas over the wide fields of art, of ventilating the noisome cloisters of too strictly academic sanction, which has cut us off from so much.

The peoples of the Americas are the blend of two migrations, one from Asia, the other from Europe and Africa. Each migration brought new life, new hope, a new manner of living. Our arts, while moving toward the future, should none the less root themselves in their native environment, and the Indians are an important part of the continental tradition, whether we refer to Peru, Mexico, or the United States. We have preserved the work of the Indians as ethnology, let us also enjoy it as art.

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

THE GOYA EXHIBITION AT CHICAGO

By JOSEF GUDIOL

"The Art of Goya" shown in February at the Art Institute of Chicago was not only the best exhibition of Goya's work ever to be assembled in America but a great contribution to public appreciation of Spanish painting. Spanish art needs this kind of contribution. There are long periods of its history blanketed by foggy obscurity, out of which emerge only a few well-known names. Countless Spanish artists, nearly as good as their famous brethren, have been totally eclipsed by these masters. In addition, the number of monographs written about these individual personalities are very often merely repetitions of the frequently inaccurate accounts related by Palomino and by still less accurate modern writers. In reality, therefore, a great part of Spanish painting has not yet even reached the stage of preliminary research. This uneven appreciation and the injustice to various Spanish artists accounts for their absence from museums and collections outside of Spain. If they do appear, it is only because they bore wrong attributions, or were believed to be representatives of more fashionable schools. However, in the seven volumes on the history of Spanish painting written by Dr. Chandler R. Post, Romanesque and Gothic paintings have been studied and classified, and an unusually clear and penetrating light has been cast on the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, a period which is relatively dark in the history of painting of other countries.

When a painter has become internationally known, we find that, due sometimes to tradition and pseudo-scholarship, or to mere materialistic considerations,

his personality has become manipulated and distorted. This is especially true in the case of Goya, and for this reason the assembling of a large number of his work is important. Goya is doubtless better represented in this country than any other Spanish painter, and the sequence of work throughout his long and colorful life could be readily followed and stylistic analysis made from the fifty beautifully installed and well-lighted paintings in Chicago.

His early period in Madrid, when he painted the cartoons for the Royal Factory of Tapestries in the style brought to Spain by a group of French artists and modified by the contrasting influences of Tiepolo and Mengs, was well represented by the *Confidences in the Park*, the *Boy On a Ram*, *Winter*, and by the excellent *Gossiping Women*, which may be considered one of the masterpieces of Goya's first period. Goya made his debut as a portraitist with such portraits as *Ventura Rodriguez* and *Admiral Don José de Mazarredo*, which were followed by the portraits of the *Duke of Alba*, *Marqués de Sofraga*, *Don Bernardo Yriarte*, *Queen María Luisa*, and a *Bullfighter*, painted during the last ten years of the eighteenth century. The technique of the *Marqués de Sofraga* is comparable to the glorious *Maja Desnuda* in the Prado.

Goya's great activity in the eight years preceding the Napoleonic War was represented in the Chicago show by the portraits of *Don Ascencio Juliá*, the *Marquesa de Casa Flores*, the *Marquesa de Fontana*, *Don Antonio Noriega*, *Don Isidro Gonzalez*, and the *Condesa de Gondomar*, by the two large unfinished *Allegories*, and by the appealing *Bandit Margato* series, in which, by the portrayal of the sequence of action in an incident, Goya presages modern cinematography. The post-war period was the most fully represented in the exhibition. Included were a *Bullfight*, the *Hanging of the Monk*, and the portraits of *Victor Guey*, *Don José Manuel Romero*, *Don Fr. Miguel Fernandez*, and *Don Ignacio Omuhyan y Rourera*, but the impressive canvas, *The Majas on the Balcony*, and the newly-discovered *Encampment Outside of a Burning Town* were the most conspicuous examples.

The last period of the master was divided between a tumultuous political moment in Spain and voluntary exile in Bordeaux, and in the latter circumstance he painted his most intense portraits, such as *Don Juan Antonio Cuervo* and *Don Tiburcio Perez*, and the extremely powerful *St. Peter*. They provide evidence that Goya's career was always in the ascendancy.

This magnificent collection of paintings was complemented by etchings, drawings, and lithographs, giving a complete picture of Goya's evolution as a draughtsman and as a thinker. In these graphic works one may trace his development from the early religious etchings and copies from paintings by Velasquez, through the gay Madrid period when his struggle for success made him ironic, during his illness and consequent disappointments in love which turned his native irony into sarcasm, to his last period when the disasters of the war and the stupid incomprehension and stubborn individuality of most Spaniards caused him to become the most frank and

cruel narrator of Spanish life. It is really impossible to understand and follow Goya's evolution without studying his drawings and etchings. Besides, they reveal him as a narrator not only of simple facts but of a sequence of facts wherein he formulated his observations on life, joy, fanaticism, superstition, war, and hatred more clearly than is possible in any written description. Some of these series were merely collections of sketches. In the case of the *Caprichos*, *Tauromachia*, and *Disparates* these sets of sketches were converted into etchings and published. Goya's predilection for narration by a series of compositions began when he executed the sets of cartoons for tapestries depicting popular life in Madrid. His paintings of various scenes are seldom individual unrelated works. Even his portraits possess the homogeneity of a family album and it would be a simple matter to make several series of them, each of which would show a striking unity and would reveal much of the psychological history of Spain.

It was a good plan to exhibit a few paintings by Bayeu and Lucas in the Chicago exhibition, to show the tremendous difference of quality between Goya and other Spanish painters with whom he has so often been confused. This confusion has frequently worked in both directions. Many paintings by Lucas have been labeled as Goya and, strangely enough, several Goyas have been attributed to Lucas.

The catalogue of the exhibition is as remarkable as the show itself. Daniel Catton Rich, Director of Fine Arts at the Art Institute and organizer of the exhibition, edited the indispensable companion with which to follow and understand the exhibition. This is the ideal catalogue for an exhibition of painting. All items in the show are well reproduced, and described and dated in a short and clear manner. Illustrations are closely accompanied not only by a running account of Goya, but by essential Spanish historical facts. In this way, each work in the show has been provided with a complete background. The book concludes with a concise, clear, and well-studied sketch of Goya's technique, written by the painter F. Schmid and illustrated with a scheme of Goya's palette, as represented by the portrait of Vicente Lopez, painted in 1827.

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

"DAVID TO TOULOUSE-LAUTREC" AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

By HENRY P. McILHENNY

Before the fall of France, René Huyghe, Curator of Paintings at the Musée du Louvre, selected a group of French paintings and drawings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to be sent on a goodwill tour of South America. He drew his material not only from the Louvre, the largest single source, but from many of the surprisingly rich museums scattered throughout the provinces of France. To this nucleus he added works from private collectors and from dealers. After the trip to the capitals of

Latin America, the entire collection was brought to the United States, and was shown to the public at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum at San Francisco, California.¹

The Metropolitan Museum in New York seized upon the availability in this country of such a distinguished collection of paintings and drawings, and took advantage of this unparalleled opportunity to hold an exhibition entitled "French Painting from David to Toulouse-Lautrec." René Huyghe's selection was used as a basis, but with a few curious exceptions the twentieth-century examples were eliminated, and some other items on the original list were withdrawn at the discretion of Harry B. Wehle, Curator of Paintings at the Metropolitan. The works lent by dealers were also discarded, in accordance with the Museum's traditional policy. The Metropolitan added to this truncated body by borrowing fifty canvases from public and private collections in the United States.

The loans, both European and American, along with three recent accessions at the Metropolitan, were published in an illustrated catalogue² that follows the restrained, dignified format adopted by the Museum. There is a brief preface by Mr. Wehle, and each painting receives a few observant and enlightening comments from the same pen. Aside from dimensions, however, *catalogue raisonné* information is dispensed with, doubtless to the great relief of the average visitor, but sometimes with a pang to the follower of provenances.

The paintings and drawings listed in the catalogue were hung together in several galleries, and some items either belonging to or on permanent loan to the Metropolitan, although not in the catalogue, were included. In the galleries surrounding the temporary exhibition was hung, without being incorporated in the catalogue, the Museum's vast wealth of nineteenth-century French paintings. Thus was constituted the Metropolitan Museum's major exhibition of the year.

The result was, to use the usual shop-worn superlatives, the most comprehensive, the most important, and the greatest survey of French nineteenth-century painting ever held in America. In spite of these indisputable facts, the result was disappointing, not in regard to the merit of the subject, but in regard to the organization and arrangement of the exhibition. By not using more discrimination in the selection of the pictures, by not giving the work of each master more careful thought, and by a confused method of hanging, the Metropolitan let slip from its fingers a unique chance to create something of great distinction. The chief fault of the exhibition was the hanging. If the loans or, in other words, the paintings listed in the catalogue, had not been isolated, but had instead been logically and chronologically integrated with the Metropolitan's own collection, the visitor's

1. M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, *The Painting of France since the French Revolution*, December 1940-January 1941; foreword by Walter Heil. Pp. 104, plates.

2. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *French Painting from David to Toulouse-Lautrec; Loans from French and American Museums and Collections*. An exhibition held from February 6 through March 26, 1941. Preface by Harry B. Wehle. Pp. x+48; 64 plates.

impression of the historical sequence of French painting would have been totally different and infinitely better. An examination of the lists of the works of many artists, as tabulated in the catalogue, revealed obvious gaps, which could be filled only by making a circuitous tour of the adjoining galleries. A case in point is David, from whose brush the catalogue lists six canvases: five portraits and one landscape. To represent this artist fully a classic machine is necessary. A work of this sort, the characteristic *Death of Socrates*, was to be seen in a gallery so far removed from the other works of David that it probably was never discovered by the average visitor. The lot of Cézanne was similar. The catalogue mentions two figures, two still-lives, two very small scenes of bathers, and two landscapes, one relatively unimportant. One good landscape was not sufficient, but nearby in two different galleries hung three of Cézanne's finest landscapes, each peerless of its type: *Le Golfe de Marseille, vu de l'Estaque*, *La Montagne Sainte-Victoire*, and *Rochers* from the Havemeyer Bequest. This situation prevailed throughout a large part of the exhibition. Sometimes, however, the gaps remained unfilled in the Museum as a whole. Too strict censure should not be given, however, because of the regulations of official governing bodies, and the whims of collectors that often prohibit the inclusion of key pictures.

American museums and private collectors have concentrated on the impressionists and post-impressionists, and have failed to realize that the nineteenth century should be considered as a well-knit whole. They have tended to neglect the first half of the century, and consequently America is, relatively speaking, weak in the work of the romanticists and classicists. Thus, because of the great foreign loans, it is in these categories that the exhibition scored most heavily.

The romanticists were very well represented, and formed the chief glory of the exhibition. Delacroix, however, outshone his fellows, Gros and Géricault, and the great picture of the exhibition was the prophetically chosen *Greece Expiring on the Ruins of Missolonghi* from the Musée de Bordeaux. It is a major work of the master. The juicily painted *Christ on the Cross* from the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore is also of the highest quality. Pervaded by a fervent seriousness, it is one of Delacroix' finest compositions. *The Women of Algiers* of 1849 from the Musée Fabre at Montpellier (which lent seven oils) is a smaller and much later version of the more celebrated painting of the same name in the Louvre, dated 1834. Delacroix had a fondness for repetition, and he often executed a youthful, romantic theme in his mature, more masterly technique. In many cases the later version is more consistently handled and more satisfactory as a work of art than the earlier canvas. In this particular instance, however, the Louvre picture is preferable. Two paintings by Delacroix that unfortunately fall short of the high standard established by the masterpieces mentioned above are *Diana Surprised by Actaeon* and *The Meeting of Bacchus and Ariadne* from the series known as the "Four Seasons." The murals were ordered for the salon of Frédéric Hartmann, who was, according to

Joubin,³ an Alsatian banker, industrialist, and politician. Beginning in January 1856, Delacroix mentions the commission a number of times in his *Journal*, but when Hartmann died in 1861 the "Four Seasons" were still unfinished. Technically these works are decidedly disappointing. This drop in quality may perhaps be accounted for by the following statement in the 1885 edition of Robaut:⁴ "L'opinion publique désigne ces quatre toiles comme ayant été retouchées par une main étrangère."

No other figure in the history of nineteenth-century French painting exerted an influence comparable to that of Delacroix. Without him it is impossible to imagine the remainder of the century. Concrete proof of his influence lies in the copies⁵ made after Delacroix by so many of his most gifted younger compatriots. Manet twice copied *Dante et Virgile aux Enfers*, one example being in the Havemeyer Bequest at the Metropolitan.⁶ Cézanne, according to Lionello Venturi,⁷ made six copies, and Renoir made a careful study of the *Noce Juive dans le Maroc*,⁸ and used pictures by Delacroix in the backgrounds of his portraits of M. and Mme Chocquet.⁹ It is known that both Renoir and Cézanne inordinately admired the many Delacroix in the collection of these early patrons of the impressionists.¹⁰ Degas, too, was an ardent collector¹¹ of the paintings and drawings of Delacroix, and van Gogh used the romantic artist as an inspiration on a number of occasions.¹²

Delacroix' extraordinary influence far outstripped that of his great rival, Ingres. The classicist was brilliantly represented in the exhibition by a group of important examples of his impeccable line. The *Turkish Women at the Bath* from the Louvre, with its nudes intricately interlaced in a scene so lacking in mystery, was outstanding. In contrast, there was the *Stratonice* from the Musée Fabre, so thinly painted in cool, transparent tones that the delicate drawing is apparent throughout. This classic scene, painted one year before the artist's death, could serve as a testament of Ingres' artistic credo.

The only artist able to combine and fuse the styles of Ingres and Delacroix was Théodore Chassériau. The single example of his work, and indeed the only important canvas by the master ever shown publicly in the vicinity of New York, is a remarkable expression of this union of opposing doctrines. Sometimes Chassériau's work is felt to be in the spheres of influence of his two sources of inspiration, but this

3. André Joubin, ed., *Journal de Eugène Delacroix*, Paris, 1932.

4. Alfred Robaut, *L'œuvre complet de Eugène Delacroix*, Paris, 1885.

5. Beaumont Newhall, "After Delacroix," *American Magazine of Art*, xxix, 1936, 580-84.

6. Paul Jamot and Georges Wildenstein, ed., *Manet*, Paris, 1932.

7. *Cézanne, son art - son œuvre*, Paris, 1936.

8. Michel Florisoone, *Renoir*, Paris, 1938.

9. Julius Meier-Graefe, *Renoir*, Leipzig, 1929; Georges Rivière, *Renoir et ses amis*, Paris, 1921.

10. *Tableaux modernes, aquarelles et dessins, [Vente] après décès de Mme Vve. Chocquet*, Paris, Georges Petit, 1-4 juillet, 1899.

11. *Collection Edgar Degas, Catalogue de tableaux modernes et anciens, [Vente] Galerie Georges Petit*, Paris, 1918.

12. J.-B. de la Faille, *L'œuvre de Vincent van Gogh*, Paris and Brussels, 1928.

picture is pure Chassériau. Because little of his output was sold and because his well-to-do descendant, Baron Arthur Chassériau, bequeathed the bulk of his inheritance to France, specimens of his work are extremely rare, and the only group of Chassériaus on this side of the Atlantic is in the Grenville L. Winthrop collection in New York.

The foreign and American loans of the middle and second half of the century were of lesser moment, because the Metropolitan is astoundingly rich in this field. In fact, distinguished and comprehensive one-man shows of Corot, Courbet, Degas, and Manet are constantly being held there. Consequently it was difficult to add to the works of these four men, but the little Corot landscape *View of Rome: The Bridge and the Castle of Sant' Angelo* from the California Palace of the Legion of Honor is of breathtaking beauty, and Degas' *Cotton Market in New Orleans*, seen on a previous occasion in Philadelphia, is one of that great draughtsman's most interesting works, particularly for Americans.

In spite of owning the large portrait of Mme Charpentier and her children, the Metropolitan Museum is still unfortunately weak in Renoirs, and this artist was not represented in the exhibition as strongly as he should have been. The loans included neither figures in composition nor studies of the nude, and one looked in vain for a late work. This last omission might have been excused, since the scope of the exhibition supposedly ended with Toulouse-Lautrec, had not a Bonnard painted as late as 1924, as well as a twentieth-century Vuillard, been presented. Perhaps late Renoirs should be considered twentieth-century pictures, too, and as a matter of fact it would have been hard for Mr. Wehle to have found more than a mere handful of late examples of good quality available for loan in this country.

Van Gogh was, except for the lack of a still-life, admirably and intelligently shown. The blue portrait of Dr. Gachet, a fascinating characterization, is the version formerly in the Städtische Galerie at

Frankfurt, and not, as the catalogue implies, the version retained by the doctor's son at Auvers-sur-Oise. The equally unfamiliar *Public Gardens in Arles* lent by Jakob Goldschmidt is one of van Gogh's most brilliant and most successful landscapes.

Paintings of the highest quality were far too numerous to be singled out for especial comment here. There were, however, three canvases the selection of which it was difficult to understand. The portrait of Mme Léopold Gravier by Fantin-Latour is a poor and unrewarding example of that artist's talent, and the *Head of a Tahitian Woman* by Gauguin is surprisingly weak and badly drawn. The large unfinished sketch of *Don Quixote* by Daumier, lent anonymously and apparently without provenance, is a puzzling canvas. It seems to bear no relation whatsoever to the findings in regard to Daumier's technique as set forth in the recent article by Henri Marceau and David Rosen in the *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* for 1940.¹³ The great *Wagon de Troisième Classe* in the Havemeyer Bequest, as well as the wonderful *Crispin et Scapin* lent by the Louvre, are both unfinished and reveal Daumier's unusual and typical techniques. A comparison of the three paintings was instructive.

The drawings from France as a whole were uneven in quality, but any exhibition that contains *The Stamaty Family* by Ingres and *La Soupe* by Daumier, one of the masterpieces of all time, cannot be passed by hurriedly. Additions of Daumiers and Degas, to cite but two instances, from the rich resources of the Metropolitan added materially to the brilliance of the display. Strangely, when the twentieth-century items were withdrawn from the original group, one Bourdelle and one Picasso were left behind, and looked ill at ease in the midst of works of an earlier period.

PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

13. "Daumier: Draughtsman Painter," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 111, 1940, 8-41.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir:

In Professor Schapiro's review of the *Survey of Persian Art* in the March issue of the *ART BULLETIN*, I sympathize with his criticisms of the Editors' tendency to isolate and exalt Persian art from and above all others. But when he says that "The rendering of terror and rage would be as unlikely here . . ." and that "the rigid hands of archaic statues were not representations of psychological states, but characteristics of a style," in the words of Apollonius of Tyana, "simply the style of the ancients," false conclusions are implied. For there is no such thing as "simply the style": nothing happens by chance. The better we come to understand the *mind* of the ancients (I find it more intelligible than the mind of the moderns), the more clearly we see that their "style" corresponds to this "mind." I say "mind" deliberately, because it is to the mind far more than to the feelings that art (and especially "geometric" art) is pertinent. All that Plato has to say about art is tantamount to praise of Greek archaic or even Greek geometric art, and dispraise of Greek naturalistic art; while for Aristotle the representation of character in tragedy is still subordinate to that of action, i.e., essence, since for him as for the ancients generally, the man *is* what he *does*.

Whether Professor Schapiro means to say that style is an "accident," or that a style is brought into being solely for "aesthetic" reasons, he is ignoring the fact that "the style is the man" (or group of men) and inevitably expresses their point of view, if it is not to be dismissed as an "artificial style," which would be rather ridiculous for the neolithic pottery painting. Style reveals essence; and if an archaic face is impassive, it means that those whose style this was, or rather those with whom this style originated, were "stoics" in Plato's sense and that of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, "able to stand up against pleasure and pain," and in this sense, although not in ours, "apathetic."

Moreover, is not Professor Schapiro confusing style with iconography? "Primitive" art is essentially an "imitation of the actions of Gods and Heroes," and as Plato says in this connection, whoever would represent these invisible realities "truly" must have known "themselves as they really are." But nothing can be known except in the mode of the knower; to the extent that the Gods are man-made they "take the shapes that are imagined by their worshippers," and these are an index to the worshippers themselves. Nor must we forget that the body is traditionally an image of the soul, which is the *form* of the body; just as the shape of the work of art is determined by its form. Things such as facial expression and gesture are therefore significant of

states of being, as is explicit in Xenophon, *Memoabilia*, III. 10.8; where textual sources are available, as in India, these gestures are matters of prescription, not of taste, the intention being to conform the icon to its paradigm, so that there may be what Plato calls not so much "likeness" as an "adequate" representation. It is surely to all sculpture that the remarks of Socrates quoted by Xenophon, *Mem.* III.10.6-8 apply; he concludes, "Then must not the menacing glance of fighters be correctly represented, and the triumphant glance of victors imitated? Most assuredly. So then, the sculptor *is* able to represent in his images the activities of the soul." Unless we mean to stop short at the aesthetic surfaces of works of art, ignoring their content, it will not be enough to know the *what* of iconography, we must also understand its *why*. And in so far as the theme is mythical, as is notably the case in "primitive" works of art, this will mean a *reductio artium ad theologiam*, "a reference of the arts to theology."

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

To this, Professor Schapiro replies as follows:

The question is not whether style "expresses" the mentality of a people or culture, but how we are to interpret certain conventional elements in images, whether, for example, the faces of struggling men without emotional expression are to be read as a positive representation of stoic impassivity or self-control; and secondly, whether in that case they are to be regarded as expressing a common moral trait of the people who produced the image. For even if one accepts the formula that "style is the group of men," the nature of the style and the men and their connection is still problematic; not all correlations of artistic forms and cultural habits are valid. Since the same emotionally neutral rendering of the face is found in all works of the time in both passive and active figures, it is doubtful that in the fighting figures it represents a positive self-restraint. And since, moreover, we find this absence of facial expression in the arts of people who do not restrain their expression of grief or excitement in everyday life—an obvious example are the Homeric Greeks, who rant and shriek in the early epic poems, but are "impassive" in the oldest representations—Dr. Coomaraswamy's "stoic" interpretation becomes even more doubtful. Certainly the quotation from Xenophon, who belongs to a period of naturalistic sculpture, cannot be applied as an evidence of the intentions of early archaic and Persian sculptors.

MEYER SCHAPIRO
Columbia University

BOOK REVIEWS

AGNES MONGAN and PAUL J. SACHS, *Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art, A Critical Catalogue*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940. Vol. I, Text, pp. xii+465; Vol. II, Plates, Italian, I to 183; Vol. III, Plates, Other European Schools, 184 to 404. \$25.00.

No review can, in a clarified and coördinated manner, cover or even allude to the immense mass of material that these volumes contain. They are the result of years of painstaking research, careful thought, and sensitive understanding. They record an admirable and rare alliance of the connoisseur and the art-historian.

The little that remains to us of the past is mostly damaged, uprooted from its life-context and scattered. The connoisseur alone can revive, though in a ghostly way, its significance. The art-historian rearranges its fragments in somewhat arbitrary patterns and in unelastic perspectives of time. These imply a framework of intellectual comprehension. Sometimes they also imply no feeling for the values on which the meaning of art depends. In the volumes before us there is no such unhappy divorce of the two aspects of thought and imagination through which we seek to know and appreciate the crumbling remains of what was significant in the past.

But, since our text deals with the collection of drawings in the Fogg Museum and is intended not only for scholars and connoisseurs but for students, it also includes material which, though not essential to the mature worker in this field, is of interest and value to all those who delight in fine drawings as the frailest, the most perishable, and yet often the most revealing trace left by illuminated minds on the background of time. It is for this reason too that, in the study of drawings more than in any field of art history, a sensitive eye, a well-balanced sensorium, and an emotional response mean more than factual knowledge or any disciplined accumulation of data. As the authors remark, it is connoisseurship that makes good collections. No surer proof of this truth need be sought than is made evident by the quality of the drawings which Paul Sachs gave to the Fogg Museum. More than the larger Loeser collection, which is now part of the same collection, they betray to the awakened eye his passion for excellence moving to the goal of acquisition with a sharpened discrimination. Knowledge and recognition of the best are not static things or even a proper end in themselves. A true appreciation of draughtsmanship is an evolving form of poise and judgment based on many experiences and sustained by a warm enthusiasm but never carried away by it. All knowledge, even when happily forgotten, is a training for this state of active receptivity. The sometimes ponderous views of critics and carefully erected inventions of art-historians are secondary products of inquisitiveness and logic. They are the commentary and exegesis worked out after the music has ceased; they are the costume hung in the cupboard after the dancer has departed.

Drawing is an ancient art. In some ways it has never progressed in subtlety; in another sense it has, as jotting or final study, gradually so spread its borders that it has come to record, now fugitively, now with precision, the entire groundwork on which man's effort to express himself in the plastic arts is based. Magic clung to it in its infancy and it has never (we are thinking of great drawings) lost its magic, even when put to such utilitarian ends as we find in the pattern books of Giottesque times or the workshop studies of draped stucco models used by successful Florentine *botteghe* of the Renaissance.

In this catalogue we are skilfully conducted through a selection of occidental drawings from the fourteenth century to the present day. The American and English schools will be studied in two future volumes. So extensive a compendium depends on many things besides the connoisseur's eye to which we have referred. Even a connoisseur may be moved by secondary motives. A Rembrandt, a Vasari, a Mariette, a Bonnat was doubtless swayed in his selection of drawings by interests or points of view we can only guess at. The chance to find or buy, the kind of appreciation or taste that would sift the available market, these are accidents and yet determining factors. Then there is the use to which collected drawings are to be put. Do they illustrate some evolution of technique for the collector, some imprint of race, some attitude towards form, some social ambition, some monetary value locked up safely? Into a collection made up of bequests or gifts all these urges and attitudes in donors prevent the resultant whole from being coherent or of equal value through all its parts, no matter how excellent the nucleus. The heterogeneous, the accidental, the relatively insignificant will have crept in. Considering that around the Randall and the Sachs collections, the collection at the Fogg has been formed in this conventional way, it reaches in most categories a remarkably high level. Exchange and the sale of duplicates, especially prints, have made it possible to enlarge its borders and raise its quality under the expert guidance of Paul Sachs's insight.

In this catalogue the process of scholarly clarification is carried a step further. A number of the attributions which it records carry question marks. These are the signposts of a criticism above credulity, romanticism, or traditional ascriptions. If the number of such queries seems at times to be large, let it be remembered that, if the same standards of firm and skeptical scholarship were applied systematically to some of the greatest museum collections abroad, question marks would appear in greater numbers in their catalogues.

It may be worth while to run through its whole collection, not however with any hope of touching more than the high spots. We will have occasion for the most part to agree with the authors' carefully drawn conclusions; at the same time now and then we may dissent. No space is at our disposal to argue fine points.

The feeble drawing (no. 9), cut around its silhouette, has been believed to be Crivelli's study for the *St. Peter* in the Detroit Museum. But the authors realize that it cannot be by his hand unless he was a much poorer draughtsman than the intense modeling of his pictures would lead us to believe. Moreover, no documented drawing by Crivelli is known. Their query is thoroughly justified. So too is their skepticism with regard to a small group of Italian drawings (nos. 18-20) elsewhere variously attributed.

The excellent Filippino Lippi drawing, with its telling and fluent evocation due to a heightening in white, reminds one that in pen and wash he was less secure, even though at times his imagination, now tame now fantastic, comes through a scribble of useless strokes which have not even the virtue of being purely calligraphic.

The fine Mantegna drawing of apostles for the Uffizi triptych brings us to another fallacious form of draughtsmanship—a deceptive *trompe-l'œil* where the paper turns to bronze cast from a steel impression. Mantegna's hand painfully followed focused and refocused visual minutiae—every point the eye insists on, if the interpretative activity of the mind is less than active. In these minutiae, in spite of his grandeur, sincerity, and severity, are Mantegna's limitations. But there's nothing cheap about them.

Such sincerity cannot be found in the delicate emptiness of Perugino. His work parallels not only best sellers in literature but that of an army of artists who have been acclaimed and bought eagerly in their lifetime at high prices. Not that Perugino was without ability. He undeniably "had something"—a trick of contemplative pose, a sense of light and space as in a meditation untouched by suffering and struggle. The hypnosis of a faked vision clings to his shadowy figures. They are not drawn but "made out." The seeming sensitiveness of his line is really part of the hoax; it serves to put over whatever slim content there is in his sketches. It is the jingle of a bad poem. His dexterity, his stock in trade of a beatific vision—escape mechanisms for weary or simple minds—brought upon him the curse of big orders and many assistants. He generally wavers between the limitations of various techniques like a musician who can play the viola, the piano, and the oboe passably but is a master of none. Vaporized emotion, business acumen, bad art.

So great a drawing as the *Fighting Nudes* by Pollaiuolo (once in the Sachs collection) stands at the other end of the scale of draughtsmanship, alive in every sense and full of meaning. The *St. Sebastian*, which the authors give to his school, and Berenson believes to be a study for the National Gallery picture, shows how a line that once carried the imprint of a master's imagination can lose its crispness and stimulating power and become a *decalque* even if not made directly from an original.

The attribution to the "Manner of Sellaio" of a drawing of Minerva seems as difficult to understand as Berenson's belief that it is "a tracing after a lost drawing of Piero di Cosimo in his Credi-like phase," or McComb's that it is by Francesco di Giorgio. These are ascriptions made when the impulse to recognition is strong, as it is when the mind is caught

in the systematic characteristics of any study. Conjecture in such moments becomes tenuous and one fails to take into account that no method of interpretation, however sensitively balanced and logical, can ever reintegrate more than aspects of the past, uprooted as it is by organic forces rushing forward into the future and leaving behind them mostly a jumbled wreckage of fragments. This sheet, as a matter of fact, is just a drawing of no moment over which the tradition of Botticelli hangs in a shadowy manner.

So too the *Sacrificial Scene* (no. 25) is neither by Mantegna nor yet by Giovanni Bellini, if one can rely at all on the correspondences on which no small part of our connoisseurship is based. North Italian it seems to be, but whether the hand that made it was North Italian or was actuated by a mind caught by the power of Mantegna or merely stirred by Mantegnesque things is beyond the scope of conjecture.

Sometimes the framework of external events helps us to place a drawing, even one of the sixteenth century, with unusual accuracy. The Ammanati study of the Belvedere is a case in point. Two dates, as the authors point out (one certain, one approximately so), circumscribe its position in his *œuvre*. The palace, in course of construction, is seen from the court known as the "Teatro." The history of its erection, within narrow limits, is known from other documents.

Passing on to later Italians, we note in an artist as flashy and empty as Cambiaso a tendency to pretentious virtuosity. Expert and effective, like some modern cubistic work (of which he was an unconscious forerunner), his drawings, though attractive in a superficial way, are meaningless. They remind one of the free verse of a poet who has not trained himself in austerer rhythms. Cambiaso's restless fecundity is amazing, but it may be more apparent than real since, by accident or because they were caught in a channel of taste, an immense number of his drawings survive.

But not all later Italians moved so with the current. Faccini, in his *Madonna Appearing to St. Anthony*, shows that even a Bolognese could pursue a path contrary to the tendencies of his fellow townsmen. In so doing he achieved a rare immersion of his subject in an implied light. There is nothing fallacious about his brilliance. Beside it, how heavy-handed and provincial Gaudenzio Ferrari is may be judged from his *Christ and the Apostles*, if that indeed is really the subject.

It may be noted in passing that a great number of the Loeser drawings which came to the Fogg by the terms of his will are not, as drawings, of great aesthetic interest. Neither can it be said that many of his own attributions are impressive.

An interesting example of similar attributions, into which a large element of guesswork enters in a moment of sensibility not sufficiently skeptical, was Frizzoni's ascription to Pisanello of the drawing of a court lady (no. 137). It was superseded by Berenson's suggestion of Pesellino. The authors of this catalogue correctly see in it a sixteenth-century work faintly reminiscent of earlier things. They give it with caution and a question to Parmigianino.

On reconsidering after many years the reclining nude (no. 82) ascribed to Pontormo, I find that it still does not seem good enough to be classed with even the poorest drawings of his last period. Still we must remember (and it is something art critics frequently forget) that an artist is not at all times equal to his best moments. His capabilities vary from day to day. Pontormo was a sick man toward the end of his life, sick and solitary. His drawing of two nudes (no. 145) which I once thought belonged to his later years, I now recognize as a sketch dating from 1520 or thereabouts. It is undoubtedly for Poggio a Cajano. I am therefore in complete accord with the dating of the authors. The germ of mysterious hauntings and terrified dreams is already visible in it. They are symptoms of a point of view different from that of Andrea del Sarto's naturalism on which Pontormo's early work was founded. Perhaps I was too conscious of the part such nightmares played in the San Lorenzo frescoes and so was led astray.

The three caryatids, given to Pontormo by Loeser, are correctly ascribed to Rosso by Berenson and in the text of this catalogue.

Two kinds of drawings by Veronese are interesting in themselves and well illustrated in the Fogg collection. One is fugitive, subtle and, in spots, inexact or unsteadily searching, as if the innate idea were just beyond possible capture by a line slightly erratic and lacking in vitality; the other is diligent and elaborate. Really this latter kind is not a drawing at all but an intermediate genre approaching somewhat a bastard woodcut. It is heavily modeled in light and prosaically worked up. It suggests without color the substantial worldly splendors of Veronese's painting and that fealty of his to the visual fact that did not escape the notice of the theologians of his age. He knew no spiritual integration, and art of the future, much postponed, belonged not to him but to El Greco's ecstatic visions.

A lag between the evolution of the technique of drawing and that of painting can be noticed in the work of Guido Reni. Something of the alertness, the electrifying seizure of older masters clings to his sketches, a dexterity, a freshness of impression, a promptness in recording the essential. They are not profound or revealing but they are strikingly animated, while most of his paintings now seem plaster casts of a rhetoric which seeks to hide in crude sentimentality its inner poverty.

Passing by many later Italians of whom there are characteristic specimens at the Fogg, we come to Canaletto's cold and expert transcriptions of Venetian scenes. Venice in his time was a mass of brilliant architecture come down from many centuries. It was stone set in water—admirable in its perspectives, interspersed with gardens, and encircled by the low horizons of marshes and sea. Little men in little boats moved about in the resplendent décor under the strong light of quiet skies. Canaletto's record of all this was a type of drawing which, from the first wiry sketch to the steel-hard final version, aimed at a strict verisimilitude. Even when he sought to escape from the actual into "caprices," he did so in terms of architecture and perspective. Canaletto

knew everything there was to know about placing and scale. His art terminates in engraving and foresees the limitations of the lens. But he is stripped of sentimentality and triumphs by a fine craftsmanship. In him the massive rhetoric of the baroque is left behind. He sets down his sedate age of nondescript people rowing in crowded canals or chatting in piazzas and on bridges so unflinchingly and with such sincerity that, though devoid of spiritual implications, he lives as an example of rectitude.

Guardi cleverly abbreviated Canaletto's scope and dipped his sharp geometry in picturesqueness and a softened light. He subtilized the shorthand of his master's first sketches into something fragile yet of an incomparable virtuosity. The Fogg drawings (nos. 318, 320, and 321) are excellent examples of this transposition of the end-point from engraving to etching.

The spectacular elegance, the bravura of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's pen and wash can be studied in seven unusual examples at the Fogg. Not all are of his greatest but they tell the story of his incredible skill, his unhesitating hand, in a varied manner. Were the substance of his fantasy more meaningful, the depth of his emotion more profound, he would have been one of the greatest of occidental draughtsmen. He understood elimination. Nothing tedious or useless remains in his sketches—only a magical swiftness, a dazzling sureness.

In so brief a review we shall have to pass over the German drawings studied in this catalogue. They represent a by-path, rather than a broadening of aesthetic ideals in the history of the graphic arts in Europe, and are for the most part meticulous or quaint or imitative. Even the emotional content of Dürer's magnificent *Lamentation* seems now a little provincial and overwrought. Holbein is a different matter and the so-called *Portrait of a Leper* is unforgettable and convincingly believed to be his.

Van Dyck, Rubens, and Rembrandt must also not detain us, although the Fogg possesses striking specimens of each. Of these, Rembrandt most deserves extended discussion. We can only refer to his *Saskia Ill in Bed*. It is not a subject hallowed by tradition or legend nor is the drawing without injury or retouching. But how grandly simple, how unexaggerated, how moving this passing moment to which Rembrandt's mind and hand brought a permanent significance.

Among the modern French drawings at the Fogg, many of which are of outstanding merit, mention can be made of only a few. Degas' insight into the psychology of Mme Herter, her meditative eyes curious about some happening or troubled by a problem, leaves on her face the light suggestion of a smile as enigmatical as Leonardo's if more personal. This is one of the most attractive of his drawings. More summary than Ingres, he is, at his best, more revealing.

No review, however inadequate, of the material covered by these volumes would be satisfactory without at least a brief reference to Géricault as a draughtsman. In his *Italian Landscape*, dating from the early years of last century, we can explore to

perfection his approach to the fragile yet forceful art of pen and ink and wash. Here is the classical tradition and yet, in the strain and muscular stress of the figures, there is something of the new age, some ferment of revolution. Oddly enough the arrangement of the masses, the economy of the line, recall the work of Chinese painters of the Ching period. In another Fogg drawing his skill in massively suggesting muscular movement may be followed in the furious energy of horses and rider—always one of his favorite themes.

The Ingres drawings in Cambridge include some made for the *Madame d'Haussonville* of the Frick Collection. To the whole existing group of sketches for this portrait Dr. Andrew C. Ritchie has devoted a definitive study in the *ART BULLETIN* (Vol. XXII, September 1940). Two preliminary studies, apparently known to the authors, are not mentioned by Dr. Ritchie. On the other hand he has pointed out two other sketches seemingly unknown at the Fogg. He has also correctly read the notation on number 705 which is "grand foyer de lumière" and not "gra? foyer de Carmine" as transcribed in the work before us.

Few misprints, indeed practically none—a triumph for so large and varied a publication—mar the text volume. There seem to be some slight misunderstandings in the transliteration of the Veronese letter on page 109. The only other slip, if slip it can be called, that need be mentioned has been pointed out to me by Mr. H. G. Dwight of the Frick Collection. The untranslated phrase "2 tacai" on the Canaletto drawing (no. 308) refers of course to the tied buttresses and is the Venetian for the modern Italian "2 attaccati."

The format, the bindings, the printing, and the paper are in admirable taste; the illustrations with few exceptions clear and well-balanced. Both physically and in their content these three volumes attain a clarity, an orderliness, a completeness unusual in the art-historical studies of any country. They are a great achievement in a difficult field and set a new standard, a standard of which American scholarship can well be proud.

FREDERICK MORTIMER CLAPP
The Frick Collection

GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN, "The Etruscans and their Art," in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design*, XXVIII, July 1940. 50 cents.*

In this short account of the Etruscans and their art—occupying thirty-one pages, of which almost half are taken up by illustrations—George Hanfmann has given us an excellent survey. Though the primary object was to bring before the public the Etruscan objects in the Providence museum, this is done against a background of Etruscan political and social history in which the manifold problems are skilfully and concisely brought out. Only an archaeologist with an extensive knowledge of this intricate subject could have acquitted himself so ably of this

task. We have here not only a connected, logical account, but interwoven into it are many stimulating suggestions and comparisons; as, for instance, when sixth-century Etruscans, who from a "society of conquering warriors" had been "slowly transformed into a society of wealthy merchants" are compared with the fifteenth-century Venetians.

Naturally in a short, popular account of this nature it was not possible to give chapter and verse for each statement made. The reader is therefore never quite sure whether a remark rests on sound evidence or is a mere surmise. But the intention of the article is evidently to give as vivid an account as possible of a people still shrouded in mystery, and one must not be pedantic and ask, for instance, how we know that it was the Etruscans rather than their predecessors who introduced viniculture into Central Italy.

The Etruscan collection in Providence, though not extensive, is well adapted to serve as an illustration of Etruscan accomplishment, for it is lifted out of the ordinary by several masterpieces. The magnificent seventh-century gold fibula with its human and animal figures in the finest granulation is an eloquent witness of the wealth and culture attained by Etruscans during that early period. The bronze situla or pail from Bologna on which are represented lively scenes of marching soldiers, musicians, and athletes, gives us a glimpse of the native peoples of Italy subjugated by their Etruscan conquerors. The bronze cinerary urn with lively Pegasi perched on the rim is a fine example of an interesting late archaic product. As Dr. Hanfmann points out, it is particularly difficult in this case to decide whether the workmanship is Etruscan under strong Greek influence, or South Italian Greek; for such urns have been found in Campania, which at that time was under Etruscan domination. But surely the very lightness of touch and "the angular and fluid forms" which the author thinks suggest provincial Greek execution, are rather in favor of Etruscan. For is not the distinguishing trait of Etruscan bronzes just this combination of buoyancy of spirit and sketchy workmanship? And have not the dancers in Etruscan frescoes the same abandon as these impetuous Pegasi?

The excellence of the illustrations greatly enhances the value of this pamphlet. They are clear, large, and plentiful, and include detail as well as all-over views. Dr. Hanfmann is to be congratulated on producing this distinguished and eminently useful essay. It is one of the best interpretations of Etruscan culture that has been published in any language.

By way of an appendix J. Whatmough gives a careful analysis of the Etruscan inscription on the rim of the Bolognese situla and interprets it as perhaps giving the names of its owners and of its maker.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER
Metropolitan Museum of Art

* Note: The *ART BULLETIN* does not as a rule review periodical articles, but Dr. Hanfmann's essay is sufficiently comprehensive in scope to merit, we feel, attention in these columns. *Ed.*

MIRIAM SCHILD BUNIM, *Space in Medieval Painting and the Forerunners of Perspective*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xvii+261; 78 figs. \$5.00.

Mrs. Bunim has boldly attacked one of the most important and one of the most complicated problems in the history of art. She attempts and, let it be said at once, she generally succeeds in clarifying the transformation of antique into medieval space representation, and the subsequent metamorphosis of this medieval representation of space into that of the fourteenth and later of the fifteenth century.

The author starts from a careful analysis of the terminology of space representation and of the way in which space as a whole can be depicted in painting. Representation of space on a two-dimensional surface depends on the treatment both of the surface plane and of the objects represented. The surface plane may be either a rough, natural surface or it may be a pictorial surface. If the surface is pictorial it may be either untreated or treated and, in this latter case, it may be neutral (that is, uniformly colored) or it may be active (treated in gold or in different colors). Only an active surface can be treated as space, either as representative "realistic" or as non-representative space; and only within such a "spatial surface" can objects be arranged. This disposition of objects is either of a *conceptional* character—that is, the objects are depicted according to their actual "real" shape or according to their hierarchic importance—and in this case they are placed in either a vertical or in an "inverted" space; or the objects are *visually* conceived—that is, according to the way in which they appear to the eye. In this case they are either set in a terrace-like arrangement, or in some kind of perspective which is focused towards a vanishing area, towards a vanishing axis, or towards a vanishing point. This last arrangement is the one which we have known since the days of the early Renaissance.

After this somewhat rigid but probably necessary clarification of terminology, the book begins with a discussion of the development of spatial representation in antiquity. Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Aegean, and Greek representation of space are merely alluded to. The problem proper is initiated with the examination of Roman space representation, in which two types are distinguished: the stage space of the megalograph and prospect scenes, and the illusionistic space of the landscape paintings. The first type is an enclosed spatial form with some kind of linear perspective (for the particular character of this perspective, the author bases herself on Panofsky's masterly study in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, Vol. IV, 1924-25, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 258 ff.); the second is founded on an aerial perspective and on a gradual, though non-scientific, diminution of objects in depth.

The decisive change takes place in the Early Christian and Carolingian period. The stage space of Roman times is transformed into a surface; the ground becomes a narrow band at the bottom, the rear plane a broad gold or blue area which fills the rest of the picture. The illusionistic space, on the other hand, changes into what the author calls "stratified space"; the graded colors whereby depth had

been indicated in Roman landscape painting, fall into horizontal bands, which in the course of development become more and more solidified. In either case what had been space becomes a vertical surface; correspondingly the three-dimensional objects, figures and so forth, which in Roman painting had stood within the three-dimensional space, become flat, two-dimensional forms which float in frontal positions or in three-quarters' view near the upper edge of the bottom strip. The first as well as the second form of space representation occurs in Italy; the northern schools work exclusively with stratified space, although the ground strip is sometimes treated as a common standing-plane for the figures, while occasionally they are supported by individual ground lines. In other instances this stratification is combined with a tall "representative" object, an edifice on a hill, in the background. In contrast to both Italian and northern schemes, Byzantine painting preserves a far greater number of elements pertaining to the stage space of the Roman type.

This establishment of a "stratified" space in Early Christian and Carolingian art is, I feel, the decisive point in Mrs. Bunim's investigations. It is, indeed, of the utmost importance for the whole understanding of medieval space representation. Throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, in the schools of Reichenau, Echternach, or Trier, the figures float as flat forms near the upper edge of the bottom stratum, while other clearly-defined horizontal zones form the background. This same form with only slight variations is found in southwestern France and in England. On the other hand, in the schools of Hildesheim and Regensburg, these background zones are replaced as early as the early eleventh century by vertical, checkered, or rosette patterns which separate the figures even more definitely from the ground so as to create two different planes, one for the figures and one for the decorative ground-pattern. Both are completely flat, but they are clearly independent of each other. The antique representation of space has been replaced by a quite new medieval one.

In Romanesque twelfth-century painting, these ground-patterns continue: France, and generally England as well, use vertical bands, while in the German and in some English schools a panel is inserted either horizontally or vertically into the background, which is sometimes decorated with *rincaux*. Figures and objects are not related to the background. Finally, in the thirteenth century a new attitude becomes manifest: all vestiges of stratification are eliminated, the background is done first in gold, then in gold with a design on it; it is separated from a flat or rocky collective ground plane on which the figures tread, and the whole picture is surrounded by an architectural frame. The figures are more solid, and their heads turn in different directions. Intercommunicating groups replace the older hierarchic alignment of figures. A new stage space forms itself.

Italy had hardly shared in this development. It had worked with both the stratified space and the Byzantine modified stage space, preserving in either case vestiges of three-dimensional representative elements. During the thirteenth century, this Byzantine stage space is animated and constantly elabo-

rated upon, and this development continues throughout the fourteenth century in a process of confluence of Byzantine and Gothic elements. Preliminary forms of perspective are introduced; depth is created by the convergence of receding parallels towards vanishing areas or towards a vanishing axis. Never, however, is "the union of geometry with the laws of optics for the formation of a theoretical perspective . . . realized," as is the case later in the fifteenth century. Some of these elements of Italian Trecento painting are introduced into French and English painting from the first half of the fourteenth century on and gradually break up the medieval representation of space.

To dispense in a few words with some really minor points of criticism: the typography of the book—and this is, of course, no fault of the author—is hardly commendable: the Gothic initials are somewhat restive, the binding rather old-fashioned. There are a few typographical errors in the footnotes, particularly in the spelling of foreign names and words. But these are really quite unimportant points.

Neither is it very important that sometimes one cannot help feeling that the book, while very clearly written, is laid out in a somewhat too schematic way: most of the chapters start with the same formula ("In the post-Carolingian illumination," "In the twelfth century," "In the thirteenth century"), and they are arranged along the same line: a discussion of the treatment of the background in the different countries is followed by an examination of figure representation in these same regions according to the relation of the figures to the ground, their position in full-face, three-quarter, or profile view, and representation of drapery. No doubt such an arrangement results in clarity, but it is perhaps a bit too obvious and does not make for easy reading. In a similar way the same terms—"stratified space," "paneled background," "proscenium arch"—are repeated over and over. Again this is clarifying, but it is also somewhat schematic and results in a certain dryness. Still, this is perhaps hard to avoid in a doctoral dissertation. This same, perhaps unavoidable, schematization leads the author to separate the different stages of space representation somewhat too strictly. They follow one another as clearly-defined paradigmata, as a series of stages rather than as an historical development in which one phase would follow the preceding and lead towards the following one.

Of more importance are two basic questions. First: is it admissible to deal with space in painting only, or would it not have been advisable to tie up the problem for comparison's sake with that of the treatment of space in sculpture? As it stands now, it is sometimes difficult to understand certain developments because the preliminary stages of these developments are known from relief sculpture, while they are either unknown or do not appear in painting. To give just a few instances: the paneled background which plays such an important rôle in Romanesque miniatures occurs likewise in relief sculpture throughout the twelfth century. Panels decorated with tendrils like those in the Hardehausen Evangelary, ca. 1150, are frequent in Lombard as well as in Tuscan sculptures from at least the early twelfth century on:

they occur in the early bronze plaques of the S. Zeno doors at Verona, ca. 1100; in the Niccolò reliefs on the façade of S. Zeno, ca. 1140; in the Gruamons architrave of S. Andrea at Pistoia, 1166; in Antelami's *Deposition from the Cross* at Parma Cathedral, 1178. What is more important is that this very motive occurs in the Rambona diptych in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican as early as the tenth century, that is to say about two hundred years before it makes its appearance in paintings. This interrelation between sculpture and painting becomes even more clearly evident, and more important for the development, in the question of the architectural frame. According to the author it appears in tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-century painting, but evidently for the sole purpose of indicating an interior; only from the thirteenth century on does it become a "proscenium arch" enframing the scene as such, regardless of whether an interior or an exterior is represented. I doubt whether this generalization can be definitely supported even so far as painting is concerned: in the Missal of Robert de Jumièges, 1013-17, the scenes of the *Adoration of the Magi* and of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* are surrounded by an architectural frame although—at least in the latter representation—certainly an exterior, not an interior is depicted. The statement assuredly cannot be maintained if sculpture is taken into consideration: in a great many reliefs of the twelfth century, the scenes are surmounted either by a corbel-table frieze resting on flanking columns, or else they are surrounded by arcades or framed by columns and architraves, regardless of whether an interior or an exterior is represented. Thus the motive of the proscenium arch is anticipated in sculpture throughout the twelfth century. To cite just a few instances: the baptismal font at Freckenhorst, 1129; Willigelmo's Genesis reliefs at Modena, about 1100; the choir screens at Gusterf, middle of the twelfth century; the architrave reliefs at Ferrara Cathedral, 1135; the reliefs at S. Zeno at Verona underneath the tympanum, ca. 1140; the capitals from Antelami's ambo, now in the Museum at Parma, 1178; and so forth. Briefly, from 1120 on the architectural frame is a common feature in Italian as well as in German relief sculpture. While the development of the motive is not quite clear, one could possibly establish an ultimate derivation from pagan and Early Christian sarcophagi of the late antique period, such as the Junius Bassus sarcophagus at Rome or the Wedding Sarcophagus at Arles; eleventh-century sarcophagi such as the one at the Museum of S. Donato at Zara may have formed a connecting link. Yet this line is too fragmentary to allow for any definite statement. In France and in Byzantium, on the other hand, the architectural frame seems to remain characteristic for interior scenes; the scenes on the architrave (not on the frieze) of S. Trophime at Arles are among the few exceptions. Only during the thirteenth century does the proscenium arch become a requisite of French relief sculpture contemporaneously with its appearance in French miniatures (Aubazine, tomb of S. Etienne). Since the architectural frame as a mere proscenium arch seems actually without any forerunners in painting, and likewise without forerunners in French sculpture, the question naturally arises

whether it is a feature which first appeared in Italian sculpture and which migrated from there into French sculpture, and thence into painting. It might even be worth while investigating whether the architectural frame is anything but a remnant of what Mrs. Bunim calls stage space, which with other vestiges had been preserved in Italian sculpture from pagan and Early Christian antiquity throughout the Middle Ages. Through its survival in sculpture and its introduction into thirteenth-century painting, it would have contributed towards creating the Gothic stage space; for while Mrs. Bunim is right in saying that this new Gothic space is different in character from the stage space of antiquity, it does not follow that the two are historically unrelated. A discussion of the interlocking representations of space in sculpture and painting might in all likelihood have contributed towards establishing connecting links and thus towards clarifying the whole historical development.

There is a second question which preoccupies the reader throughout the book. Can Romanesque space representation be understood as a mere elimination of the third dimension from a three-dimensional space representation, and Gothic space representation as a subsequent reintroduction of a third dimension into the two-dimensional space representation of the Romanesque period, as an imperfect forerunner of the space representation of the Renaissance? Can the question be altogether posed this way? Is it justifiable to assume that the concept of space remained the same throughout the ages, and that what is different is only the way in which space is depicted? After all, space is not only represented in different ways in every given period; it is differently represented because it means something entirely different to the man of antiquity, to the man of the Middle Ages, to the man of the Renaissance, and probably also to ourselves. I cannot help feeling that to the artist of the high Middle Ages, for example of the twelfth century, the only things which existed were solids, while space was just a "no-thing," the mere interval between solids. In a Romanesque miniature (or a Romanesque relief) the figures, as Mrs. Bunim points out, stand side by side with as few overlappings as possible. Likewise the Romanesque architectural frame in the instances mentioned above consists of isolated arches, one beside the other; the spectator sees a pair of columns and an arch, he sees one figure and then the next one; he does not really traverse the distance between the solids, he just ignores it. This is no longer true of the thirteenth century; the architectural frames of the Psalter of Saint Louis (and one might as well quote the architectural sketches of Villard de Honnecourt) no longer consist of isolated solids. They form a continuous surface; the eye is expected to travel along them, to traverse with their help the distance from shaft to shaft, from figure to figure. Still, while distance is now realized as an active artistic factor, this is *not* space in the modern sense of a three-dimensional continuum through which everything has to move. In the thirteenth century, solids are seen on a continuous plane, but they are seen on a *plane*. If one turns to architecture (the author once alludes to it in two sentences), one finds the same principles:

in a Gothic cathedral the distance from pier to pier, from wall to wall, has become active; the eye does not jump from solid to solid as in Romanesque edifices. Yet what is seen is a sequence of transparent planes, not a fluid continuum. What is created is a Gothic space, not an imperfect Renaissance or modern space. Romanesque as well as Gothic space are spaces in their own right, although both our terminology and our imagination may not be adequate to describe them; and because they are spaces in their own right, they are differently represented.

I should like to emphasize that I am making these points merely to supplement Mrs. Bunim's thesis. The very fact that they can be made goes to prove how stimulating and thought-provoking the book is, and how grateful one must be to Mrs. Bunim, and to Professor Meyer Schapiro who set the problem and who supervised her research. To sum up its achievements: it tackles a most complicated problem based on an amazing knowledge of medieval painting. It clarifies the different ways in which "space" is represented, and explains for the first time in a perfectly convincing way the origin of the medieval stratified, vertically striped, or patterned background. It clearly differentiates Gothic from Romanesque space representation; the comparison between the late eleventh-century Charter of S. Martin-des-Champs and its thirteenth-century copy is one of the most enlightening passages of the book. It shows the basic differences between Byzantine and western space representation and the intermediary position of Italian medieval painting, and it explains the new representation of space in Italian Trecento art. It states the differences between antique and medieval space representation, analyzes their different qualities, and shows the various stages of a long development. Through this careful study Mrs. Bunim has been able to clarify to a large degree one of the most important aspects of medieval art and of its relation to both antiquity and the Renaissance.

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A. G. I. CHRISTIE, *English Medieval Embroidery*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1938. Pp. xviii + 206; 159 plates, colored frontispiece + 153 figs. in text. 12 guineas.

Mrs. Christie's corpus of English medieval embroidery is the result of at least twenty-five years of assiduous investigation and painstaking study in many countries of Europe. It is a sumptuous book composed of a long and very carefully prepared descriptive catalogue preceded by an introduction, and no less than one hundred and fifty-nine plates of ecclesiastical vestments, or fragments thereof, dating for the most part between *ca.* 1250 and *ca.* 1350—the century in which the most noteworthy examples were produced of that unrivalled embroidery referred to in contemporary inventories as *opus Anglicanum*. These splendid plates with their many details (two extraordinarily fine color plates are included) make it possible for the first time for the student of English medieval art fully to comprehend the development of *opus Anglicanum* on the solid basis of a

nearly complete corpus of illustrations, and to realize its full importance and beauty. They are eloquent commentary on the enthusiasm for English embroideries displayed by Pope Innocent IV, who remarked in 1246 that "England is truly for us a garden of delights, verily an inexhaustible well"; whereupon, according to the chronicler, he ordered most of the Cistercian abbots in England to send without delay as many embroidered orphreys for the adornment of his chasubles and copes as they could lay their hands upon.¹ Succeeding popes certainly shared Innocent's admiration of English embroidery, and in the inventories of Boniface VIII and Clement V at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, there are frequent references not only to orphreys of *opus Anglicanum* but to complete copes and chasubles marvelously wrought in thread of gold and colored silks with figures of apostles and saints, and histories of Christ and the Virgin.

Mrs. Christie's descriptions of the embroideries are extremely full and clear, and are regularly accompanied by key plans that make it easy to follow her account of the elaborate iconography of many of these vestments; and she has scrupulously tried to gather together all that is actually known about their histories, including sometimes their vicissitudes. Occasionally she has cleverly reconstructed an original vestment from existing fragments: a cope, for instance, which once existed in the treasury of the Cathedral of Anagni and possibly in recent times was cut to pieces in order to furnish most of the materials for the making of two dalmatics now in the Sacristy of the Cathedral.² And she has shown how various cuttings and resewings turned a chasuble into the well-known Syon cope now in the South Kensington Museum.³ At the end of her discussion of each vestment in the descriptive catalogue she has appended a bibliography, generally complete.

In an introduction of thirty pages the author gives a diligent and useful account, which is thoroughly documented, of the importance and fame of English embroidery in the Middle Ages and attempts to sum up the general characteristics of *opus Anglicanum*. She remarks briefly, among other things, on the proportions and certain physical characteristics of the figures represented, the dramatic and expressive qualities of the style, and the development of the surface design on the great copes from scroll-work through geometric patterns of circles, followed by barbed quatrefoils, to architectural arcades. She notes the elaborate use of masks, birds, foliage, and heraldic shields as decorative elements; and she includes a very brief discussion of the iconography of the sacred scenes and saints. Also included are interesting sections on materials and technique, subjects on which Mrs. Christie's long first-hand experience with the stitching of these vestments enables her to speak with authority. Her descriptions of the

various stitches, which she illustrates with diagrams, and of the purposes for which some of them were used, are a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the technique of *opus Anglicanum*. At the end of her introduction are two appendices, the first a valuable collection of documents relating to embroidery workers and the purchase of embroideries in England from the seventh to the fourteenth century; the second a sampling of items describing objects of *opus Anglicanum* from such famous inventories as those of the Vatican in 1295 and in 1361, and of St. Paul's, London, in 1295.

Every student of English medieval art will be grateful to Mrs. Christie not merely for her new contributions to our knowledge of the fame, technique, and economic history of *opus Anglicanum*, but chiefly for the fullness of her descriptive catalogue and her rich corpus of illustrations. Her avowed chief purpose "to establish, as fully as present knowledge allows, a corpus of the existing embroideries produced in England before the close of the fourteenth century" she has accomplished magnificently, and in cases of doubtful provenance she is never, one may add, unduly assertive of English origins. But occasionally Mrs. Christie suggests connections between *opus Anglicanum* and the general history of English medieval art. And it is because she has not sufficiently investigated these connections, or been more critically suggestive concerning the relationship of *opus Anglicanum* to medieval art and history—because in short she makes *opus Anglicanum* appear a kind of *hortus deliciarum* complete unto itself without seeing it sufficiently in broader perspective—that the book requires some criticism, if not from the point of view of the antiquarian or connoisseur, at least from that of the historian of art.

In the first place, the author has paid scant attention to many interesting connections between the style and iconography of *opus Anglicanum* and English manuscript illumination of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. A very few plates in her volume would have served to make these relationships clear. She remarks for instance (p. 136) on the similarity of style between an early fourteenth-century English manuscript in the collection of Lord Leicester in Holkham Hall⁴ and the cope in Madrid, but fails to say in what this consists, or to note an even closer likeness between the rude and vigorous manner of rendering the draperies in sharp contrasts of light and shade in the Leicester manuscript and the excited, impressionistic drapery style, so very English in character, of the famous cope in the Sacristy of St. John Lateran. She could in her introduction have said far more than she has about the English Gothic style: its linear vitality, its expressive awkwardness and angularity; and she might have contrasted it with the greater reasonable-

1. Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1877, IV, pp. 546-47.

2. This reconstruction was first published some years ago in an article entitled "A Reconstructed Embroidered Cope at Anagni," *Burlington Magazine*, XLVIII, 1926, 65-77.

3. Cf. Mrs. Christie's article, "Notes on the Syon Cope," *Burlington Magazine*, LXI, 1932, 252-58.

4. See M. R. James, "An English Bible-Picture Book of the Fourteenth Century," *Walpole Society Publications*, XI, 1922-23, 1-27, pls. I-XIX, and L. Dorez, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Lord Leicester à Holkham Hall, Norfolk*, Paris, 1908, pp. 34-41, pls. XXIII-XXVIII. Dr. Hanns Swarzenski has called my attention to an early fourteenth-century English Psalter of similar style in the Walters Art Gallery (ms 105).

ness and elegance, though less expressive character, of the contemporary French style. Very occasionally she notes an iconographic parallel between embroidery and manuscript illumination,⁵ but her attention to iconography is largely limited to description, and she is content to remark (p. 10) on the passiveness with which the English medieval designer followed traditions authoritatively laid down, without remarking on the fact that English iconography at times developed rather striking idiosyncrasies.

Thus the unusual manner in which, in the scene of the *Nativity* (pl. cxl), the designer of the Pienza cope has represented the midwife holding the child as she stands in the center of the composition behind the manger (Mary in front reclines at the left, Joseph sits at the right)⁶ is found again in English manuscripts of the early fourteenth century, for instance in the rudely expressive Bible-picture book of Lord Leicester noted above,⁷ and in the Tiptoft Missal, an East Anglian manuscript of like date in The Pierpont Morgan Library.⁸ Again, the scene of the *Supper at Emmaus* on the Lateran cope (pl. cxiii) is a curious fusion of the moment when Christ seated at the table between the disciples breaks bread, and of His vanishing from their sight. In the upper part of the scene He is ascending into the clouds, only the lower part of His body being visible to the disciples who gaze upward in astonishment. This telescoping of two moments in the event is, to the best of the reviewer's knowledge, a characteristically English invention occurring once again in *opus Anglicanum* (pl. cxliiv) and also in English manuscript illumination, for instance in Arundel ms 83 in the British Museum, an East Anglian manuscript of the early fourteenth century,⁹ and one that has been shown to have other iconographic affinities with *opus Anglicanum*.¹⁰ Many other interesting iconographic correspondences between embroideries and manuscripts could be cited, and it may be said further in

this connection that Mrs. Christie has not noted several possible sources for iconographic representation in English medieval literature. The vivid language of a medieval legend of St. Margaret, for instance, is literally translated into visual imagery on the Steeple-Aston cope (pl. cxviii) in the scene in which St. Margaret, her hands pressed together in prayer, is actually issuing from the back of the dragon who had swallowed her, but who burst asunder when she made the sign of the cross within his belly: "... his body toburst amid-hips, and the blessed maiden wholly unmarred without every wem (pollution) went out of his womb, herrying on high her High Healer in Heaven."¹¹

For the general aspect of the richly embroidered copes of the early fourteenth century, with their surface-pattern of elaborately-conceived arcades with ogee arches and intertwining foliated columns for which birds or lions' heads or foliated masks serve as capitals, one finds a very clear parallel, and in all probability the immediate prototype, in the richly elaborate design of the large pages of the great East Anglian Psalters of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Particularly the broad borders of these pages with their intertwining stems that put forth leaves and flowers, and their abundance of birds and animals often naturalistically treated, offer a very clear stylistic parallel to the arcaded copes, illumination and embroidery alike testifying to the fresh and delightful inventiveness of the English Gothic imagination. Had Mrs. Christie reproduced, for instance, the Beatus pages from the Gorleston and St. Omer Psalters¹² and commented on the iconographic and decorative resemblances between them and a number of early fourteenth-century embroideries, she would have done much to enable the reader to see *opus Anglicanum* in its intimate relationship with English Gothic art in general.

Mrs. Christie's chronology of *opus Anglicanum* is reasonable. It is based on considerations chiefly of style and of surface-pattern, the latter showing a development from repeated circles which cover the

5. For instance on p. 101, where she describes the *Miracle of the Cornfield* on the cope in the Sacristy of the Cathedral of Anagni and compares it to a like representation in the Leicester manuscript.

6. Thus represented the *Nativity* also occurs in a water-color drawing of a cope now lost; see p. 183 and pl. cxliiv.

7. See James, *op. cit.*, pl. vi.

8. ms 107, fol. 23. Reproduced in M. R. James's *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, London, 1906, opp. p. 14.

9. Fol. 133. See F. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, Paris and Brussels, 1928, pp. 46 and 79. Rendered in this fashion, the *Supper at Emmaus* had already occurred a few years earlier in a book of Bible pictures of the late thirteenth century (St. John's College, Cambridge, ms K. 21, fol. 57). But before this time the scene seems to have been rendered in the usual manner with Christ breaking bread, or else, as in the case of several Psalters of the early thirteenth century, with the disciples gazing upward at the disappearing figure of Christ who is not, as in the Arundel and St. John's College manuscripts of about a century later, also seated at the table. For this representation of Christ's disappearance see British Museum, Royal ms 1 Dx, fol. 5v (reproduced in J. A. Herbert, "A Psalter in the British Museum . . . Illuminated in England Early in the Thirteenth Century," *Walpole Society Publications*, III, 1913-14, pl. xlvii); British Museum, Arundel ms 157, fol. 11v; Trinity College, Cambridge, ms B. 11.4, fol. 3v. The telescoping of two moments in the scene seems first to appear around 1300.

10. See the discussion of the cope of Skå by A. Branting and A. Lindblom, *Medieval Embroideries and Textiles in Sweden*, Uppsala and Stockholm, 1932, I, 6-100.

11. *Seinte Margherete, the Meiden ant Martyr*, ed. O. Cockayne, London, 1886, p. 60. For further discussion of this legend in its relation to *opus Anglicanum*, and of other matters concerning literary sources and iconography, see the reviewer's article, "An English Gothic Embroidery in the Vatican," *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, III, 1932, 7 ff.

12. Reproduced in Millar, *op. cit.*, pls. 15 and 19. One should also compare the border of heads enclosed in circles formed of vine stems in the Tiptoft Missal, fol. 142 (see note 8) and of heads in quatrefoils in an early fourteenth-century Psalter (ms 76) in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, fols. 26 and 34 (cf. *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1908, p. 26 and pl. 51), with the bands of heads in eight-pointed stars on the Bologna cope (pl. cxii) and with the heads in circles formed of vine stems on the Plandiura chasuble (pl. lxvii-lxix). The use of heads in medallions of one kind or another for decoration was a marked characteristic of English art of this period. For the use of a lion's head as a kind of architectural capital see again the Tiptoft Missal, fol. 142, and cf. the Butler-Bowdoin cope (pls. cxxv ff.), the chasuble in the Metropolitan Museum (pls. cxxx ff.), and the cope of red silk in S. Bertrand-de-Comminges (pl. lxxx). The foliated masks that occur on the latter and on the Steeple-Aston (pls. cxiv ff.) and Vich copes (pls. cxxii ff.) may be compared with very similar masks on various pages of British Museum, Royal ms 10 E iv (Decretals written in Italy, but illuminated in England in the early fourteenth century; see Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 83), e.g., fols. 4, 44, 171^v.

surface of the vestment, through barbed quatrefoils or variations thereof, to architectural arcades that become more and more fancifully elaborate as time goes on (p. 8). The surface design in scroll work (as, for instance, a *Tree of Jesse*) occurred, she believes, the earliest of all, and it is true that there are several early examples of this pattern on sandals and buskins; but it is probably inaccurate to say that scroll patterns preceded circles, for both are mentioned in early inventories; and the existing vestments that represent the *Tree of Jesse* (pls. LXIII ff.) date close to the year 1300 when circles had had their day as surface-pattern and even quatrefoils were about to be supplanted in general by architectural arcades. The inventories Mrs. Christie could have used to good advantage to give more precision to her chronology; she could also have used them even more than she already has as contemporary commentary on examples of embroidery which she illustrates. Thus in the very important inventory of 1245 of St. Paul's Cathedral in London,¹³ which she has apparently neglected, occur the first notices of a cope and chasuble embroidered with the *Tree of Jesse*, not to mention lions in circles, angels with thuribles, trees and birds, stags, stars and moons, *sagittarii*, and other decorative motives that occur in *opus Anglicanum*. In the inventory of St. Paul's of 1295, from which the author quotes interesting items in Appendix II, she might have noted the description of a burse that accords perfectly with the only burse known to survive from the great period of *opus Anglicanum* (pl. CVII): "Item, alia capsula (for *corporalia*) cujus campus aureus bene diasperatus, de aurofilo, cum ymaginibus Crucifixi, Mariae et Johannis, ex una parte, et Corona beatae Virginis, et campo consimili ex alia . . ." ¹⁴ She might also have pointed out that in this inventory occur the first descriptions of scenes and individual figures embroidered in circles,¹⁵ and the first indications of a developed and extensive iconography. Again, in the important inventory of Pope Clement V, dated 1311,¹⁶ which Mrs. Christie does not mention, occur the first elaborate descriptions of great English copes and chasubles with scenes and figures wrought in colored silks set against a ground completely embroidered in gold—descriptions which, if they do not tally exactly with the great gold-embroidered copes like those at S. Bertrand-de-Comminges, Madrid, and the Lateran, prove conclusively that *opus Anglicanum* had attained its apogee in gorgeousness,

rich variety of pattern, and extensive iconography at the very beginning of the fourteenth century. In this inventory occurs also what is probably the first mention of a surface pattern of quatrefoils, an orphrey being described as embroidered "cum quattuor magnis compassibus quadrangulatis."¹⁷ Finally, in the Canterbury inventory of 1315, three copes are said to be embroidered with quatrefoils—"contextae magnis quadrangulatis"¹⁸—and one finds for the first time many examples of vestments embroidered "imaginibus stantibus in tabernaculis"¹⁹—clearly a reference to the surface pattern of architectural arcades which finally supersedes that of quatrefoils. Thus in selecting items from inventories for Appendix II, Mrs. Christie might have done well to choose those that indicate the chronological development of *opus Anglicanum*, and to have discussed this development in the light of such important documentary evidence. A list of important inventories would also have been useful to scholars.

One or two other matters call for brief comment. John of Thanet, a monk of Christchurch, Canterbury, whose name appears on the beautiful panel of embroidery in the Victoria and Albert Museum (pl. LXXXVI) did not die in 1330 (see p. 134, note 1), but in 1320.²⁰ Mrs. Christie has not noted that he was professed at Christchurch ca. 1279, and that he was elected Abbot of Battle in 1298 and resigned in 1308.²¹ The occurrence of his name three times in the Canterbury inventory of 1315 in connection with vestments in the Cathedral treasury already marks him, as Mrs. Christie well suggests, as a person of importance, and the latest information about him is emphatic confirmation of this fact. Apropos of the two copes in the Sacristy of the Cathedral of S. Bertrand-de-Comminges, one of which (and probably both) were presented by Pope Clement V on the occasion of a visit in 1309, it is perhaps worth suggesting that they might have been conveyed to the Pope by a distinguished Englishman, Walter de Stapledon, who before he was elected to the bishopric of Exeter in 1307, was Chaplain to Clement. According to an inventory of Exeter Cathedral taken in 1327 (see footnote 14 below), he possessed a number of handsome vestments of *opus Anglicanum*. In 1306 he went to France on a political mission and might, in the normal course of events, have visited the Pope who spent most of that year in Bordeaux, and have presented him with some handsome vestments of English embroidery.²²

But if Mrs. Christie has not herself carried out a number of investigations of importance to the student of English medieval art, she has certainly provided the means for others to do so. This reviewer

13. See W. S. Simpson, "Two Inventories of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, dated respectively 1245 and 1402," *Archaeologia*, L, 1887, 473 ff.

14. See W. Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London*, London, 1658, p. 217. Cf. G. Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Exeter, 1861, p. 317, for the description, in an inventory of the Cathedral taken in 1327, of another burse (*repositorium pro corporalibus*) with the same iconography, given by the executors of Bishop Walter de Stapledon (d. 1326).

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 211: "Unum vestimentum . . . cum parura de purpuro sameto, breudata de historia beati Nicholai in circulis aureis," cited by Mrs. Christie on p. 102 in connection with the Anagni chasuble which is embroidered with the story of St. Nicholas; and p. 212: a vestment "cum parura breudata de Regibus sedentibus in Cathedra infra circulos."

16. *Regesti Clementis Papae V ex Vaticanis archetypis . . . nunc primum editi cura et studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti Appendices*, Tomus I, Rome, 1892, pp. 412 ff.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 412.

18. See J. Dart, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, London, 1726, Appendix no. vi, p. v.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. v, vii, ix.

20. See *Causton's Obituary*, Christ Church, Canterbury, MS D. 12, fol. 16. I owe this information to the late Sir Charles Cotton, former Cathedral Librarian.

21. See F. Iambard, "John of Thanet," *Sussex Notes and Queries*, v, 1934. Professor A. J. B. Wace kindly called my attention to this notice.

22. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, LIV, 1898, 92-93, and accompanying references.

has only admiration for the patience and devoted care with which she has gathered together and described a notable body of material. The inspiration for such a long and difficult, but certainly rewarding task, must have been an enthusiasm for *opus Anglicanum* at least as great as that of Pope Innocent IV in the thirteenth century.

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NIKOLAUS PEVSNER, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, Cambridge, University Press; New York, The Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xiv + 323; 17 plates. \$6.00.

This volume is a detailed and generally comprehensive history of official, state-controlled, and state-supported schools of art from their beginnings in the sixteenth century to the present day. After a glance at Greece, Pevsner introduces his subject by describing the founding of the first humanist "academies" of learning in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the first academies of letters during the same period, and those of letters, science, and the dance inaugurated in France by Richelieu and Colbert in the seventeenth century. Pevsner then turns his attention to the art academy. He traces this from the Accademia Leonardi Vinci, concerning whose character he is undecided, through Vasari's abortive Accademia del Disegno, to the Roman Accademia di S. Luca, which owed its immediate form to the initiative of Federigo Zuccari. The third chapter is devoted to "Baroque and Rococo"; it includes a detailed account of the foundation of the Paris academy under Le Brun and its struggle with the *maîtrise*; an exposition of the academy's curriculum and the theory of its teaching sequence, and of how the new system, reaching from the artist's first education through his election to its highest honors, fitted in with the supervision and centralization of all activity more widely expressed in the theories of mercantilism. The chapter closes with an account of the belated copying of the French system in England, in Austria, and in the smaller states of Germany and northern Europe. Then follows a description of the continuation of these academies during the neo-classicism of the second half of the eighteenth century, and how, though based upon the seventeenth-century model, their program showed a growing systematization and "academization," and, under the influence of the ideas of the Enlightenment, an idealization of the artist, while at the same time they expanded to include "elementary and trade classes." The section on the nineteenth century is devoted largely to a discussion of the German academies; Pevsner lays great stress upon the reforms instigated by the Nazarenes, their introduction of *Meisterklassen*, and finally their failure really to change the established system. The concluding chapter deals with "The Revival of Industrial Art and the Artist's Education Today." It begins with the concern (partly aesthetic, partly commercial) first felt in England about the decline of industrial design due to the introduction of the machine, and with the suggestions for reform made after the Exhibition of 1851 by Laborde, Semper, and Owen Jones. It then traces

a detailed history of the ideas of William Morris, the English Arts and Crafts movement, the further application of these ideas to the reform of the applied art and trade schools in Germany; analyzes the methods of the Bauhaus and eulogizes its system, especially as applied under the direction of Walter Gropius. Finally, skirting the situation in Russia because of the "distinctly inadequate" information available, and that in post-1933 Germany because "since the National Socialist Revolution things are again in a state of ferment" (*sic*), Pevsner concludes that "a growing tendency towards governmental enterprise [i.e., state academies of art] has become evident in England, too."

Throughout the description runs the main thread of Pevsner's argument: academies rose with absolutism in the sixteenth century when mannerism, its artistic reflection, replaced the earlier freedom of the Renaissance; they found their perfection and their social utility under Colbert who through their aid defined the social purpose of art (in the service of the state), and the social position of the artist (within a fixed hierarchy). Those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were but imitations of that of the seventeenth, which lost both their artistic and their social justification as liberalism and laissez-faire increasingly belied the unification their programs imply; until finally, at the end of the century, they were, as the advanced artists correctly understood, not merely useless, but prejudicial to art. The academy was restored to its former positive and useful rôle only under the Arts and Crafts, and, more convincingly, under the Bauhaus, which reformed their systems to conform to the realities of a machine age and the necessity of producing designs applicable to it, and thus produced industrial designers conversant with the machine rather than pure artists. In the future, concludes Pevsner, "art education in one consciously accepted and promoted style is possible . . ." only through state interference, "and only at the expense of civic liberties." "A school such as the Bauhaus is certainly possible only as a State school, and can—of course—only be successfully run by one strong personality, and not by means of Committees and majority votes."

The reviewer pretends to no detailed competence in the whole range of periods covered by this book. Except for the material dealt with in the last two chapters, Pevsner himself is largely working through secondary sources, and he has brought together an exact and extended documentation that goes far to illuminate the artist's social position. It is undoubtedly Pevsner's own special knowledge and interest that weight the book rather too heavily with the details of the programs and discussions of the minor German academies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the wealth of schools seems almost matched by the dearth of artists. Outstanding errors of fact are few: the date of Leonardo's death is given as 1516; Prud'hon is misspelled as Proudhon; Delacroix is mentioned as having a large private atelier and many students (in the manner of Gleyre and Couture). That Pinder (official head of Nazi art history) should be referred to (in a footnote) as "the greatest of living German art historians" is perhaps

a matter of taste, but that in a discussion of the "conception of Mannerism as a genuine, universal, and clearly definable style . . . Dvořák and Pinder are the two names chiefly to be recorded," is, to say the least, a grievous oversight. Rembrandt's isolation at the end of his life, and the notion of his art as the "meditation of a recluse" is rather exaggerated, in order to stress the disadvantage to the Dutch artist (in contrast to the fixed position and assured patronage of the contemporary Frenchman) of producing for a free, but often capricious market. In this connection Pevsner also neglects to mention that those painters today considered the chief ornaments of French painting of the seventeenth century—the elder Le Nains, Claude, Poussin—either were active before the foundation of the Académie in 1648, or preferred to remain apart from it.

Pevsner states that his book is not a "pure compilation of facts," but, since ours is a "century of Liberalism declining, and Absolutism returning . . . and patient, unbiased research on the downgrade," an example of how "to reconcile scholarship and direct utility." It is therefore not too much to say that Pevsner's interpretation of the recent past, and his implications for the near future, are crucial in our judgment of the "direct utility" of his book; and that in spite of the excellence of most of his history, a series of omissions takes on a particular significance. No mention is made of the academies of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, though these countries have done much to advance the modern architecture and decoration which Pevsner sees as the style of the future, and have done it through governmental agencies. Here would be an argument better than "the case of the Futurists in Italy," which Pevsner cites, that "an advanced style is by no means necessarily anti-governmental." For, as Pevsner does not state, those Futurists who obtained official positions under Fascism simultaneously abandoned their "advanced style" for a warmed-over neo-classicism. And lately Fascism has even given up the slight contemporaneity of its architecture. The process and the reasons for which Russia went from a "modern architectural style" to "an academism of the old type" are well known and need not be passed over because of "distinctly inadequate" information. Nor are the position of the artist in Germany since 1933, and the attitude of the Nazi government toward art, to be described as in a "state of ferment," when the reaction against everything represented by the Bauhaus is one of their fundamentals. It is thus correct to say that in the totalitarian states "the majority of progressive artists . . . seem strongly to resent the State interference." But it is incorrect to conclude that this "is probably due to the many mistakes which were made in the nineteenth century." In other words, the dichotomy Pevsner makes is only partially correct: the state may ignore the arts, or it may take an interest in them, but these attitudes may be equally reactionary; and they will be so as long as there is a fundamental opposition between the place assumed by the artist and that which the state assigns to him, whether by its indifference or by its "interference." It must not be forgotten that for the majority of artists Colbert's system was a

step upward; those for whom it was not (e.g., Mignard) objected to it. As for the artist in the role of the lawless genius, we must remember that he took on this guise only in self-defense after a half century of constant rebuff. The problem then is essentially one of an accord (in fundamentals, not in details) between the artist and his society, and if the history of the lack of success of laissez-faire is given in detail, as Pevsner rightly gives it, the failures of totalitarianism must also be recounted at length. Nor should an historian like Pevsner (who says that it is no use "pretending that the past was exactly like the present") forget that the Absolutism of the twentieth century is not that of the seventeenth, and that in the sphere of artistic activity, as in any other, whatever measure of state supervision the public good and a changed technology of living necessitate, no "interference" will be successful which tries to ignore the self-consciousness of the individual that the last four centuries have developed.

ROBERT J. GOLDWATER

Queens College and New York University

JOHN McANDREW, ed., *Guide to Modern Architecture: Northeast States*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1940. 126 pps., illustrated. 25 cents.

It is not so many years ago that the writer remembers rather humorously the surprise of a friend who discovered that there was a Baedeker of the United States! Americans have usually considered Europe the land of guide books. Such books were something only for remote lands—something to use, and romantically at that, when one was far from home. There has been in the past little systematic attention paid by travelers in this country to ferreting out objects of interest. In the main, the railroads have taken the initiative. Time tables gradually came to be supplemented with "notes" pointing out to the traveler the important facts concerning the places through which he was traveling. In the last few years, however, historical societies in this country have awakened to the value of their own historical surroundings, and, more important, the government has begun an extensive publication of excellent general guides to cities and sections of the country. But these, superior publications many of them, have been of necessity general in scope. The specialist must hunt in their pages for his own particular interest.

The publication by the Museum of Modern Art of a *Guide to Modern Architecture: Northeast States*, under the direction of John McAndrew, is therefore unique, and it is to be hoped that more of this kind of specialized guide, the importance of which can hardly be overestimated, will follow.

In the first place, this is a highly practical kind of guide book. It avoids all the pitfalls of overemphasis on unnecessary detail, and it contains a very concise and quite adequate introduction of only nine pages, describing and defining the contents of the book. In this introduction, the layman will find much simple information regarding not only the definition of modern architecture, but also an adequate description of what modern architecture attempts.

To those who have been interested in the develop-

ment of modern architecture in this country, a curious paradox exists. The conspicuous quality of the style has made one feel that there has been a considerable amount of contemporary modern building. It is, therefore, something of a shock to discover that, as the guide points out, "The structures listed in this Guide represent less than 1% of all the building in the northeastern states during the last ten years. The environment we are building for ourselves and our children includes the 99% omitted:

Thousands of speculative jerry-built developments
—many of them unfit for habitation by any humane standards

Thousands of medium-priced houses built in fear and flight from the 20th century, neo-Colonial, neo-Tudor, neo-Norman, neo-Hollywood-Spanish

Costlier homes in timid 'good taste'

Many nondescript apartment houses, crowding our residential areas

Pseudo-Gothic colleges, Colonialoid high schools and banks

Modernistic shoppes, airports, and movie theatres

Blocks of undistinguished commercial and industrial buildings, packing us more densely into the noisy, dirty, airless hearts of our cities, or scarring our countryside."

This sums up the negative side of the question, but as one thumbs through the book, two important facts regarding modern building stand out. In the first place, the rather surprising distribution of modern architecture through the territory which the guide covers, and secondly, the more important fact that a great deal of this work lies within the range, especially so far as domestic architecture is concerned, of reasonably modest expense. From that one can point to a valuable lesson. Modern building can be reasonably inexpensive and yet distinctively arranged for the personal living tastes of the individual. This fact will contradict seriously the idea held by many laymen that the building of a modern house is unnecessarily expensive and therefore only for the esoteric few.

The format of the book is handy. The work illustrated is arranged by states, and there is an excellent index of building types. In many cases a floor plan of the building is indicated. In all, the work is ship-shape and useful and will be greatly welcomed by many people, not only students but laymen, who are genuinely interested in forming a critical idea of what has been done in this section of the country in contemporary architecture. It should further wise building.

JERE ABBOTT
Smith College

HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, *American Architectural Books, A List of Books, Portfolios and Pamphlets Published in America before 1895*. 169 mimeographed sheets, including errata; privately circulated.

In 1899 George Clarence Gardner, in an article in W. R. Ware's *The Georgian Period*, suggested that "it would be interesting if some one better fitted than

myself could make a much fuller catalogue of these earliest American works on architecture." The catalogue now exists, although at the moment in mimeographed form only. Professor Hitchcock's bibliography merits, therefore, not so much a review as a notice which may apprise students of American architecture of its existence, and give them a description of its contents. It deserves notice because of its monumental character and because, although technically unpublished, it is available for use, since there are copies in many of our libraries.

The wealth of architectural titles of European and American origin available to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century builder in America has been commented upon by a number of writers. But the number of purely American imprints contained in this check-list must be a surprise to most workers in this field, since no previous bibliography has contained more than a small fraction of the titles which appear here. In 1899 George Gardner enumerated only seventeen. In 1924 A. J. Wall, in an essay hidden in *A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames*, listed twenty-one architectural titles by eleven American authors published between 1775 and 1830. Despite its limited scope, this remained the standard published bibliography until the advent of Mr. Hitchcock's, which includes not only the early builders' handbooks, but all titles available before 1895.

Works can be made definitive only by encompassing a definable area. The latest date for titles appearing in this list is 1895, chosen, one imagines, because the number of publications on architecture increased by leaps and bounds after the appearance of Montgomery Schuyler's *American Architecture* and the many works by William Rotch Ware, in the late 'eighties and early 'nineties.

This is in a sense a collaborative work, since practically all the more important libraries, architectural and otherwise, combed their shelf-lists for titles, corrections of titles, and details of collation, and many scholars turned over to Professor Hitchcock their own bibliographies. Thus it is a more complete census than any one man could conceivably have made it.

The help that Professor Hitchcock received can in no way minimize the credit due him for this work, since much labor on his part obviously went into it. In 1938 many libraries and persons interested in the history of American architecture received the preliminary list, with a request for additions and corrections. This list was put through the general checking possible only in the Union Catalogue at Washington, and through a similar checking in the Union Catalogue at Philadelphia. The important libraries of the mid-west were asked to help, together with those in the east. With the returns all in, it was possible to issue an enlarged edition with the collations quite complete for something over 650 titles, some of which ran, of course, to many editions. All known editions of each title were included. Included also was the Union List of Serials code letters indicating the holders of the various titles—an invaluable addition to any bibliography. Thus the worker in any part of the country may save his librarian and himself much time when borrowing by inter-library

loan. Each library and scholar who participated received a copy, together with subsequent errata sheets; the work is therefore available in libraries at least as far west as St. Louis.

One wishes that there were more complete projects of this type in the field of Fine Arts, comparable to those existing in other fields, such as Gustave Lanson's *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne*. More such tools are becoming available, however, in American art—for example, the various magazine indices that are being compiled under government auspices. There is evidence that these tools will prove more and more useful, especially since European sources for research are temporarily closed.

It is to be hoped that this list may soon be published in printed form. Undoubtedly it will need a

subsidy, which should be obtainable for such a useful work. In the meantime, the student who wants to use the list will have to go to one of the libraries that has a copy. If publication is long delayed, perhaps some arrangement might be made for microfilm copies. Before it is published, this reviewer would suggest that all the code letters indicating holders of titles listed be made to agree with the code in the Union List of Serials. Included now among the holders are some initials of individuals; these are confusing and too much subject to change to keep the list as accurate as it now is. Their omission would be no great loss, since there are few, if any, titles listed that are not also owned by libraries.

FRANK J. ROOS, JR.
Ohio State University

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

NABIH AMIN FARIS, ed., *Al-Hasan Ibn-Ahmad Al-Hamdani, "Al-Iklil"* (Princeton Oriental Texts, Vol. VII), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1940. \$5.00.

GUY M. WHIPPLE, ed., *Art in American Life and Education* (40th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education), Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co., 1941. Pp. xx+819+xxxvi. Paper \$3.00; bound \$4.00.

ANTHONY BLUNT, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. viii+168; 12 plates. \$2.75.

K. A. C. CRESWELL, *Early Muslim Architecture, Part II, A.D. 751-905*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. xxvi+415; 123 plates+261 figs. 10s. 10s.

LOUIS DANZ, *Personal Revolution and Picasso*, with a speculation by Merle Armitage, New York, Longmans Green & Co., 1941. Pp. 165; frontispiece. \$2.75.

ERNEST T. DEWALD, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, Vol. III: Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. 56; 73 plates. \$12.00.

Drawings by Japanese Children, Tokyo, Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (The Society for International Cultural Relations), 1940. 22 prints in color.

ALICE WILSON FROTHINGHAM, *Hispanic Glass*, New

York, Hispanic Society of America, 1941. Pp. xviii+204; 19 plates+100 figs. \$1.50.

YNEZ GHIRARDELLI, *The Artist, H. Daumier: Interpreter of History*, San Francisco, The Grabhorn Press, 1940. Pp. vi+78; 20 plates. \$15.00.

LOUISE WALLACE HACKNEY and YAU CHANG-FOO, *A Study of Chinese Paintings in the Collection of Ada Small Moore*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. xvi+279; 46 plates (5 in color). \$50.00.

ELEANOR M. MOORE, *Youth in Museums*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. Pp. ix+115; 12 plates. \$2.00.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1940. Pp. xxiv+86; 173 figs. \$2.00.

WILLIAM SENER RUSK, *William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor*, Baltimore, Norman T. A. Munder, 1939. Pp. xii+143; 24 plates.

RICHARD F. S. STARR, *Indus Valley Painted Pottery*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. xiii+106; 174 figs.+folding map. \$3.50.

MABEL MUNSON SWAN, *The Athenaeum Gallery, 1827-1873*, with introduction by Charles Knowles Bolton, Boston, The Boston Athenaeum, 1940. Pp. xiv+312; 10 plates. \$6.00.

THOMAS F. TALLMADGE, *Architecture in Old Chicago*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1941. Pp. xv+218; 28 plates. \$3.00.

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THE ART BULLETIN

Picasso and Iberian Sculpture	JAMES JOHNSON SWEENEY	191
Religious Influences on the Art of Jean-Louis Forain	JOSEPH C. SLOANE, JR.	199
An Ivory Casket from Southern India	ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY	207
A Steatite Plaque in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library	ALBERT S. ROE	213

NOTES

Bulfinch's Design for the Library of Congress	ROGER HALE NEWTON	221
---	-------------------	-----

EXHIBITION REVIEWS

The Exhibition of Spanish Painting at the Toledo Museum of Art	WALTER W. S. COOK	223
--	-------------------	-----

BOOK AND PERIODICAL REVIEWS

Recent Periodical Literature on 17th-Century Painting in the Netherlands and Germany	WOLFGANG STECHOW	225
Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, <i>Les Peintures de la Synagogue de Douza-Europos, 245-246 après J.-C.</i>	C. R. MOREY	231
K. A. C. Creswell, <i>Early Muslim Architecture, Part Two</i>	ERIC SCHROEDER	233
Emerson Howland Swift, <i>Hagia Sophia</i>	ANDREW S. KECK	237
Elizabeth Lawrence Mendell, <i>Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge</i>	DAVID M. SORR	243
Kenneth Romney Towndrow, <i>Alfred Stevens: A Biography with New Material</i>	W. G. CONSTABLE	247
Ynez Ghirardelli, <i>The Artist, H. Daumier: Interpreter of History</i>	HENRI MARCEAU	244
Lucia Moholy, <i>A Hundred Years of Photography</i>	BEAUMONT LE GALL	246

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED



FIG. 1. Pablo Picasso: Portrait of Gertrude Stein, Oil, 1906



FIG. 2. Paris, Louvre: Negro Attacked by a Lion. Ibo Stone Bas-Relief from Osuna



FIG. 3. Pablo Picasso: Self Portrait, Oil, 1906



FIG. 4. Pablo Picasso: Portrait of Allan Stein, Oil, 1906
Gonache, 1906

PICASSO AND IBERIAN SCULPTURE

BY JAMES JOHNSON SWEENEY

FOR many years it has been customary for writers on the work of Pablo Picasso to attribute to his encounter with African Negro sculpture certain unfamiliar features that began to appear in his work about 1906 or 1907. African Negro art is said to have caught the attention of the younger painters in Paris about 1905. Vlaminck and Derain were among the first amateurs in this field. Their lead was followed shortly by Matisse and others. About the same time in Germany a similar interest attracted the young painter of the Dresden *Brücke* group. It was not unreasonable, therefore, to conceive a affinity between these unfamiliar features of Picasso's work of 1907 and therewith African Negro art on the basis of certain formal characteristics which appeared in it a closer resemblance to that art than to any better-known source of inspiration. In the spring of 1939, however, a statement by Picasso on the subject, reported by Christian Zervos in the second volume of his comprehensive catalogue of Picasso's work,¹ threw quite another light on the development. In discussing with Zervos his large 1906-1907 canvas *Les Femmes d'Alger* (Fig. 9), Picasso declared that the attribution of these forms to the influence of Negro art was inexact. He stated that at the time of painting this picture he had not yet made the acquaintance of African Negro art. On the other hand, he said that his interests, about that period, were intensely centered on Iberian sculpture, and there, if anywhere, was the source of inspiration of the new forms which were then beginning to appear in his work.

Zervos' report of Picasso's statement for the forthcoming volume reads as follows:

"On a toujours prétendu . . . que les figures des *Femmes d'Alger*² dérivent directement de l'art de la Côte d'Ivoire ou du Congo français. La source est inexacte. Picasso a puisé ses inspirations dans les sculptures ibériques de la collection du Louvre. En ce temps, dans le milieu de Picasso, on faisait un grand cas de ces sculptures, et l'on se souvient peut-être encore du vol d'une de ces pièces commises au Louvre, affaire à laquelle Apollinaire fut à tort mêlé. Picasso qui, dès cette époque n'admettait pas que l'on put se passer, sans niaiserie, du meilleur que nous offre l'art de l'antiquité, avait renouvelé dans une vision personnelle, les aspirations profondes et perdurables de la sculpture ibérique. Dans les éléments essentiels de cet art il trouvait l'appui nécessaire pour transgresser les prohibitions académiques, dépasser les mesures établies, remettre toute légalité esthétique en question.

"Ces temps derniers Picasso me confiait que la critique ne s'est donné la peine d'examiner son tableau d'une façon attentive. Frappée des ressemblances très nettes qui existent entre les *Femmes d'Alger* et les sculptures ibériques, notamment du point de vue de la construction générale des têtes, de la forme d'oreilles, du dessin des yeux, elle n'aurait pas se donné dans l'erreur de faire dériver ce tableau de la statuaire africaine. L'artiste m'a formellement certifié qu'à l'époque où il peignit les *Femmes d'Alger* il ignorait l'art de l'Afrique noire. C'est quelque temps plus tard qu'il eut la révélation."

And when we look into the question of Iberian art and contemporary research in that field, we see at once a coincidence of dates which would tend to support the likelihood of a recently-awakened curiosity and interest on Picasso's part in this subject just antecedent to his painting the *Femmes d'Alger* in 1906 and 1907. We find that during the years 1903-1904, Pierre Paris published in Paris his *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, a work which still remains the best extant corpus of Iberian art. In 1903 excavations

1. Not yet published, because of the war; seen by the writer in proof.

2. The preparatory sketches of this work date from the winter of 1906-1907. The picture itself was completed in the spring of 1907.

were made at Osuna; and in 1906 the results were first published by Arthur Engel and Pierre Paris: *Un forteresse ibérique à Osuna*.³ Also in 1906, José Ramón Mélida gave a definite reply to the suspicion of forgery that had met the original discovery of the Iberian sculptures at Cerro de los Santos in his complete published examination: *Las esculturas del Cerro de los Santos, cuestión de autenticidad*.⁴ And in the same year H. W. Sanders published the first general résumé of the question of Iberian art to appear in English.⁵

Finally, in the summer of 1906, following a winter and spring in which he had been working on his famous portrait of Gertrude Stein, the same year in which the results of the excavations at Osuna were first published by Arthur Engel and Pierre Paris, Picasso made a trip to Spain. Miss Stein's autobiography tells us that Picasso completely painted out the face of her portrait before his departure and on his return to Paris repainted it entirely before his sitter had returned from her summer vacation in Italy.⁶

In repainting the portrait's face, Picasso gave it a formal, mask-like character in marked contrast to the rest of the picture, which he did not alter. And if we compare the features of this mask (Fig. 1), its "eyeballs larger than in life and with eyelids like the rim of a cup,"⁷ the line of its mouth, the shape of its head, and the formalized treatment of its hairline and nose, with the same features in the Iberian bas-relief *Negro Attacked by a Lion* (Fig. 2) installed in the Musée du Louvre that same year, we see at once a resemblance that tends to support Picasso's assertion that in the years 1906 and 1907 his interests were keenly centered on Iberian sculpture.

The face, as we see it today, represents a wide departure in treatment from that of the rest of the painting. In the rest of the work we have the earlier, more conventional idiom in which Picasso began the picture in 1905, and which he evidently outgrew before the end of the long series of sittings described by Gertrude Stein. We may assume that the style in which Picasso first painted the face is fairly represented in the portrait gouache of Miss Stein's nephew, Allan Stein, painted in the first months of 1906 (Fig. 4).⁸ However, the work on the Gertrude Stein portrait was long drawn out. And we already find in Picasso's *Self Portrait* (Fig. 3), painted later in the spring of 1906, an anticipation of the stylized features of the final Stein mask, perhaps not quite so severe, but with many points of resem-

3. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1906.

4. This had appeared serially in *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, VIII, 1903, 85-90; 470-85; IX, 1903, 140-48; 247-55; 365-72; X, 1904, 43-50; XI, 1904, 144-58; 276-87.

5. "Pre-Roman Bronze Votive Offerings from Despeñaperros in the Sierra Morena, Spain," *Archaeologia*, LX, 1906, 69-92.

As early as 1897, the Louvre had acquired what still remains its capital example of reputedly Iberian sculpture—the polychrome portrait-bust known as "The Lady of Elche." And in 1900, José Ramón Mélida published a long series of articles on the Antonio Vives collection of bronze votive figurines discovered at various Iberian sanctuaries (in the *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, IV, 1900, 27-32; 70-76; 154-64; 351-54; 404-10; 541-46; 624-27).

In other words, during the decade which immediately preceded the painting of Picasso's *Demoiselles d'Avignon*, the most rewarding research had been carried out in the field of Iberian art. During the same period the subject had received wide publicity both in Spain and France, thanks to the publication of the Osuna and Despeñaperros discoveries and to settlement of the question of forgery, which had obstinately recurred whenever pre-Roman Spanish art had been brought to light.

6. Cf. Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, New York, 1933. After a description of a series of sittings during the winter of 1905-1906, we read: "Spring was coming and the sittings were coming to an end. All of a sudden one day Picasso painted out the whole head. I can't see you any longer when I look, he said irritably. And so the picture was left like that."

"Nobody remembers being particularly disappointed or particularly annoyed at this ending to the long series of posings . . . Pablo and Fernande were going to Spain, she for the first time . . ." (pp. 64-65).

Then after a summer in Florence Miss Stein, according to her "biographer," came back to Paris: ". . . fairly full of excitement. In the first place she came back to her finished portrait. The day he returned from Spain Picasso sat down and out of his head painted the head in without having seen Gertrude Stein again. And when she saw it he and she were content. It was very strange but neither can remember at all what the head looked like when he painted it out . . ." (p. 70).

7. Pierson Dixon, *The Iberians of Spain*, London, 1940, p. 124.

8. Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, I, *Œuvres de 1895 à 1906*, Paris, 1932, Pl. CLXVII.

blance to the same Osuna relief in the Louvre (Fig. 2) which the Stein mask appears to reflect. And in his late 1905 *Woman Combing her Hair* (Fig. 5), we have a still more precocious hint of the sharp-cut features associable with the general style of much Iberian art, especially the votive bronze offerings found at the great shrines of Castellar de Santisteban and Despeñaperros (Fig. 7).

Therefore, Picasso's trip to Spain in the summer of 1906 was apparently not the original stimulus to his interest in Iberian sculpture. This had probably been already awakened that spring by the Louvre bas-reliefs from Osuna. And in all likelihood the cruder formal idiom of Iberian votive bronzes had caught his attention even earlier, since Pierre Paris had treated these expressions at considerable length, both textually and by reproduction, in his two-volume *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, published in 1903-1904. But, as we have seen, it was in the spring of 1906 that Iberian art had received its widest publicity in Paris thanks to the installation of the Osuna sculptures in the Louvre. Picasso's visit to Spain in the summer of 1906 probably gave an added warmth to this enthusiasm for Iberian art. And on his return to Paris this new influence was undoubtedly more at liberty to work its way into his own expression, thanks to the absence of the sitter for the portrait on which he then went back to work.

When we recall the date at which this canvas was begun—the autumn of 1905—and the fact that Picasso in the course of its production had apparently become dissatisfied with a conventional mode of expression and turned to a primitive one for his formal idiom, another aspect of the attitude underlying this step begins to suggest itself. In it we have a hint of what was taking place in Picasso's aesthetic outlook at the time, and why his direction had taken the turn it did before the completion of this canvas.

In 1905 the Autumn Salon featuring the *Fauve* group centered attention of the young painters in Paris on non-orthodox expressions, preferably primitive in character, which would encourage no ostentation of mere skill or technical virtuosity. The *Fauve* Salon was of course only a culmination of a tendency. Already in the opening years of the century the trend had swung from the free rhythmic distortions of Gauguin and Van Gogh to broader, less naturalistic expressions. But the *Fauves'* productions now embodied a declaration, not of art's independence of nature, but rather of its independence of the conventional representation of nature. For sanction and inspiration these painters looked to exotic, primitive, and folk arts, just as Gauguin and his associates had at Pont-Aven fifteen years earlier when they were developing their free decorative and expressionistic rhythms.

In view of this general attitude among the younger painters of the time, it is not difficult to understand how the recently publicized discoveries and researches in the field of Iberian art would have appealed to Picasso. Unorthodox in formal idiom, these sculptures gave the impression of a complete disregard for any refinements of manual dexterity, much less technical virtuosity. Pierre Paris in 1904 saw this. And the patronizing tone in which he wrote of the Iberian votive bronzes was just philistine enough to tempt a young painter of the *Fauve* period in Paris to make use of those features he considered clumsy and barbaric: "... ils sont égaux en naïveté maladroite, et manquent tous au même degré du sens de la beauté plastique comme d'habileté manuelle."⁹ Again, as early as 1888 these votive bronzes had been recognized by E. Hübner¹⁰ as products, in all likelihood, of the oldest native art of the Spanish peninsula.

9. *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, II, 154.

10. *La arqueología de España*, Barcelona, 1888, p. 265.

And the fact that these expressions were a part of Picasso's racial background or national heritage had a further importance. For nationalist and racist coloring played a powerful role throughout Europe at this time.

In such an atmosphere of anti-aesthetic revolt and nationalism it is easy to understand how the discovery of an art such as the Iberian would appeal to a young man as keenly alert to what was going on about him as Picasso has always been. The *Fauve* Salon of 1905 possibly awakened, but more likely strengthened in him an interest in unconventionally distorted, even crudely expressive forms. Here was an unfamiliar primitive art from his own country, perhaps already known to Picasso, but brought emphatically to his attention by the installation of the Osuna sculpture in the Louvre in 1906. In it, he felt that he had found the real sanction for overstepping academic bounds in line with the *Fauves'* ambition to disregard conventional decorum and demonstrate the emptiness of the accepted aesthetic canons. As a foreigner in Paris, it would have been natural for him to be impressed by the unusual attention paid that spring to this art of his own country. In the summer of 1906, with the discussion of this indigenous expression still fresh in his mind, he undoubtedly sought out concrete examples visible in the various Spanish museums. Then on his return we see him repainting the mask of the *Gertrude Stein* portrait in a spirit quite different from that of the rest of the canvas and completely different in treatment from that of the *Allan Stein* gouache portrait, painted in the early months of 1906.

Another point of interest in connection with Picasso's change of stylistic approach in the course of painting the portrait of Gertrude Stein and the formal resemblances between the final mask and the sculptures from Osuna in the Louvre, is the fact that in 1905 Picasso took up modeling in the round. In that year the dealer Ambroise Vollard had a series of bronzes cast for him. His first essays were definitely in the line of Rodin, as is evident from the fluid forms, the lack of precise definition, and the vague delineation of individual constituent volumes in *La Coiffure* (Fig. 8). His paintings at the outset of this venture into the sculptural field were flat and quietly decorative. The similarity in form between his bronze *Tête de Fou*¹¹ and the gouache *Le Fou* of 1905¹² is very evident. The *Woman Combing her Hair*, 1905 (or early 1906?) (Fig. 5) is obviously inspired by the bronze *La Coiffure* of 1905 (Fig. 8). But in comparing the former pair we find a softness in the form of the gouache that suggests a close translation from one medium to another, whereas in the latter pair the painting shows a striking gain over the bronze: the firm contours, bold simplifications, and formal stylization of the oils make the bronze seem soft and uncertain by comparison. Then if we turn to a small Iberian votive bronze of the type represented by one from Despeñaperros, now in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid (Fig. 7), we feel a certain kinship with Picasso's painting in respect to clarity, definition, volume relationships, and perhaps even a naïveté which we do not find in Picasso's 1905 bronze, even though its subject is the same as that of the painting. In fact the relationships which we recognize between this painting of 1905, or early 1906, and Iberian art suggest that Picasso's interest in three-dimensional expression, indicated by these 1905 essays in modeling, may have called his attention to the primitive bronzes from his own country.

We also perceive a distinct suggestion of classical influences in certain late 1905 canvases¹³—an elegance of line and the cool tones of fresco. Perhaps this was an echo of the influence of Puvis de Chavannes which had so strongly affected the *avant-garde* of the

11. Zervos, *op. cit.*, p. 100, Pl. CXLVGL.

12. *Ibid.*, I, Pl. CXXV.

13. E.g. *ibid.*, I, Pl. CL.



FIG. 5. New York, Ma

Woman Reclining, 1920-1925



FIG. 6. Iberian Bronze from Santa Fe era Jaén



FIG. 7. Iberian Bronze from Despeñaperros



FIG. 8. Pseudo. Woman Combing her Hair, Bronze, 1920-1925



FIG. 9. New York, Museum of Modern Art: Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, Oil, 1906-1907



FIG. 11. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional: Stone Figures from Cerro de los Santos, ca. 300-200 B.C.

'eighties and 'nineties in France. But it is also possible that Picasso, in looking for a classical tonic for the almost decadent formal delicacy which came to dominate his work in the late Rose Period, had had recourse to the collections in the Louvre. Even if the original stimulus was given by the work of Puvis de Chavannes, the actual classical figures in the Louvre may have been a spur to his interests in the emphatic suggestion of three-dimensionality which began to appear in his work perhaps late in 1905, and certainly in the spring of 1906. His acceptance of classical influences in all probability opened the door for a gradual transition to the more archaic, or provincially retarded, idiom of the Iberian bas-reliefs and cruder bronzes, just at the period when archaic Greek sculpture was beginning to receive an exaggerated homage after a long period of disregard in favor of classical Greek expression.

All these tendencies in Picasso's work of 1905 and 1906 are particularly well illustrated by his canvas *Two Nudes* (Fig. 10). Here we have the culmination of gradual change which, as Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., points out,¹⁴ had been taking place on the plane of sentiment from the bathos of the Blue Period through the comparatively impersonal masks of the *Gertrude Stein* and the *Self Portraits* of 1906. There had been a constantly increasing sculptural solidity of form in his figure style since 1905. And the *Two Nudes* painted in 1906 is the logical outgrowth of both these tendencies. In it we have a complete denial of sentiment that may even have its roots in the hieratic passivity of much of Iberian art, a flouting of conventional ideals of beauty in keeping with the *Fauve* attitudes of the period, and a concrete formal link with Iberian art in the squat proportions of its figures that recall such sculptures as those of Cerro de los Santos (Fig. 11).¹⁵ The faces of the *Two Nudes*, however, are perhaps closer in appearance to the more indigenous types of the Iberian votive bronzes than to the heads of the Cerro de los Santos figures.

From such considerations it becomes evident that the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* of 1906-1907 (Fig. 9) does not represent any specific turning point in Picasso's work so much as a large-scale embodiment of various influences which had been working on the painter's expression up to this time. And in it we see the first organization of several different aspects of the Iberian figures into a single large composition.

The final version of the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* evolved from several widely varying studies. The male figure carrying a skull who enters on the left in the earlier studies has been replaced by a female figure pulling back the curtain. This figure, as Mr. Barr points out,¹⁶ has a clear kinship with the left-hand figure of the *Two Nudes* (Fig. 10), "but more directly borrowed from an earlier composition of 1906" (Zervos, *op. cit.*, I, Pls. CLXV and CLXVI).¹⁷ And while the figure, as taken over into the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*, has lost much of its squatness, it has retained many of its other Iberian features. These are strikingly evident in all the figures in the composition, save perhaps the two farthest to the right. We readily remark a similarity in general construction of the heads to that in such Iberian examples as shown in Figures 6 and 7, a treatment of the eyes similar to that described by Piero Dixon as characteristic of Iberian art, "larger than in life, with lids like the rim of a cup"; and a similarity in the form of the ears to that of the Osuna bas-relief in Figure 2

14. *Picasso: Forty Years of his Art*, New York, 1939, p. 59.

15. In spite of the squat proportions of the figures in this canvas, the different treatment of the legs from that of African art has always militated against any full attribution of African Negro influence here, since the African figures almost universally give a squatting rather than "squat"

impression. For in African sculpture the legs of figures are almost universally slightly bent, and the buttocks are commonly steatopygous. Neither of these characteristics is evident in the *Two Nudes*.

16. *Op. cit.*, p. 60, discussion of Pls. 68-69, 70.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

From this point onward we begin to see many different influences contributing in combination to Picasso's work. On the one hand the work of Cézanne began to open up new vistas of structural interest: the Autumn Salons of 1905 and 1906 each included ten of his oils; and the 1907 Salon gave a memorial exhibition of fifty-six of his pictures. It is also likely that Picasso made the acquaintance of Negro art very soon after painting *Les Femmes d'Alger*. In the statement reported by Zervos, Picasso merely says that the completion of that picture preceded his acquaintance with Negro art, and he admits he was very much impressed by African sculpture on his initial encounter with it. Yet even as late as 1907, in a canvas such as the *Woman in Yellow* (Fig. 15), we have another extremely assertive recrudescence of Iberian influence, perhaps an even clearer exemplification than in his earlier work. The pose of the *Woman in Yellow* is distinctly reminiscent of such a votive bronze as that from Despeñaperros (Fig. 14). In each we find a similar treatment of the eyes, nose, and ears, as well as a similar geometrical convention for rendering the hair. Still later, in Picasso's 1909 series of figures and heads (Figs. 12 and 13), we frequently find equally close resemblances to the drastic physiognomic simplifications of certain Iberian votive bronzes such as that reproduced in Figure 16.

That the reminiscences of Iberian sculpture in Picasso's work should be mistaken for influence of African Negro art is not strange. Stylistically these two idioms have much in common. In both we have a predominantly sculptural expression characterized by a primary interest in an organization of simplified volumes and broad surfaces with little regard for conventional naturalistic forms. It is no more strange that certain partially assimilated Iberian influences in the work of Picasso should be regarded as attributable to Hellenistic sources. For the art of the Iberian peoples, as we know it from what has come to light during excavations of the last seventy-five years, is mainly provincial and imitative. In it we may recognize three principal strains: an indigenous Iberian element, a Greek element, and an Oriental one. In the statuary the technique is usually Greek, the adornment commonly Oriental, and "the whole conception interpreted in a purely Iberian manner by artists who, ready to learn from Greeks and borrow from Carthaginians, adhered firmly to certain votive canons of art."¹⁸ This mixture of Greek and Carthaginian influences is primarily due to the fact that the *floruit* of Iberian art as we know it coincided with that period in which Greece and Carthage, and later Greece again, controlled the western Mediterranean, in other words, between the middle of the sixth century and 200 B.C.

This belated Hellenic note is most assertive in Iberian stone sculpture. The bronze votive figurines found at the great sanctuaries offer a less mixed character. Possibly these were intended to portray the suppliants themselves rather than the priestesses. We may assume that the long faces and pronounced features found among the bronze figurines probably come much closer to portraiture than do the more ambitious stone carvings. "These latter, for example the statues of Cerro de los Santos, do not seem to aim at being realistic. They were probably intended to represent priestesses to whom a more abstract hieratic depiction was probably regarded as being due. As a result they are more like formal versions of early classical Greek models so far as the features are concerned." And "the same may be said of the sculptured reliefs from Osuna. Though at Osuna the native element is considerably more to the fore."¹⁹

Nevertheless, as Pierson Dixon points out,²⁰ the Iberian metal-founders sometimes

18. Pierson Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

followed the styles of Greek artists so closely that the actual Greek model can be identified. In the statue called *Aphrodite with the Dove* from the Phocaeen colony of Massalia, or some similar piece of East Greek statuary, we may discern the prototype of the Iberian figure from Santa Elena, Jaén, of a female suppliant offering a dove (Fig. 6). In Iberian art we also frequently find a synthesis of oriental influences with a provincially degenerate classicism; in fact these features are so marked in the famous *Lady of Elche* in the Louvre that it has been regarded by certain critics as Cypriote. And whether the reason may be the possible community of ethnic roots or merely the result of a similar technical approach, many Iberian sculptures (for example, Fig. 16)²¹ strikingly recall African Negro carvings, especially those of the Dogon region of the Upper Niger in Sudan. Occasionally there is even a reminiscence of the characteristic pear-shaped head of the Gabun region.²²

However, the importance of Picasso's statement regarding the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* does not lie in the question whether that picture was influenced by Iberian or African Negro art. It is rather in the fact that here for the first time we are provided with a thoroughly defensible source of those archaistic sculptural influences which have always been recognized as marking his work of 1905 and 1906. The source of these influences was heretofore a subject of loose speculation. Now with Picasso's statement regarding Iberian art, and particularly his interest in those pieces from Osuna which were installed in the Louvre in 1906, we have the foundation for a sound attribution.

It is true that the masks of the two figures on the extreme right of the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* remain disturbingly dissimilar in form and treatment to the faces of the other figures in the composition and at the same time more reminiscent of certain Negro masks. In them we have two elements which differ as widely from the rest of the composition as does the final Stein mask from the rest of that portrait. In none of the compositional studies for the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* do we see a distinct indication of anticipated disparity of treatment between the masks of the two figures on the extreme right and the others in the picture. They all appear similarly conceived. We recall Picasso's statement that he did not encounter Negro sculpture until after the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* had been painted, but that his eventual encounter made a great impression on him. The *Demoiselles d'Avignon*, like the Stein portrait, was a long time in work; it undoubtedly remained in Picasso's atelier for a considerable while after completion. With Picasso's treatment of the Stein portrait in mind, might we not ask ourselves: is it possible that the key to the enigmatically negroid characteristics of the two right-hand masks, in spite of Picasso's statement to Zervos, might lie in an analogous treatment? Could Picasso have completed the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* along the lines of the various compositional sketches with which we are familiar, before having encountered African Negro art; then, after making the acquaintance of Negro art, could he have painted in the two masks on the right, much as he did the Stein mask on his return from Spain?

But that is a minor issue. Picasso's statement gives us the evidence that in 1906 he was interested in Iberian sculpture and in specific examples which we can locate in the Musée du Louvre. Again, through his testimony a new light is thrown on Picasso's curiously personal assimilation of the mixed primitivizing and nationalist *Fauve* influences, and the important results of these tendencies for his subsequent formal development. Through it we are provided with a solution of the long-standing enigma of the revised mask in the *Gertrude Stein*

21. Also Raymond Lantier, *Bronzes votifs ibériques*, Paris, 1935, Pl. XIII, figs. 153, 148, 149.

22. *Ibid.*, Pl. xxviii, no. 376.

portrait (Fig. 1), in the evident relationship between its stylized features and those of the Iberian bas-relief from Osuna, *Negro Attacked by a Lion* (Fig. 2) which was installed in the Louvre in the same year, 1906, and which Picasso claims caused such a stir at the time in his immediate circle. And finally, his statement points out to us a new source of formal inspiration in Picasso's work which is not limited to the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* but has periodically evinced itself in a more or less mixed, or attenuated form, from 1905 or thereabouts, down to the present day.²³

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23. Compare the features of *Two Seated Women*, 1920 (Barr, *op. cit.*, Pl. 155) with those of Figure 2, and the plaster head in *The Studio*, 1925 (*op. cit.*, Pl. 192) with the *Bronze Warrior* from Despcñaperros (M. Aubert, *Nouvelle*

histoire universelle de l'art, Paris, 1932, 1, fig. 43); or Picasso's *Acrobat*, Jan. 18, 1930 with the Iberian *Acrobat* from Osuna in the Musée du Louvre.



FIG. 12. Picasso: Figure Study, Oil, 1909



FIG. 13. Picasso: Figure Study, Oil, 1920



FIG. 14. Iberian Votive Bronze



FIG. 15. Picasso: Woman in Yellow, Oil, 1907



FIG. 16. Iberian Votive Bronze



FIG. 1. Forain: Christ Carrying the Cross



FIG. 2. Forain: The Return from Calvary

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES ON THE ART OF JEAN-LOUIS FORAIN

BY JOSEPH C. SLOANE, JR.

ONE of the most significant characteristics of the development of modern European art has been the comparative absence of religious subject matter.¹ The reasons for this are not hard to find, and a gradual weakening of religious inspiration in the representational arts may be traced back to the Renaissance. The result has been to make really modern examples of biblical art seem rare and unusual. The work produced for the Church, though large in quantity, has been uniformly pale and lifeless, and has not attracted the attention of important or progressive artists. It is thus a matter of more than passing interest to find genuinely beautiful and profound pictures dealing with the themes which were once the mainstay of western art. The religious etchings and lithographs of Jean-Louis Forain constitute just such a body of material, and although they have already received the critical acclaim which is their due, little attention has been devoted to the problem of their origin. Exceptions are interesting in any period of art history, and this particular one contributes, by contrast, to an understanding of the course of modern art in general.

To one familiar with Forain's artistic career prior to 1909, the sudden appearance of a considerable number of New Testament subjects seems surprising,² yet the depth of feeling which they exhibit seems to rule out any explanation based upon a simple desire on the part of the artist to experiment in a field hitherto unexplored (Fig. 1). It is difficult to understand how a man who for over thirty years had been recording in biting terms the less admirable side of the lives of his fellow men, should suddenly have begun to produce scenes which unquestionably exhibit a very real and personal religious sentiment. Most critics have attributed this change to some new spiritual attitude and have gone no further, but the reasons for it can be at least partially set forth, and the explanation is important both for an understanding of Forain and of the age in which he was living.

Though judgments vary concerning the merit of his art, most critics agree that he had unusual insight into human nature, and it is this quality which makes his biblical scenes both moving and out of the ordinary. Customary religious iconography has been largely ignored in favor of a fresh and even naïve approach to each subject;³ moments are chosen which are not those usually depicted, and yet they are so full of human significance that the spectator wonders why they have not been used oftener (Fig. 4). The *Supper at Emmaus* (Fig. 3) is a very old theme indeed, but Forain was the first to represent the moment just *after* Christ has vanished (Fig. 5). In the *Woman Taken in Adultery*, he does not show the scene where she is set before Jesus, but the cruel prelude in which she is haled along between two loutish captors, her feet dragging on the ground. *Le Calvaire* does not show the Cross, but the servants of Joseph of Arimathea coming to take down the dead Christ (Fig. 2).⁴ It is this originality of approach combined with a very real mastery of the medium that makes

1. The author wishes to express his gratitude to Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, whose fine Forain collection was the inspiration for this paper, and also to Mr. F. B. Hubachek for material which would otherwise have been unobtainable.

2. However, his friends were apparently not astonished. Cf. Marcel Guérin, *J.-L. Forain aquafortiste*, Paris, 1912, p. v; also C. Dodgson, *Forain*, New York, 1936, p. 50.

3. Forain is at times indebted to Daumier, as in the case of some of the versions of *Retour de l'école*, *Podigue* and *Repas à Emmaüs* (Fig. 3), a fact which has been frequently noted along with the influence of Daumier on his style at this period.

4. For a more detailed discussion of this scene see note 25.

these plates important and moving works of art, perhaps the finest that Forain produced in a very long career as a graphic artist. He had produced a few religious scenes previously, but they are not listed in Guérin's catalogue and apparently did not occupy much of his time. The great period of his religious inspiration occurred from 1909 to 1912, and though he painted some of these same themes after the war, the pictures seem to have been based on his earlier plates. Before the war all his religious works seem to have been either etchings, lithographs, or studies for the final plates.

Forain's reputation was made in the 'eighties as a draughtsman for the Parisian journals. His pictures dealt with the life of the day among many sorts of people—shopkeepers, ballet girls, "polite" society, demi-mondaines, waiters, gamblers, and a host of others, all of whom received the same merciless and penetrating treatment from his lithographic crayon.⁵ In almost every case the treatment is harsh, acid, and uncompromising. His girls are bony with straggling hair, his men paunchy and leering. The entire atmosphere of the world represented in these scenes is one of a pessimistic skepticism which amounts at times to complete disillusionment. Claude Roger-Marx says: "Un pessimisme systématique, un anarchisme de principe, le plaisir de tout sacrifier à une boutade, voilà qui est dans l'air de 1880."⁶ Forain himself, writing in 1889, said of his program: "Conter la vie de tous les jours, montrer le ridicule de certaines douleurs, la tristesse de bien des joies et constater rudement quelquefois par quelle façon hypocrite le vice tend à se manifester en nous."⁷ His style and subject matter at this time show the definite influence of Degas and Toulouse-Lautrec, but his comment is always sharper than theirs and his cruel objectivity reveals a world without hope and unleavened by the nobler emotions.

The first critic to speak favorably of Forain's art was Joris-Karl Huysmans, who at that time was in the forefront of the naturalistic movement.⁸ It is particularly interesting that at the moment when this praise was first forthcoming (1880) Forain was by no means the skilful draughtsman he was to become; in truth, his art showed very little promise of any kind. Nevertheless there was something in it which appealed to Huysmans—a feeling for the life of Paris in its most material and sensuous aspects. In his review of the "Exposition des Indépendants" in *L'art moderne* for 1883,⁹ there is a description of a watercolor, seen in the Salon of the year before, representing a man, a woman, and a waiter in a *cabinet particulier* which shows that the critic had an instant appreciation of all the small touches, the little effects, which gave the scene its character—even to smells! "Comme elle sent, à plein nez, l'extrait concentré de boulevard, cette aquarelle dont la couleur s'anime et s'injecte de lumière, le soir . . . Eh bien! dans cette aquarelle comme dans une autre, dont je parlerai plus loin, M. Forain a résolu ce problème de suivre la vérité pas à pas. . ."¹⁰ The conclusion is inescapable that the art of this immature and relatively unknown artist struck a very responsive note in the author of *Marthe* (1876) and *Les croquis parisiens*. "M. Forain est l'un des peintres de la vie moderne les plus incisifs que je connaisse."¹¹ Forain, in fact, did the frontispiece for the first book and a series of plates for the second, though in neither

5. He made a number of etchings from 1873 to 1886 and then abandoned the medium until 1909.

6. Claude Roger-Marx in "Les peintres de la vie de société. 1.—Forain," *L'amour de l'art*, III, 1933, 54.

7. Roger-Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 54. Quoted from *Fifre*, 1889.

8. See Gustave Geffroy, "J.-L. Forain. L'homme et l'œuvre," *L'art et les artistes*, N. S. IV, 1921-22, 54-58. The first mention of Forain appears in Huysmans' review of the

Salon of 1879.

9. Reprinted in J.-K. Huysmans, *L'art moderne*, ed. Crès, Paris, 1929, pp. 122 ff.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 124. The subject of the *cabinet particulier* had a strong appeal for Forain who did it over and over in various forms but always with the same atmosphere of cruel boredom and sleazy indecency.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

case were the results particularly happy. From this association, however, grew a friendship which was to last until Huysmans' death in 1907.

There is a striking similarity in the work of the two men at this period which in itself goes far toward explaining why their acquaintance turned to friendship. The seamy life that appealed to Forain held a fascination for Huysmans who made a thorough investigations of at least parts of it, mainly the more vicious ones, since, as he said later, "La vertu étant, il faut bien l'avouer, ici-bas une exception, était par cela même écartée du plan naturaliste. Ne possédant pas le concept catholique de la déchéance et de la tentation, nous ignorions de quels efforts, de quelles souffrances elle est issue; l'héroïsme de l'âme, victorieuse des embûches, nous échappait. . . . Restaient les vices."¹² This passage could easily apply to Forain as well. Huysmans was finally entirely disgusted with his own materialism and was stifled by the confines of a world of the senses that seemed to have no purpose or meaning. The book which most clearly sums up his final pessimism is *À Rebours*, whose famous hero, Des Esseintes, tried vainly to escape entirely into a fastness of his own devising, but was later forced back into the painful world outside. Since it was clear that Des Esseintes was, in large part, speaking for the author, one critic wrote: "Après un tel livre, il ne reste plus à l'auteur qu'à choisir entre la bouche d'un pistolet ou les pieds de la croix."¹³ The accuracy of this judgment was amply borne out by Huysmans' subsequent conversion to Catholicism.¹⁴ Although his later books dealt with more or less frankly religious subjects, the author was the same man as before, the difference being that his sensitivity was now directed toward different objects interpreted through a complex form of sensory symbolism. Through this approach he found the spiritual direction which his earlier life had lacked.

There is good reason to believe that Forain shared some of the pessimism which finally turned his friend toward the Church. Since no artist can be thus autobiographical, it is difficult to tell how extreme this feeling may have been, but from later remarks one can guess that he felt that his life at this time was not an altogether worthy one.¹⁵

A broad view of the art of the late nineteenth century shows a distinct turn away from naturalism and realism, a tendency to go beyond visual appearances or to retreat into a world of the imagination—even to get away physically from ordinary society altogether, as in the case of Gauguin. A distaste for representation as such first becomes marked at this time, and from it stems a whole host of movements which are commonly referred to as "modern" and which have a common characteristic in being very little concerned with ordinary visual experience. Although Forain's career covers a period from almost the beginning of Impressionism to the heyday of Surrealism, he never showed the slightest tendency to follow the new paths of anti-representationalism or metaphysical formalism. In his reminiscences he makes no real mention of the artists in these schools or of their work,¹⁶ and certainly his own style shows no influence from theirs. On the contrary, at the time when Cubism was at its height, he was turning to Rembrandt and Daumier for a style capable of expressing his ideas about Christ, Lourdes, and the law courts. If modern artists found an escape from an overdose of materialism in fields where representation and

12. *À Rebours*, Paris, ed. Crès, 1929, "Préface écrite vingt ans après le roman," p. viii.

13. Barbey d'Aurévilly in *Le constitutionnel*, July 28, 1884. Quoted in Huysmans, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

14. Apparently Huysmans began to move in this direction at the time of writing *À Rebours* (1884), but the conversion was not complete until several years later.

15. See the letter quoted below, p. 203, from Forain to Huysmans: ". . . the dirty life of Paris which prevents you from pulling yourself together"; "I feel that it all hangs on the evil bent of my past life and the cowardice of my present one."

16. Léandre Vaillat, *En écoutant Forain*, Paris, 1929.

visual appearances were no longer preëminent, that escape was not for Forain. The question at once arises as to whether he needed an escape at all, either into another type of art altogether, or into a more genuinely religious life than one of merely routine orthodoxy, the course that had been chosen by his friend Huysmans.

The available evidence on the matter is scanty, and somewhat inconclusive, but it points to the fact that around the turn of the century he went through some form of religious experience which left a permanent mark upon his life, and, furthermore, that his guide and companion through at least a part of it was Huysmans.¹⁷ It might be an exaggeration to say that it was a conversion, since apparently Forain had always been a practicing Catholic,¹⁸ but at this time he apparently became deeply aware of some new religious conviction which, judging from his pictures, was more personal than orthodox.

On the day before Christmas in the year 1900, Huysmans, who was living in the town of Ligugé (Vienne) in very close association with the monks of the Benedictine monastery there, received a telegram from Forain saying that he was arriving that same day, a piece of news which, according to Paul Morisse, caused Huysmans to exclaim, "Qu'est-ce que cela signifie?"¹⁹ The answer is contained in a letter from Huysmans to a friend written two days later: "Forain est arrivé et s'est confessé au P. Besse; il a communiqué dans la nuit de Noël. . . . Qui était à genoux derrière lui? Joris-Karl Huysmans et Louis le Cardonnel!"²⁰ From this it would seem that Forain came all the way from Paris to spend Christmas with his pious friend and attend mass and confession.

Following this visit came an exchange of letters which tell eloquently of the state of Forain's mind at this period:²¹

Huysmans to Forain:

Ligugé (Vienne), Maison Notre-Dame
January, 1901

My dear friend,

I well understand your hesitations and the moments of blindness which come when one thinks that with the means at hand he must, so to speak, approach a new art. I have been through it, asking myself how the implement between my fingers could be used to write pages the exact opposite of those which I had written up to that time. For one must preserve one's implement, blunt it or sharpen it as need be, but keep it, otherwise nothing is possible. Fundamentally that slowly makes itself clear with the aid of prayers. Personally, I have found a great deal in the poor churches, at twilight, when there are only a few very humble people praying there. There one finds expressions of simplicity and of such a lively faith that they enrapture and truly help you. For basically, that which is called beauty does not exist in the sense in which we have so long understood it. Once in my life have I seen radiant beauty, divine beauty, the only one. It was a rather ugly woman who came to see me at my home one evening. I saw her for ten minutes and will never see her again, since the next day she entered a convent of strict observance.

For a moment I was involved by a priest in the life of this surprising creature. My friend, at my

17. A number of people seem to have suspected this, but as an old man Forain denied it. Cf. Vaillat, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-90.

18. Marcel Guérin, *J.-L. Forain aquafortiste*, p. v.

19. Frédéric Lefèvre, *Entretiens sur J.-K. Huysmans*, Paris, 1931, p. 24. The anecdote is related by Paul Morisse, a friend who spent a whole year with Huysmans at Ligugé. The date given is December 24, 1901, but this seems to be an error, for Lucien Descaves, another friend of the writer and president of the Huysmans Club, says: "*L'oblat*, c'est Huysmans à Ligugé, de la fin de l'année 1899 à la fin du mois de septembre 1901" (*L'oblat* par J.-K. Huysmans, Paris, 1929, "Note," vol. II, p. 279). Since he too tells of Forain's presence at Christmas mass, it would have had to

be in 1900. Morisse, who was merely reminiscing at a meeting of the Huysmans Club, may easily have made the mistake.

20. L. Descaves, *op. cit.*, p. 280. Louis le Cardonnel was a poet of some note, a friend of Mallarmé, who, in 1896, became a priest (apparently another conversion) and in 1900 entered as a novice into the Benedictine monastery at Ligugé.

21. These letters are translated from the French text, printed in Vaillat, *op. cit.*, facsimile beginning after p. 190, and pp. 191-98. The letters are there given in the wrong order, since the letter from Forain to Huysmans logically comes between the other two. The correct sequence is given by the heading dates as well as the contents of the letters themselves.

house she spoke to me of the joy of sacrifice, the happiness of suffering—and this woman who was so ugly was radiant. Her eyes became indescribable, but how put that into words? True beauty is not in forms, in features, since a surge of the soul changes them; religion ennobles everything. I have sometimes seen the heaving shoulders of women weeping at Notre-Dame-des-Victoires. Nothing was more moving. What pictorial dramas would equal this movement of grief imploring the Virgin?

Patience is necessary . . . wait. The good Le Cardonnell with whom I have talked this over prays to this end at mass. You can certainly believe one thing, that is that if God has *brought you back to Him*,²² as He has done for me, it is in order that, according to the limits of our humble powers, we may be useful to Him; so He will give you the means as He has to me. We can only be of some use to Him in art, therefore He will help us and put us in a position to accomplish our work of thankfulness and expiation. Think of art as a lever, just the force which is lacking in the Church; whether its unhappy children understand it or not is of little consequence. It is a force, it converts more easily than the discourse of a preacher in the pulpit. Do we know exactly, ourselves, what germs of faith certain primitive pictures have been able to inoculate in us? But, you will say, all that doesn't show me the path to follow. Ah! no, that is beyond us. Pray and you will be helped. It is not by human means that you will be given the formula. It is very certain that in anticipation of the evil times through which we are going, and the worse ones, perhaps, which we shall see, *God makes the wind of conversion blow and prepares defenders*.²³ It is not, surely, in order to abandon them. This observation alone ought to give courage.

Nothing new here, except a magnificent celebration of Epiphany, with dinner in the cloister to eat the traditional cake pontifically blessed at mass. The celebration was a little spoiled by a terrible, fierce cold. In the early morning I walked down in the darkness under a sky full of stars, but how cold they were!

I work like a maniac from six in the morning to nine at night, only taking time off for meals and services. Ligugé is empty. Father Serre is in Paris, *perhaps you have already seen him?* The Leclaires are still at Vincennes. I live in the most complete solitude. It reminds me a little of my time—the best of my life even though I suffered martyrdom there—at La Trappe.²⁴

Goodbye, dear friend, be of good courage, pray for me as I pray for you and very affectionately,
HUYSMANS.

These are clearly words from one who knows the blessings of conversion to a friend who is in the throes of the doubt and despair which seem to attend the passage over into this new state. The letter obviously indicates that the two had discussed these problems earlier, perhaps when Forain was in Ligugé at Christmas time, and also implies that Huysmans had a full and intimate knowledge of his friend's aspirations and uncertainties. It is also clear that Forain had the definite intention of devoting at least a part of his art to the service of religion—a new and uncharted path for it. The answering letter corroborates this and shows the artist already struggling with a specific problem in the new field:

February 24, 1901

My dear Huysmans,

Every day I think of writing to you and have been hindered by my daily work and above all by the dirty life of Paris which prevents you from pulling yourself together, which makes you believe you will be bored if you don't lead it. I have looked for a religious picture but I haven't yet been able to arrive at the composing of it as I wish and feel it ought to be.

I would like to do the departure of the Holy Virgin after the Entombment. I imagine that everything being finished, she withdraws accompanied by St. John and the Holy Women, and the henchmen or workers of Joseph of Arimathea greet her and uncover as she passes. . . .

22. The italics used in the letters are those of the present writer.

23. Undoubtedly a reference to the current conflict between the Catholic Church and the Third Republic. The "congregations" were put under the authority of the government, and, under the ministry of Emile Combes, in 1903

a number of orders were forced to dissolve, among them the one at Ligugé with which Huysmans had been so closely associated.

24. Huysmans had entered this monastery for a rather brief period in 1892.

I will see in what effect, in what atmosphere, in what tonality that ought to be done. But that is all. I see neither the style of the faces nor their expressions. It is there that I feel myself without power, without conviction, and very small, too inadequate, to conceive and bring to completion a work which ought to be so worthy, I dare not say, so beautiful.

I feel that it all hangs on the evil bent of my past life and the cowardice of my present one.

My dear Huysmans, pray and have prayers said that I may come out of it.

Yours very affectionately,

FORAIN.

Apparently Forain was still far from a final solution of his religious problem, but there is no question of his anxiety to find it, his dependence on Huysmans, or the humble and penitent frame of mind in which he was laboring. The plate illustrating this scene did not appear until 1909 and it is astonishing that the idea remained in his mind for such a long period without finding expression. Guérin speaks of an earlier version,²⁵ but gives no date and does not list or reproduce it in any of the volumes of his catalogue, so it is impossible to judge whether or not a version was produced at the time the letter was written, or at least shortly thereafter. Even if such an earlier version was made, there is no doubt of the fact that the famous group of biblical scenes, of which the extant *Calvaire* is one, was not produced until eight years later, a delay which is peculiar but for which a possible explanation will be given later.

The last letter in this series is Huysmans' reply giving encouragement to the worried artist:

Ligugé, Maison Notre-Dame
March 1, 1901

My dear friend,

Your idea seems very good to me of the greeting of the workmen to the mournful pilgrims who are leaving now that Jesus is in the tomb. The difficulty, you say, is to create the type of the Virgin.

Yes, it isn't easy, above all at that moment, for the Virgin has changed. If the Cross has taken her son from her, at the same time the Cross has borne her thousands of others. The word of Christ: "Woman, behold your son," has made of her, from that moment, the new Eve, the mother of many poor fellows and villains. The exchange is sinister and this maternity was the frightful compensation for the birth at Bethlehem which was painless, since it was not in the usual manner of those who have sinned.

But I think there is no need to occupy oneself with so many things which do not enter in the least into the domain of painting, and (I think) that one must go about it more simply. You can make the Virgin old or young, as you will, the two are equally true, naturally and symbolically. As for St. John, I find that the painter who up until now has rendered him best, for he has given him an expression of filial deference, very notable in its grief, is Quentin Metsys of Antwerp. It is worth studying. Braun has excellent photographs of it. Perhaps you may find a hint there, a springboard which will help you to make something different, of course, but just the same a springboard. I am certainly of your opinion on the subject of the Louvre. The religious feeling is uneasy there; one might believe that that is a result of the uprooting of these canvases, taken from their proper place in a chapel, but just the same, the Roger van der Weydens hold their own in a salon which has no resemblance to the

25. *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. v. Guérin is inclined to think that the Dreyfus case had been partly responsible for Forain's new attitude, but the actual troubles of the Church would be a more obvious external influence in 1901. A comparison of the finished plates with the description in the letter indicates that Forain changed his mind somewhat (Fig. 2). The group of the Virgin, St. John, and Mary Magdalen(?) has been reduced to a position of rather minor importance and, indeed, does not seem to be "passing" but standing still. In the later versions particularly, the workmen seem to be standing before the Cross, unseen at the

left, rather than following the movement of the Virgin. The man holding the ladder in the second plate, first state (Guérin 59), is looking up, as is also the Holy Woman at the left of the Virgin's group. These gestures are changed from the earlier versions and suggest that Christ is still on the Cross and the moment shown is that just before the *Descent*. It may also be noted that the ladder, which figures in several of the *Via Crucis* scenes, is also shown in some of the *Pietà* plates, and is represented as having been left leaning against the Cross.

atmosphere of a sanctuary. There is evidently something else there which is difficult to analyse.

As for the work you are contemplating, it won't be incubated in a day. There is nothing to do but wait and pray. The light will break some fine morning *like conversion*, you will have it one day at Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, which in all Paris is the church where one feels the projections of the soul, where one notices inadvertent and sometimes beautiful gestures. All that can't be invented, the chief thing is to prepare oneself for it as well as possible by prayer and to exercise the virtue, not easily acquired, of patience!

I am, at the moment, bewildered by a huge job on the proofs of my book on St. Lydwine; I eat it, I drink it, I sleep it. I only go to mass in the morning and shut myself up without budging until night. It'll go on like that, I am afraid, until the middle of April, supposing that they can bring it out on the 15th as Stock wants.

How disgusting to chew over again phrases which stagger, in the setting of a dead century, and to try to animate a saint whom, after all, one pictures rather poorly, although I have lived near her for a long time.

Well!

It is raining and almost mild. Le Cardonnell has had the grippe. Father Serre is well, *but he is going to answer you or has written you already*. The Leclaires all want to be remembered to you and I send you, dear friend, a warm handclasp—

HUYSMANS.

It would be interesting to have the further letters in this series but they do not seem to be obtainable, at least on this side of the Atlantic. The general nature of the situation, however, is clear, and by reading a little between the lines much more can be guessed at. The references to Father Serre point to the fact that Forain was receiving help from him as well as Huysmans, that the artist was actually going through an important and fundamental religious experience in which his friend played a considerable but probably not solitary part.

The etchings and lithographs under discussion began to appear in 1909, and were accompanied by an almost equally poignant series dealing with Lourdes. Forain told Vaillat that he had been there often, though he does not mention whether or not he ever accompanied Huysmans, who also went there a number of times.²⁶ The latter actually believed (erroneously) that his sight had been miraculously restored at the famous shrine, and his very last book was a series of sketches of the place for which Forain's plates might easily serve as illustrations. This parallel interest may be no more than a coincidence, but taken in conjunction with the religious subjects it may have some significance.

Huysmans died in 1907 after a long and painful illness, and there is little doubt that it was a real blow to Forain. It is hard to believe that the death of a man with whom he had apparently shared one of the most intimate and important moments of his life, should not have produced a very profound effect on the artist. It was only a little more than a year later that the religious plates were begun, and it is tempting to believe that they were a sort of memorial, or at least were called into being by the memory of his friend. It was in this same year that Forain also produced a posthumous portrait of Huysmans.

The war intervened to interrupt this phase of Forain's art, and he apparently gave all his energy to the service of his country, actually serving in the camouflage corps as well as producing a large number of lithographs of war subjects, many of them made from first-hand experience. Afterwards he seems to have lost the major part of his inventiveness and spent most of his time reworking the themes of his pre-war period. Religious subjects continued to interest him down to the time of his death, and Vaillat, who only knew him as a very old man, mentions sketches of such subjects on which the master was still working.²⁷

26. Léandre Vaillat, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 59.



In his later years he showed a marked piety, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that this attitude dates back to the events at the turn of the century.

It would appear, therefore, that in Forain's case the challenge of a sterile representationalism was met by a reaffirmation of religious belief, not so complete as to prohibit secular themes, but strong enough to give an inner direction to his life, which his more acid portrayal of bourgeois foibles had been powerless to supply. The unrest attendant upon the Dreyfus case, during which Forain took a violently anti-Semitic stand, the troubles of the religious orders, and the general social instability of France at the beginning of the new century were undoubtedly factors in this change, but the immediate influence was almost certainly that of his life-long friend. In this new and more profound attitude he was apparently content to remain aloof from the other solutions attempted by men a good deal farther toward the artistic left.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE



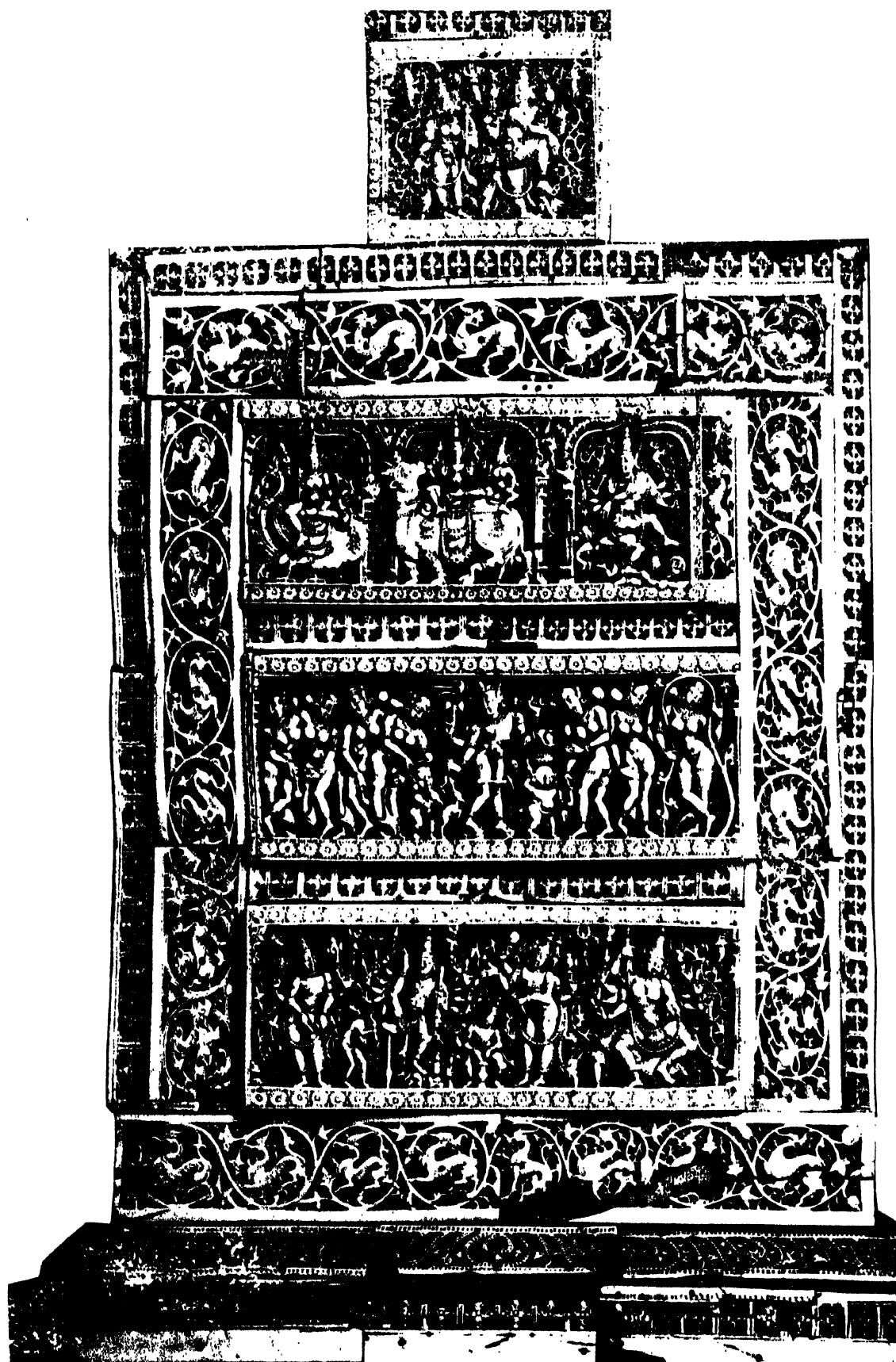
FIG. 4. The Road to Emmaus



FIG. 3. The Looking of the Men



FIG. 5. After the Apparition



Newton, Mass., Arthur Michael Collection: Illustrations of the Devadāruvana Mahātmya. Ivory Panels, Originally a Casket

AN IVORY CASKET FROM SOUTHERN INDIA

BY ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

THE group of ivory panels described below is in the collection of Professor Arthur Michael, of Newton, Massachusetts. The four panels and decorative borders now remounted in a plush frame measuring over all $10 \times 14\frac{1}{4}$ inches, shown on the accompanying plate, were originally parts of a casket. If we refer to the panels as now arranged as numbers one to four, counting from top to bottom, we may say that they formed the two long sides (nos. 3, 4), one end (no. 1) and the top (no. 2) of the original casket, of which only the other end panel and some parts of the borders and base are now missing. Our intention will be to explain the representations on the panels, as far as possible by reference to the corresponding texts. The panels themselves are of admirable workmanship, and unsurpassed by any other examples of South Indian ivory carving that have yet been published.

Bone and ivory boxes of this kind, and others of circular form, are well known from Ceylon and Southern India, and range in date from the seventeenth century, or possibly earlier, to the present day.¹ The Brahmanical theme of the present example, and the characteristic forms of the horned and bird-headed "lions" in the borders, show that it must be of South Indian origin. The admirable workmanship and the richness of the design, without any of that excessive relief and elaboration that are to be seen in more recent productions, suggest a dating not later than the earlier part of the seventeenth century; the architectural forms to be seen at the two ends of the first panel and in some of the other panels are those of the Nāyaka period (1600 onwards) in Madura.² The voluptuous forms which are so appropriate to the theme remind us of a long inheritance, of which the evidences are extant in the fact that some of the sculpture at Sāñcī (first century B.C.) was executed by "the ivory workers of Vidisā,"³ in the wonderful Indian ivory lately found at Pompeii,⁴ in the equally marvelous and luxurious ivories of Gupta date that have been found in Afghanistan,⁵ and in many literary references to the uses of ivory in India.⁶ The actual style of our ivory is ultimately Cālukyan; it may be compared to the best productions of the Tanjore school,

1. For Indian and Sinhalese ivories see my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, Campden, 1908, Ch. x and pls. xxxv-xi; *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, Edinburgh, 1913, Ch. 7; H. Goetz, "Geschnitzte Elfenbeinbüchsen aus Südindien," *Jahrb. As. Kunst*, 1925; Sir G. Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, 1904, pp. 172-93 (esp. 185-86); Vincent Smith, *History of Indian Art*, 1911, pp. 370-72; my *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, p. 136; K. de B. Codrington, "Western Influences in India and Ceylon; a Group of Sinhalese Ivories," *Burlington Magazine*, LIX, 1931; W. Born, "Some Eastern Objects from the Hapsburg Collection," *Burlington Magazine*, LXIX, 1936 and "More Eastern Objects Formerly in the Hapsburg Collection," *ibid.*, LXXV, 1939; V. Slomann, "Elfenbeinreliefs auf zwei Singhalesischen Schreinen des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Pantheon*, x, 1937 and xi, 1938 (incidentally, these boxes ought not to be called "shrines"); Ajit Ghose, "Some Old Indian Ivories," *Rupam*, xxxii, 1927; H. Cousens, "Excavations at Brāhmaṇābād-Mansūra, Sind," *Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep.*, 1908-1909 (ivory fragments, parts of furniture, pp. 85, 86); B. Thurston, *On the Ivory Carving Industry of South India*, Madras, 1901; G. G. Dutt, *Monograph on Ivory Carving in*

Bengal, Calcutta, 1901; T. P. Ellis, *Monograph on Ivory Carving in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1900; and others mentioned in subsequent notes.

2. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du sud de l'Inde*, Paris, 1914, pp. 66, 67; W. Norman Brown, *A Pillared Hall from a Temple at Madura*, Philadelphia, 1940, pp. 11, 13.

3. Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sāñcī*, Calcutta [1940], vol. 1, 95, 117, 121, 131, 153, 179, 259, 297.

4. A. Maiuri, "Statuetta eburnea di arte indiana a Pompei," *L'arte*, 1, 1938-39.

5. J. Hackin, *Mém. de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, ix, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram*, Paris, 1939; and "The 1939 Dig at Begram—11" in *Asia*, November 1940.

6. See my *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, p. 175; additional references include *Digha Nikāya*, II, 291 (ivory turning), *Mahāvamsa*, xxxvii, 100 (King Jetthātissa described as skilled in the arts of ivory), and *Bṛhat Samhitā*, II, Ch. 32 (wooden beds to be inlaid with ivory; the different qualities of ivory). Of the last-mentioned work I know only the translation by N. C. Iyer, in the *Aryan Miscellany, Samhitā Series*, Madura, 1884.

or may have been made in Madura or in Mysore, or still more probably in Travancore, where the traditions of Indian art have been better preserved than anywhere else and where many fine and relatively early examples of Indian ivory work can still be found.

Our chief concern will be with the iconography. The theme is that of Śiva's dance in the Devadāruvana, alluded to in the *Tiruvāṇṇam* where Śiva is apostrophized as the "Supernal Dancer, who to Patañjali gave grace."⁷ The many versions of the myth vary in detail, and taken collectively contain the explanation of a large part of the South Indian Śaiva iconography. Here we shall summarize from the various sources,⁸ and mainly from the *Linga Purāṇa* and *Darpadalanam*, so much of the myth as is necessary for an explanation of the representations before us.

The abode of Śiva and his consort Pārvatī—the divine essence and divine nature—is on the summit of Mount Kailāsa; He is seated there with Her upon their common throne, or common vehicle the Bull Nandi, as may be seen in the central compartment of our second panel; this is an *Umāmaheśvara-mūrti* of the usual type, in which Śiva holds the axe (*paraśu*) and deer (*mṛga*) in His upper hands, while the two normal hands are both in the pose of reassurance (*abhaya mudrā*).⁹ The slopes of Mount Kailāsa, i.e. the Himālayas, the "Abode of Snow," are clothed by the Deodar Forest (*Devadāruvana*), which is the home of many families of Rishis, Brahmanical ascetics who are worshipers of Śiva but are wholly occupied in the performance of sacrificial rites.¹⁰

As Pārvatī is watching these earnest seekers for salvation, She pities them, and turning to Śiva asks Him how it is that these devotees have for so long been unable to obtain release and to find Him. He replies that it is because they are not yet at peace, but still affectible by love and wrath; they cannot cross over the sea of life to reach the farther shore so long as they can love and hate; whereas those who have freed themselves from passion and desire, even if they do not practice arduous rites, can attain to that imperishable state of real being.¹¹ So saying, Śiva descends from the Bull on which He has been seated and assumes the form of a nude mendicant, that of the *Bhikṣāṇa-mūrti*; and thus as a youth of extraordinary and incomparable beauty enters the Devadāruvana and passes through the Rishi settlements as any other religious mendicant might. There the wives and daughters of the Rishis are so overcome by His beauty, greater than that of the God of Love himself, that they lose all sense of shame, and letting their garments slip from their waists, follow and crowd about the lovely youth, singing and dancing and swooning for love. This is the subject of our third panel, where we see Śiva in His mendicant transformation in the center and the infatuated women on either side of, i.e. round about, Him. The mendicant deity

7. G. U. Pope, *The Tiruvāṇṇam*, Oxford, 1900, p. 16.

8. For these sources see G. U. Pope, *op. cit.*, pp. lxii-lxvii; R. Schmidt, "Kṣemendra's Darpadalanam," *Zeitschr. der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXIX, 1915, 45-51; W. Jahn, "Die Legende vom Devadāruvana," *ibid.*, pp. 529-57 and LXX, 1916, 301-320; P. Deussen, "Über das Devadāruvanam," *ibid.*, LXXI, 1917; F. D. K. Bosch, "Het Lingga-Heiligdom van Dinaja," *Tijdschr. v. h. K. Bataviaasch Genootschap v. Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, LXIV, Weltevreden, 1924; T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, 1916, 325-26 and 295-30. Some have seen a reference to the Devadāruvana myth in *Taittirīya Samhitā*, IV.5.5.6.

9. More often one of the normal hands is in the "generosity" pose (*varada mudrā*).

10. For a representation of Mount Kailāsa, with Śiva and Pārvatī enthroned above and Rishis seeking towards Him on the lower slopes, see my *Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, Boston, v, *Rajput Painting*, pl. LVIII.

11. It is affirmed already in *Rgveda*, VIII.70.3 that God (here Indra) cannot be reached by works or sacrifices only. But neither the earlier nor the later Indian pronouncements of this kind are to be taken to be wholesale condemnations of the sacrificial and ritualistic practices themselves. What is meant, as we know from countless explicit texts, is that the fulfilment of the ritual and exoteric law without understanding and devotion can secure advantage in this world only; whereas the sacrifice performed with understanding and devotion, or even understood without performance, leads to the sacrificer's highest good both here and hereafter. It would indeed, as Kṛṣṇa says (*Bhagavad Gītā*, V.1 ff.) be absurd to think of renunciation and action, ritual and practice, as really opposed to one another and as having different fruits—"he who is duly established in one obtains the fruits of both." The Rishis of our myth were not in *this* sense "duly established" in their ritual and ascetic performance; they knew not Śiva because they had not escaped from nor overcome themselves or their senses.

is nude, and represented as walking; He holds the hour-glass drum (*damaru*) in His upper right and the trident (*trisūla*) in his upper left hand,¹² while the normal right hand holds a flower to which the deer is reaching up, and the normal left holds a mendicant's skull-cup (*kapāla*).¹³ He is accompanied by a pair of dwarf sprites (*bhūta*), members of His train (*gaṇa*); one of these is blowing a conch trumpet (*śaṅkha*), the other carries a tray of food. These *daīṃaves* are the Vedic Maruts and the "Breaths" or energies by and in which the immanent deity operates in living beings; in legitimate relation to their chief it is their function to support Him in every way, notably with their music and by supplying Him with the food with which He must be nourished when He passes over from being to becoming. Thus the iconography follows closely the prescriptions of the Āgamas and Śilpa-sāstras, and is the same as that of the many extant free-standing bronze or stone Bhikṣāṭana images.

The Rishis are infuriated by the behavior of their women, and pour out curses on the mendicant, who vanishes from them so that "they knew him not." The Rishis' whole scheme of life has been upset; they resort to Brahma, the Grandsire, and ask his advice. He tells them that it was the highest deity, "the *liṅga*-bearer, though He bears no *liṅga*,"¹⁴ that has appeared to them in an assumed likeness. They might have entertained an angel unawares, but actually failed in the basic duty of hospitality due to any guest, whether welcome or unwelcome, and whatever his conduct. Now their only resource is humbly to resort to Śiva Himself; they are to worship the Śiva-*liṅga*, and to realize that it is not by asceticism, rites, or mere learning, but only by Śiva's own Grace that He can be reached. When they have followed the Grandsire's advice for a year, Śiva appears amongst them once more in the form of a nude ascetic, holding fire-brands in His hands and singing and dancing; they honor Him, and ask His pardon for whatever they have done in deed, thought, or word against Him ignorantly. They abandon their asceticism and pray Śiva to appear to them in the form in which they had formerly known Him; He resumes accordingly His own, three-eyed form and gives them "the divine eye" by which they may see Him.

The mention of Śiva's dancing above must not be overlooked, for this dancing on His part is not a mere incident, but a cosmic epiphany and bound up with the whole doctrine of Śiva's form as Naṭarāja, to which we have already alluded above in mentioning Patañjali; and we must speak of this development, if only because three of Śiva's *Nṛtta-mūrtis* or Dancing Images are found on our panels. Before proceeding to Patañjali, it may be asked whether the mendicant form in which Śiva for the second time entered the Dāruvana was not essentially the same as of the Rishis themselves, and in this case whether the figures of dancing Rishis which are often met with in groups of sculptures representing our myth

12. It must be presumed that these divine attributes were not seen by the Rishis and their wives, since it is explicit that Śiva was not recognized.

13. The skull-cup is, strictly speaking, Brahmā's (see Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-305). Brahmā having claimed to have created the Universe solely by his own power, Śiva is said to have cut off the fifth head by which His own supremacy had been denied; Brahmā survives the temporary death with only four heads and acknowledges Śiva's supremacy. The decapitation, however, involves what is technically the sin of Brāhman-slaying (*brahmahatyā*), a sin that is necessarily incurred by every creative divinity in one way or another (e.g. by Indra when he slays Ahi-Vṛtra-Viśvarūpa), and this sin attaches to Śiva's form as Bhairava. Brahmā appoints for Śiva the penance of begging, using as a begging bowl the skull-cup made from the head that was cut off. This part of the legend explains the Bhikṣāṭana form in which Śiva enters the Devadāruvana as a mendicant. In

the meantime we are told that the sin of *brahmahatyā* in feminine form followed Śiva closely until at last he reached Vārāṇasī (Benares); and it would seem to be not implausible that it is really this sin rather than Bhadrakālī, as suggested above, that stands so close to the dancing Śiva in two of our representations.

14. One of the main motives in the whole myth is to explain the cosmic significance of the Śiva-*liṅga* as a form of the *axis mundi* and to inculcate the worship of the *liṅga* as supreme support of contemplation. We cannot enter into this subject here (see more fully F. D. K. Bosch, *loc. cit.*, where the fiery essence and royal significance of the *liṅga* are specially discussed), except to remark that a conception of deity as a biunity of polar aspects, on the one hand virile and on the other impotent (i.e. *in actu et in potentia*, being and non-being, etc.), is often explicitly stated in the *Rgveda*, notably in VII.101.3: "He shapes His likeness as He will, now is He sterile, now progenitive."

are representations of Siva Himself, or of Rishis dancing with Him; either interpretation would accord with the Indian ways of thinking.

Now as to Patañjali, otherwise Ādi-śeṣa, the World-serpent, and literally "Original Residue," i.e. what is "left-over" when abstraction is made of all manifested existences,¹⁵ we learn from the Koyil Purāṇam version of our myth¹⁶ that Viṣṇu¹⁷ and Ādi-śeṣa, who have been witnesses of Siva's dance in the Dāruvana, are left alone together when Siva returns to the summit of Mount Kailāsa, and that Ādi-śeṣa in particular is overcome with the longing to behold the dance again. In this version of the story, Siva's dance is one of triumph over the evil powers that have been embodied and sent against Him by the curses and incantations of the angry Rishis, and it is this aspect of Siva's dance that is depicted in the right-hand compartment of our second panel. Here His form is plainly still that of the nude mendicant, but He is now eight-armed, the two upper arms holding the axe and the deer (as in the central compartment of the same panel), while the two normal hands are in the characteristic pose that we are familiar with in the four-armed *Naṭarāja-mūrtis*, of which there are many excellent examples in this country and also in Toronto.

The last of the evil forces projected by the Rishis against Siva was a black dwarf, who is the personification of ignorance (*aviṣṭai*, *avidyā*), darkness (*iruḥ* = *tamas*), dirt (*malam*)¹⁸ and dust (*āṇavam*):¹⁹ in the Sanskrit iconographies the dwarf is known as the *apasmāra-puruṣa*, the "inhibitor of recollection" or "principle of confusion." It is this earthy principle personified as a dwarf, and holding a shield and sword, that we see writhing prostrate beneath the weight of Siva's foot in the *nṛtta-mūrti* in the right-hand compartment of our second panel, and in the same position in other *Naṭarāja* images. It is to the foot thus planted on that *pulvis, in quo formatur vestigium (pedis)*²⁰ that the weary Wayfarer, still involved in the causal nexus, resorts, while it is the lifted foot that ultimately sets him free.²¹

15. We cannot undertake a demonstration here that Śeṣa = Ananta = Ātman, Brahmā. In Vaiṣṇava iconography, Śeṣa is Viṣṇu's raft and couch when he lies floating on the sea of universal possibility; for this well-known iconography see Rao, *op. cit.*, 1, 90 ff.

16. See G. U. Pope, *loc. cit.*

17. In the Koyil Purāṇam version of the story, Pārvatī remains on Mount Kailāsa and Siva is accompanied in the Dāruvana by Viṣṇu in the feminine form of Mohinī, by whom the Rishis are bewildered and seduced, just as are their wives by Siva Himself. This association of Siva and Viṣṇu, as of persons of opposite sex, is by no means so strange as it may at first appear. We have its equivalent already in the Vedas in the *mixta persona* of Mitrāvaruṇau, which is actually that of a syzygy of conjoint principles, respectively male and female, so that when these persons are considered apart we can say that "Mitra inseminates Varuṇa." And this is at the same time a syzygy of Sacerdotum (*brahma*) and Regnum (*kṣātra*); a doctrine that underlies the whole Indian (and traditional) theory of government, in which the Regnum is always feminine and subordinated to the Sacerdotum. Now in the present case it is precisely Siva that represents the spiritual and Viṣṇu the royal power *in divinis*, and it is therefore quite in order that the latter should play the part of wife to the former. We are familiar with two types of dual images, the one known as Ardhanārīśvara (see Rao, *loc. cit.*, pp. 321-33), and the other Hari-Hara (*ibid.*, pp. 333-35). Of these the former represents the *mixta persona* of Siva and Pārvatī, the latter the *mixta persona* of Siva (Hara) and Viṣṇu (Hari), and we now see that these two representations are really equivalent to one another and both equally expressive of the indivisibility of essence and nature *in divinis*.

18. Sanskrit *malāpakarṣaṇa*, *malā-buddhi* = Greek *ká-*

thapōis.

19. *Āṇavam* (from Sanskrit *aṇu*) is literally "the atomic," or "infinitesimal," and hence in the present context "dust," cf. Sanskrit *aṇu-reṇu*, "cosmic dust" (MW). Dust (*reṇu*, *rajas*, etc.) in the Sanskrit sources is the material cause, as spirit is the formal cause, of all becoming; and just as in Eccl. 12: 7, at death "shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." That in our iconography the dust is literally "laid" reminds us both that the paths of the Gods are "dustless" and of the metaphor in *Jñāna*, vi.252, where by the teaching of the Law (*dhamma*), the "dust is laid" (*rajo-hato*) on the pilgrim's way.

20. St. Bonaventura, cited in Bissen, *L'exemplarisme divin de Saint Bonaventura*, 1929, pp. 70, 71; cf. *Majjhima Nikāya*, 1.178 and 184, *padam* . . . *ārañjitaṃ*, "footprint traced in the dust." On the *vestigium pedis* and the search for reality by a following up of its tracks, which forms the basis of the Indian adoration of the Lord's footprints, see my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, note 146, and remarks on *mūrga* in the *New Indian Antiquary*, 11, 1939, 576, note 2. Plato uses the simile of "tracking" (ἵχνεω) in the same way.

21. This explanation of the "values" of the two feet is taken from the *Cidambara Mummaṇi Kōvai*. We have already seen that the left foot planted in the dust is for the Wayfarer's guidance; and it is clear that the raised right foot is the one that gives final release, because as we know from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, x.5.2.13 that while, for so long as we still live in the body, both feet of God are planted in the heart, but that when we die He separates these feet, that is to say raises one of them, in order to depart (*padāo* . . . *āchidyotkrāmati*, see *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, IV, 1939, pp. 164, 165); if, then, we have by following in

The small female figure standing to Siva's left, and to be seen again with another dancing Siva in the fourth panel, may be that of Bhadrakālī, a form or emanation of Pārvatī corresponding to Siva's form as Virabhadra.²² The *ṛtta-mūrti* of the fourth panel, just referred to, is that form of Siva's dance that is called *Lalāṣa-tilaka*²³ or "Brow-ornament," its characteristic being that the right leg is raised vertically²⁴ as if to apply the *tilaka* to the forehead; ordinarily, of course, the hand is used for this purpose. The number of arms in figures of this class varies from four to sixteen; here there are ten. Bhadrakālī stands on Siva's proper right. The smaller and male figure on Siva's left, playing the drum, is four-armed, the two upper hands holding the axe and the deer, and thus in effect a miniature image of Siva himself; it is actually that of the apostle Nandikeśvara, also known as Adhikāra-nandi.²⁵ This saint is a legitimate son and incarnation of Siva, and therefore like Him; the divine filiation was acknowledged by Pārvatī, who smelt of his head while streams of milk poured from her breast.²⁶ In a theriomorphic and perhaps original form, Nandikeśvara is Nandi, the "Beatifier," Siva's bull and vehicle, seen in the middle compartment of the second panel.²⁷

Of the three other persons represented in the fourth panel, Viṣṇu on Siva's proper right and Brahmā on His left are easily recognizable. Viṣṇu is four-armed, the upper hands holding the winged discus and winged conch, while with the normal hands he is playing on an hour-glass drum (*ḍhakka*) with a drum-stick (*bāṇa*). Brahmā is four-handed; the attributes held in the upper and lower left hands are not certainly identifiable; the right hand is in the "generosity" pose (*varada mudrā*); and as is often the case in reliefs, only three of the four heads are visible. The eight-armed dancing female figure on the right, whose upper right hand is raised and holding a bell (*ghaṇṭā*), is a form of Pārvatī, that is to say of the divine Nature (*prakṛti*), whose dancing reflects that of the divine Essence or Person (*puruṣa*), and it is evident that the whole composition corresponds to the description in the *Tiru-Aruḷ-Payan*, 1x.3, "The dance of Nature proceeds at one side, that of Gnosis (*ñāna* = Sanskrit *jñāna*) on the other."²⁸ In all these compositions the background of verdure is no doubt a reference to the Deodar Forest in which the dances are manifested.

I am not able to give an equally precise account of the iconography of the dance represented in the first and smallest (side) panel. Siva is four-armed, the upper arms holding ap-

His steps earned the right to answer "in Him" to the question asked in the *Praśna Upaniṣad*, vi.2, "In whom shall I be going forth when I go hence?" (i.e. "in myself," this mortal self, or "in Him," the immortal), it will be *with* Him that we take this last step. We mention these points in order to remind the student that the Indian (or any traditional) iconography is always precise and never fanciful, and that it can be trusted, if we try to understand it.

22. Rao, *loc. cit.*, II, 183, 186, 227. But see also note 13.

23. Rao, *loc. cit.*, II, 264-66 and pls. LXIV-LXV.

24. Known as the *vr̥ṣṭika* or "scorpion" pose, because it is like the raised tail of a scorpion, a resemblance quite apparent in our carving.

25. Rao, *loc. cit.*, II, 455-60 and pls. cxxxI, cxxxII.

26. For the acknowledgement of legitimate sonship by smelling the head see my "Sunkiss" in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, LX, 1940, 64 and note 39. It is a commonplace of Indian poetry and, I believe, a natural fact, that a mother's milk flows at the sight of a long-lost son, even if adult. In the present case Nandikeśvara's head is anointed by the milk. More often divine filiation is attested or effected by an actual drinking of the milk by the king, hero, or saint who is or is made a "true son of God": for the cases of Hercules and Juno, and St. Bernard and the Virgin Mary, see my

"The Virgin Suckling St. Bernard" in the *ART BULLETIN*, XIX, 1937, 317-18 and "La voie lactée" in *Études traditionnelles*, XLIII, 1938, 175-76; for that of the Pharaohs and Isis: Moret, "Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique," *Ann. du Musée Guimet*, xv, 1902, 64, 65, 222, figs. 10, 62, and *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, 1927, p. 102.

27. The bull is a very common type on the Indus Valley seals and on the earliest Indian coins, and may always have been a symbol of Siva, though many other deities and heroes can be and are referred to as "bulls." The bull emblem on the coins of the city of Puṣkalavati in the second century is almost certainly a symbol of Siva. The bull emblem remained in use under the Yāvanas and Śakas, only the Kuṣānas in the first century A.D. representing the deity in human form (either two or four-armed, and one or three-headed) accompanied by the bull (*Cambridge History of India*, I, 557). Apparently the earliest reference to a Nandi in human form attendant on Siva is that of the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka*, x.1.6.

28. Thus the total representation is that of the Trinity and their common Nature. The *Skanda Purāṇa* account of the manifestation in the Devadāruvana enjoins the worship not of Siva alone, but of the Trinity, Siva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu (*Harakeśvara Mahātmya*, 68).

parently identical attributes (perhaps two lotuses) which I cannot recognize; under the lifted foot is a small, large-eyed animal, possibly a Nandi. A form of Pārvatī holding the trident (*trisūla*) in one hand stands on Śiva's proper right.

There remains the representation of a feminine divinity seated on the Gander (*hamsa*),²⁹ two-armed, and holding the trident in her right hand. The trident connects her with Śiva, but in all other respects the figure would naturally be identified with Sarasvatī-Vāc, the "Muse" and consort of Brahmā (Bṛhaspati, Vācaspati), who is the person of the Sacerdotum (*brahma*) in *divinis*. But Śiva Himself, from the point of view of the present iconography being the supreme deity and therefore Himself the Sacerdotum in which the Regnum (*kṣātra*) is inherent *eminenter*, and so at the same time superior to, and the origin of, the distinct persons of Brahmā the Priest and Viṣṇu the King. It is from this point of view a perfectly legitimate application of the ordinary iconography that makes of Sarasvatī-Vāc, His feminine potentiality; and for Her, who as the Muse is the patroness of all music, to be invoked in connection with the dance in which He manifests the universe that is really a production of both conjoint principles, those of the divine Essence and divine Nature.³⁰

Briefer reference may be made to the framework. In the second panel each of the representations is placed in a niche or canopy, consisting of two pillars surmounted by the usual *makara toraṇa* or "crocodile arch," the two halves of which spring from the mouths of *makaras* seen in profile, while the apex is crowned by the well-known *kāla-makara* mask of which the significance is ultimately solar.³¹ At the right end of this second panel there will be seen a rearing horned lion or *yāli* of the kind so often forming an integral part of the pillars of the South Indian temples; it is likely that there were originally numerous pieces of the same kind, which have now been lost. Some of the monsters enclosed by the window of the vegetative framings are horned lions of the same sort; others with beaks are more properly to be described as bird-headed lions.³² Immediately below the lowest of the vegetative frames is a part of the lotus-petal moulding³³ (of which the Greek "egg and dart" is an analogue) which formed the pedestal of the original casket.

29. Essentially the symbol of the spirit and light, and a form of the sun-bird. Equally in Sanskrit and Greek, words (*bhan*, *bhā*, *φημι*, *φάω*) meaning to speak and to shine, are etymologically related, and semantically convergent in the common values of such words as "clarify," "declare," "show," "illustrate," and "enlighten," which can be used with reference to any kind of "demonstration" whether verbal or visual. It is from this point of view that the Gander is the proper vehicle of both persons of the syzygy Brahmā-Vāc.

30. It is, indeed, expressly stated in the *Linga Purāṇa*, 1.28.34, 35, that the Rishis in the Iṅgikā "find it difficult to distinguish Śiva from Brahmā and other Gods" until He, who is the God of Gods, reveals Himself in His own specifically three-eyed form. For the *Linga Purāṇa*, Śiva is "the highest *ātman*" and "God of Gods."

31. For some discussion of and references to this form see the ART BULLETIN, XXI, 52-55.

32. Cf. in my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, fig. 15.

33. Cf. *ibid.*, figs. 12-14.

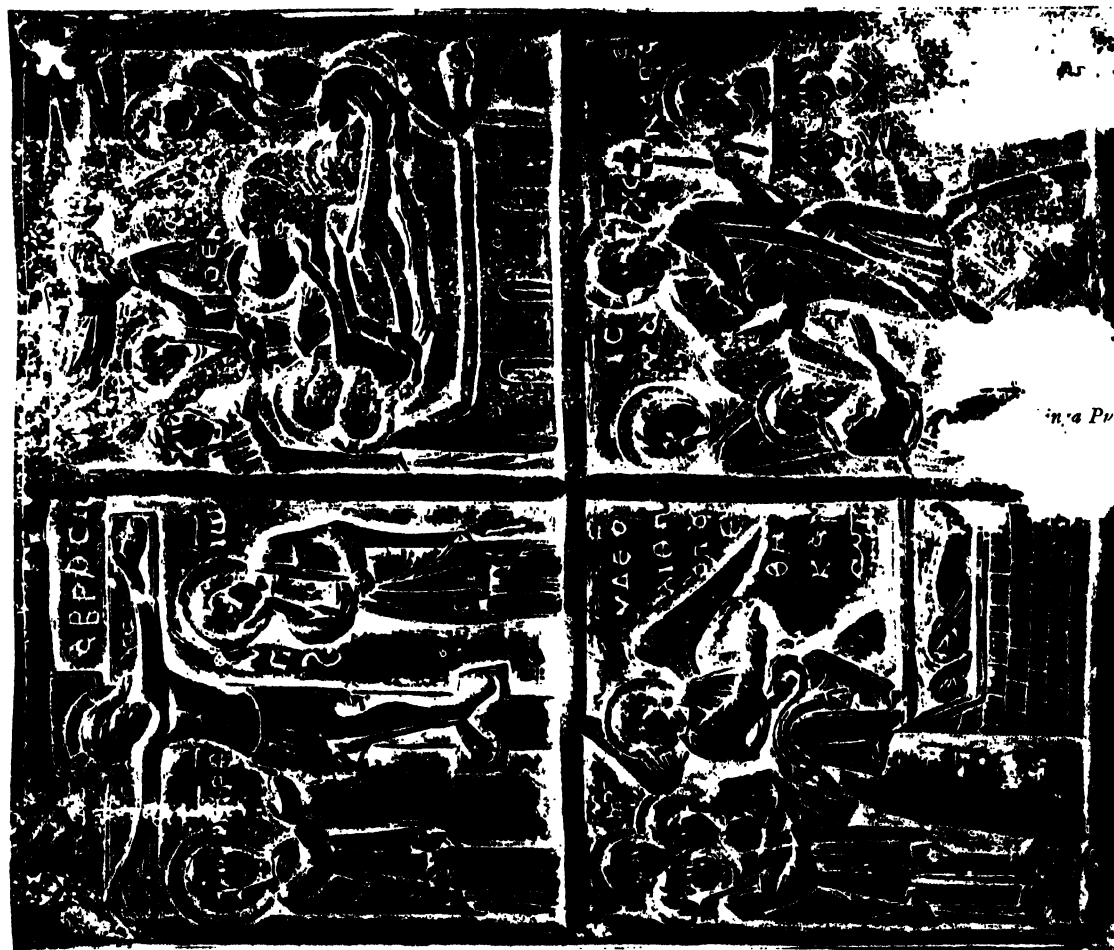


FIG. 1. Rome, Vatican, Museo Sacro: Stoneware Plaque

5th Century



FIG. 2. Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament: Crucifixion, fol. 33v, Thirteenth Century



FIG. 3. St. Luke in Phocis: Mosaic, Crucifixion, Fifteenth Century

A STEATITE PLAQUE IN THE MUSEO SACRO OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY*

BY ALBERT S. ROE

AMONG the minor art objects of the Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library is a steatite plaque of unusual interest (Fig. 1).¹ The division into four equal compartments, each framed by a narrow undecorated border which is part of the material of the whole, is unique among carvings in steatite. In the upper half are depicted the Crucifixion and the Entombment and below we find the Women at the Tomb and the *Anastasis*. Each compartment bears within it an inscription in Greek. No traces of color now remain upon the surface, but it is quite possible, indeed probable, that it was once polychromed, as such application of surface color seems to have been a usual adornment of ivory and steatite.²

Before turning to a more detailed consideration of the Vatican example, we must speak briefly of the general group to which it belongs. The number of steatites which show several scenes on the panels of one plaque is extremely limited. In several cases the Twelve Feasts of the Church are represented. One fine example from the Treasury of the Cathedral of Toledo shows the twelve compartments a small lunette showing Christ flanked by angels. Other similar works are those from the Monastery of Vatopedi, Mt. Athos,⁴ and in the collection of Nicodemus, Bishop of Kitti on the island of Cyprus.⁵

Some examples have a larger panel in the center containing a figure of Christ or a representation of the Madonna and Child surrounded by smaller scenes. The Schnütgen Collection in Cologne contains a plaque which combines the Madonna and Child with the Twelve Feasts. Another, called "Barberini" diptych in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin,⁷ has on

The Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library.
C. A. Dalton and E. Baldwin Smith, No.

15.5 cm.h. by 13.0 cm.w. with a maximum thickness of 1.5 cm. The plaque is much scratched and the surface is small piece has been broken off the upper left corner. Brief accounts and occasional reproductions of the steatite have been published, but it has never before been studied at length. Its bibliography to date is as follows: G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile*, Paris, 1916, pp. 406, 506, 532, figs. 534, 574; suggests Macedonian provenance in the eleventh century. C. Rohault de Fleury, *La Sainte Vierge*, Paris, 1878, I, pp. 216-17, 224, plates XLV, L; crude drawings are reproduced with mistakes in the inscriptions. In referring to this plaque as "un bas-relief d'argent," the author suggests a twelfth-century date and refers to the provenance as "grecque comme les inscriptions le prouvent." D. Ainalov, *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya*, new series, III, 1906, 248-49, fig. 1; this is the only previous publication in which a photograph of the Vatican steatite has been reproduced. However, the author, who is discussing the sacred stone slab upon which tradition says that the body of Christ was laid before burial, makes no attempt to fix date or provenance, merely referring to the "engraved icon of the Vatican Collection."

2. O. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 239.

3. G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, Paris, 1896, I,

465; O. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 242, fig. 149. The latter author mentions a similar work once in the Carmichael collection (Catalogue of sale at Christie's, May 12 and 13, 1902, no. 150).

4. L. Bréhier, *La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins*, Paris, 1936, plate xx.

5. G. A. Soteriou, *Ta byzantina mnemeia tes Kuprou*, Athens, 1935, plate 154. The author publishes only one wing of a diptych and mistakenly refers to it as "ivory." The similarity to the Toledo example is marked.

6. F. Witte, *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen in Köln*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 92-93, plate 82(3). This work was acquired in Florence and is dated by Witte ca. 1000. It is of some interest in connection with our argument to note the fact that the metal frame of the piece was executed in Italy in the fourteenth century.

7. W. F. Volbach, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 122-23, no. 2721, plate 2; O. Wulff, *Alchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1911, II, 62, no. 1853, plate IV; G. Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 24, fig. 4; H. Kéreci, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1908-1909, II, 89, fig. 75; A. N. Grabar, "Rospis tserkvikostnitsy Bachkovskago Monastyra," *Izvestiya na bulgarskiya archeologicheski institut*, series 2, II, 1923-24, 50-51, fig. 8; E. Sandberg-Valalà, *La croce dipinta italiana*, Verona, 1929, p. 165. Volbach dates the diptych in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, Grabar in the twelfth or thirteenth, and Kéreci in the twelfth.

the left half the standing figure of Christ surrounded by ten scenes from His life and on the right the Madonna and Child with ten scenes from the Life of the Virgin. The unusual modeling convention of parallel lines close together found in this work connects it more closely in technique with the Vatican example than with other steatites or ivories.⁸

With regard to the Vatican steatite, the absence of close parallels among steatites or ivories which can be surely dated and localized, reduces the problem to one of iconography. The only inference that can be drawn on the basis of style is the indication of provincial origin, probably between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. The inscriptions, in spite of peculiarities, are unfortunately valueless as aids in the determination of a more precise date and provenance.⁹

The Crucifixion: This scene may be classed at once in the category which corresponds to the central school of Byzantine production. There is a masterly combination of dignity and pathos. The figure upon the cross has no colobium, indicating a date later than the tenth century, and his feet are nailed separately to the *suppedaneum*, a representation unusual after the early thirteenth century. The curving of the body is very slight, but the effect is one of grace and relaxation. The eyes are already closed and the head has fallen upon the shoulder, an effect that is midway between the earlier attitude of complete triumph over pain and death and the later introduction of a more realistic expression of agony. The Virgin stands erect and makes the two gestures commonly found in the Constantinopolitan

8. In addition to the steatites of this type already described, Volbach (*op. cit.*, p. 123) cites an example in the hands of a dealer in Paris. Kondakov has published an example in S. Clement, Ochrida, depicting in the same arrangement as the Vatopedi steatite (see note 4) the Twelve Feasts of the Church. However, the Greek inscriptions in this case are incised on the borders immediately above each scene. According to Kondakov the work dates from the "sixteenth or even the seventeenth century" (*Makedoniya archeologicheskoe puteshchestie*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 270, fig. 185). A similar example, with Slavic rather than Greek inscriptions on the borders, is now on the New York market. Occasional fragments give unmistakable evidence of having once formed part of plaques which were divided into a number of panels. In this class we may place a piece now in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, which preserves a representation of the Baptism surrounded by remains of other scenes and of the enframing (O. Wulff, *op. cit.*, II, 63, no. 1854, plate v; Volbach, *op. cit.*, p. 123, no. 2427, plate 3).

9. The inscriptions of the four panels are as follows: 1) *The Crucifixion:* Between the Virgin's head and the cross MHP Θ(μήτηρ Θεοῦ), "Mother of God"; between the Apostle and the Cross O ΑΙΓΙ(δ & γιος), completed by Τω(άννης) placed to the right of the Apostle's nimbus, thus giving in all "St. John"; on the arms of the cross is Christ's title ΙC ΧC; above is the label of the scene, Η CΤΑΒΡΟCΙC, "the Crucifixion."—2) *The Entombment:* In addition to the misplaced MP Θ mentioned in the body of the text, the only other inscription gives the name of the scene: Ο ΕΝΤΑΦ(ιασμος).—3) *The Holy Women at the Sepulcher:* Above the right-hand member of the group of three women is MP surmounted by ΘΥ, another manner of abbreviating μήτηρ Θεοῦ. On the right above the sarcophagus is a long inscription: ΥΔΕ Ο ΑΙΘ(= ος) ΟΠΘ(= ου) ΕΘΗΚΑΝ ΑΥΤ. This is a quotation from Mark 16:6 and in the accepted version reads: Ἴδε ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἐθήκαν αὐτῶν ("Behold the place where they laid him"). On substitution of λίθος ("stone") for τόπος, see below.—4) *The Anastasis:* Two superimposed inscriptions, each interrupted by Christ's cruciform nimbus. Above, IC ΧC; beneath, Υ ΑΝΑCΤΑC (ς).

It will be noted that in these inscriptions there are some misspellings and also one unusual variant of a text. It was

hoped that it might be possible to trace these peculiarities and localize them, thus obtaining evidence as to provenance and date, but all efforts to this end, although exhaustive, have proved fruitless.

The substitution of B for T was found in Greece in the second century B.C. and was widespread by the beginning of the Christian era (according to Professor A. C. Johnson of Princeton University). O=Ω is a common confusion, found in earliest times. The use of Y for H is very unusual, but not unparalleled, being known in the second century B.C. in Egypt (E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, 1906, p. 85). This variant is found also in the Septuagint version (H. St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 1909, p. 96), but was still extremely rare as late as the tenth century (Semenov, *The Greek Language and Its Evolution*, 1936). In the second century B.C. ἡμεῖς was confused with οὐμεῖς, but the variant does not occur except sporadically in other words "until centuries after, unless in strictly limited areas" (J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of the New Testament in Greek*, 1919, II, 73). Y=I is found also in Egyptian papyri of the second century B.C. (Mayser, *op. cit.*, p. 85). It later becomes common in accordance with the itacism of modern Greek (Moulton, *op. cit.*, II, 73). The reading of λίθος for τόπος in this text (Mark 16:6) is interesting and gave promise that this variant might be traced down to a form found in manuscripts of a given region. However, a thorough search and the consultation of leading authorities (among those who have kindly given me the benefit of their opinions are Professor A. C. Johnson of Princeton, Cardinal Mercati, and Professors Colwell and Riddle of the University of Chicago) has failed to bring to light any other occurrence of this departure from the usual text either in gospel-books or lectionaries. In the opinion of Cardinal Mercati the variation must be due to the carver of the inscription, and not the result of an exact copying of another text. Ainalov (*op. cit.*, p. 249) believes the alteration is intentional and refers to the sacred slab on which the body of Christ was laid. The quotation appears in correct form at Tchareqle Kilissé, where it occurs in connection with a wall painting showing the Holy Women at the Sepulcher (G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin: Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1925, plate 130).

type, showing neither sadness nor extreme anguish. John inclines his head, but his book has not yet disappeared as it so frequently does in examples later than the twelfth century.

All these considerations indicate a work of the transition, probably of the twelfth century. The iconography is undoubtedly closely bound up with the Byzantine ateliers, but on the other hand the occasional technical clumsiness and the unusual spellings of the inscriptions argue for a provincial origin. An additional un-Byzantine feature is the elimination of feet in the figures of Mary and John.

When we compare this work with other representations of the Crucifixion which most nearly approximate it, our results check well. The best comparison is with the Crucifixion on folio 33^v of the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament (Fig. 2).¹⁰ The poses and gestures of all figures are almost identical in both works, as is the simplicity of both versions. The only addition in the manuscript picture is the inclusion of two hills behind the flanking figures. According to the opinion of the editors of the publication on this manuscript, however, its date is relatively late, *ca.* 1265. The provenance is Constantinopolitan, and such must be the ultimate model of the steatite composition, as may be seen by comparing it with the famous mosaic Crucifixion of Daphni, strongly imbued with the reticent style of the capital. Closer in detail, however, is the Crucifixion found among the mosaics of St. Luke in Phocis (Fig. 3), which shares with our example a provincial modification of Constantinopolitan style and iconography.¹¹

The Entombment: By its emphasis upon the pathetic aspects of the subject, the Entombment contrasts with the relative calm of the other three scenes. An unusual confusion is observable in that the inscription $\overline{\text{MP}} \Theta$ mistakenly identifies the figure which stands and gesticulates as the Virgin, although she actually occupies her usual position behind the sarcophagus and bending over the head of the recumbent form.

The history of the iconography of the Entombment¹² involves interplay between the two themes of the actual placing of the body in the tomb and of the lamentation over the dead Christ. In earlier representations emphasis is upon the bearing of the body to the sepulcher; later the features of mourning intrude, and finally dominate the subject as in our plaque. Italy seems first to have fused the eastern and western motives as we find them in the steatite. The substitution of the sarcophagus for the slab or rock-hewn tomb became more and more usual, thus combining the eastern type of preparation for the sepulcher with the western representation of the actual placing of the body in the coffin. At the same time the number of figures was increased and more emphasis placed upon the pathos of the subject. As early as 1058-86, in the nave of S. Angelo in Formis, the sarcophagus motive was introduced together with pronounced emotional expression in the faces (Fig. 6).¹³ Here also are to be found the Virgin standing by the head of Christ and St. John in the background, positions which they occupy regularly hereafter.

Once introduced, the emotional elements were speedily adopted generally and many variants of them occur. The representation of the Virgin bending over the body and embracing it becomes common and other figures cease to be bystanders and actively mourn. Customary Italian features are the gesticulating Magdalene and the sorrowful St. John.¹⁴

10. F. Goodspeed, D. Riddle, and H. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament*, Chicago, 1932; H. Willoughby, "Codex 2400 and its Miniatures," *ART BULLETIN*, xv, 1933, 3-74.

11. E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931.

12. G. Millet, *op. cit.*, Bk. II, chap. x; W. W. S. Cook, *ART BULLETIN*, x, 1928, 22-32; C. R. Morey, *ART BULLE-*

TIN, xi, 1929, 86-87.

13. F. X. Kraus, *Die Wandgemälde von S. Angelo in Formis*, Berlin, 1893.

14. G. Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 503: "D'ordinaire en Italie les assistants s'écartent vers les extrémités et laissent voir, au-dessus de la mère, Jean qui s'incline ou un myrrhophore qui gesticule."

It is in the typically Italian development that our steatite takes its place. The sarcophagus has replaced the slab, but upon it the body still rests on the cloth in persistent rigidity. The group of those who are nearest to the corpse are shown not as bearers, but embracing the figure. Behind them three other figures also mourn, making significant gestures. The motive of the female figure with arms thrown up over her head seems to have had particular appeal for Italian artists, although it is also found elsewhere. In the twelfth century the gesticulating form stands as a rule well to the side in the foreground, as in the *Hortus Deliciarum*,¹⁵ or kneels or stands in the mountainous background near the edge of the composition, as in the case of Bibl. Vat. MS gr. 1156¹⁶ or of the fine fresco in the crypt of the Cathedral of Aquileia on the north shore of the Adriatic.¹⁷ The variant which we find in the steatite, namely the placing of the gesticulating figure behind the sarcophagus, soon became the accepted version in Italy, and many examples occur, especially in works of the Sienese school. A good parallel for our plaque is panel number 7 of the Gallery of Siena, by a follower of Guido,¹⁸ and another by a famous master is the Entombment scene upon the back of Duccio's retable in the Opera del Duomo (Fig. 4).

Thus it may be stated that the representation of the Entombment as found in this steatite agrees closely with an iconography which gives every indication of having developed in Italy in the twelfth century.¹⁹ Granted that the scene is quite emotional in character, it is by no means as exaggerated as many later renditions and for this reason a date later than the twelfth century is improbable. Although the theme is seldom found among the ivory carvings,²⁰ it is significant that such examples of it as occur are confined to the so-called "Border" group which A. S. Keck has connected with Venice and dated in the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries.²¹ The subject is also rare among mosaics, but is more general in Italian and provincial wall and panel paintings.

The Holy Women at the Sepulcher: We come now to the most informative of the four scenes of the steatite, the Holy Women at the Tomb. The most striking feature of this panel is the presence of three women in an otherwise typically Byzantine representation of the subject.²² The iconography of the Holy Women is well summed up in its essential points by Millet in the first paragraph of his article on this particular theme:

Ce sujet, plus que tout autre, nous invite à poser la question qui domine notre étude: Orient ou Italie? Avant le XIV^e siècle, l'Occident et Byzance suivent deux traditions bien distinctes. Byzance figure deux femmes et un tombeau; l'Occident, trois femmes et, depuis la fin du X^e, un sarcophage. Or, au

15. A. Straub and G. Keller, *Hortus Deliciarum*, Strassburg, 1901, plate xxxix.

16. G. Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 533.

17. P. Toesca, "Gli affreschi del duomo di Aquileia," *Dedalo*, vi, 1925, 32-57, fig. p. 43; *La basilica di Aquileia*, Bologna, 1933, pp. 319-28, plate lxxiv.

18. R. van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923, I, fig. 206. It is dated 1270.

19. The wall painting in the monastery of St. Neophytus of Paphos in Cyprus ca. 1190 (A. N. Grabar, *L'art byzantin*, Paris, 1938, fig. 73) has a grouping of figures much like that of the steatite, but it is characteristic of this eastern example that the slab is retained rather than replaced by the sarcophagus. Other eastern works which have an iconography of the Entombment akin to that of the steatite are the Georgian Gospels of Gélat (G. Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 535) and a fresco in the church of Aegina (G. Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 522; G. A. Soteriou, "He omorphe ecclesia Aiginas," *Epeteris Elaireias Byzantinon Spoudon*, II, 1925, 242-76).

20. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1930-31, II, plate LXVII, fig. 204; plate LXVIII, figs. 207, 208, 209; plate LXIX, fig. 213.

21. "A Group of Italo-Byzantine Ivories," *ART BULLETIN*, XII, 1930, 147-62. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann (*op. cit.*, II, pp. 20-21) dispute this conclusion, attributing the group to Constantinople in the eleventh century. A convincing rebuttal has been made by C. R. Morey and A. S. Keck in *ART BULLETIN*, XVII, 1935, 405.

22. For the iconography of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher see the following: G. Millet, *op. cit.*, Bk. II, chap. XI, part I; C. R. Morey, *ART BULLETIN*, XI, 1929, 69-70; *idem*, "The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum," *Festschrift Paul Clemen*, Düsseldorf, 1926, pp. 150-67; W. W. S. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-65; N. C. Brooks, "The Sepulcher of Christ in Art and Liturgy," *University of Illinois Studies in Languages and Literatures*, VII, 1921, 139-250.

XIV^e, Grecs et Slavs adoptent les trois femmes et le sarcophage. Ils auraient donc imité l'Italie. Ils nous fourniraient ainsi un argument décisif en faveur de l'influence latine.²³

This marked difference between East and West is explained by the varying accounts of the Gospels. In the liturgy of the Eastern Church the Easter pericope for the episode was taken from Matthew, who mentions only two women, whereas in the West the reading was from Mark who mentions three. It is the mixture of these two types, the three women of the West in an otherwise Byzantine conception, that provides our most promising clue.

In the present example the angel sits upon a stone and points across his body as in the Byzantine type, but the sarcophagus and the three women are specifically western. The combination of rock and sarcophagus is extremely rare, and it is significant to observe that the best parallels for our representation are Italian. A fresco at S. Urbano alla Caffarella in Rome²⁴ has both the sarcophagus and the arched door of a cave in which hangs a lamp. There are only two women, as also is the case in S. Angelo in Formis (Fig. 8), where the sarcophagus is placed under a ciborium and the cave omitted altogether. Closest of all to the steatite is the scene as depicted on the diptych of Berne.²⁵ In this example, the angel sits on a square block, there is a sarcophagus, and three women are shown. This work has been generally accepted as Italo-Byzantine, originating probably in Venice. It cannot, however, date earlier than 1253.

While the above comprise the cases known to me in which both block and sarcophagus occur together, it is possible to find many other examples of mixed iconography in Italian art of the same period. A Tuscan crucifix of the thirteenth century in the Accademia at Florence²⁶ shows the three women and the angel on the block, but the tomb is still hewn in the hillside. This type occurs again in a fresco from the crypt of S. Vito Vecchio at Gravina di Puglia.²⁷ A close resemblance is also offered by a Pisan crucifix in the Gallery of Pisa in which the tomb is represented as a slab on the ground with grave-clothes upon it; three women are present and the angel sits on a cubical block (Fig. 7). Another thirteenth-century crucifix of the Pisan school²⁸ has three women and the block is tilted against the front of the sarcophagus. A crucifix (ca. 1250) by Enrico di Tedice in S. Martino, Pisa,²⁹ shows the angel seated on the edge of the sarcophagus, but in the Byzantine pose. This example also has three women. Similar is the scene as depicted on a crucifix in the Cathedral of Pistoia.³⁰ Finally, Duccio in his retable keeps the Byzantine pose for the angel, while seating him upon the lid which rests against the sarcophagus. Again three women are shown.³¹

Among objects of minor art, an ivory in the Galleria e Museo Estense, Modena, which can be classed in the "Border" group of Italo-Byzantine production,³² has a composition closely akin to that of the steatite, with three women and the angel seated on a block. However, there is no sarcophagus, the rock-hewn sepulcher being retained. A celebrated

23. *Op. cit.*, p. 517.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 528, fig. 572; van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, 162-63; J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten*, Freiburg, 1917, II, 898, fig. 418. The series to which this fresco belongs is dated by an inscription in 1011.

25. G. Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 530, fig. 573; J. Stammer, *Der Paramentenschatz im historischen Museum zu Bern*, Berne, 1895, pp. 30-35 (with plate).

26. E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op. cit.*, figs. 290, 459.

27. A. Medea, *Gli affreschi delle cripte eremitiche pugliesi*, Rome, 1939, I, 60-63; II, fig. 17. While the author dates the other frescoes of this crypt in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, he finds the style of the Holy Women different in being at once more vigorous and less finished.

It is possibly thus somewhat earlier than the other frescoes. It is interesting to note that the inscription accompanying the Gravina wall painting is the Latin rendering of the same text which appears misquoted in Greek on the steatite: *ecce locus ubi positus erat*. The variation *positus erat* for *posuerunt eum* is, however, not the same as the misquotation made in the inscription on the Vatican plaque (see note 9).

28. R. van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 146; E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op. cit.*, fig. 296.

29. R. van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 172; E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op. cit.*, fig. 297.

30. E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op. cit.*, fig. 298.

31. C. H. Weigelt, *Duccio di Buoninsegna*, Leipzig, 1911, II, plate 37.

32. See note 21.

illuminated manuscript which can be connected with the West, although not specifically with Italy, the Melissenda Psalter, has a miniature in which the angel sits upon a block and addresses three women.³³ It is known that this book combines both Byzantine and Western hands and dates from the middle of the twelfth century.

To turn to works of Constantinopolitan origin, the best parallel for the steatite rendition is that of the Rockefeller-McCormick Gospels of ca. 1265 (Fig. 5). This example, however, presents only two women, although the accompanying text is that of Mark in which three are specifically mentioned. It is thus a good illustration of the power of iconographic tradition in the capital even at a relatively late date.

Thus we see that the unusual mixture of iconographic elements which make up the representation of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher on the Vatican steatite is clearly suggestive of Italian provenance.

The Anastasis: The Harrowing of Hell (given its Greek title of *Anastasis*, "Resurrection") is the subject of the final scene of the plaque. Based upon the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, this theme served regularly in Byzantine art as the representation of the Resurrection, and it was only in later times that the more familiar form came into general use. The iconography of this subject is well defined, and it is possible to follow the chronological development with much more certainty than usual.³⁴

To speak briefly of the significant features of the steatite *Anastasis*, we note first that Christ walks away from Adam, looking back at him over His shoulder. Earlier practice showed Him walking towards Adam, but by the eleventh and twelfth centuries the arrangement found here had become general. Again, the symmetrical crossing of the gates and the omission of the prostrate figure of Satan suggest the twelfth-century date. The figure of the Baptist, found here, is very unusual before the middle of the eleventh century, but is almost universal thereafter.³⁵

Although the principal features of twelfth-century representations of the *Anastasis* are well standardized, there are a few examples which are so very close in detail to the steatite that we must speak of them as indicative of provenance and date for our work.³⁶

Particularly striking is a miniature from a twelfth-century manuscript in the British Museum, Harley 1810 (Fig. 9).³⁷ The resemblance is so close that the steatite might almost be copied from the painting. The mountainous background, usual in manuscript renditions, is the only important variation, and the poses of all figures are extremely close to those of the Vatican plaque. Especially interesting is the group on the right. David and Solomon face each other as though conversing and wear flat crowns exactly like those in the steatite.

33. O. Dalton, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-73; J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York, 1911, pp. 57-60; G. Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 569.

34. C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, New York, 1914, pp. 45-53; *idem*, *ART BULLETIN*, XI, 1929, 57-58; G. Rushforth, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I, 1902, 114-19; G. Millet, *Monuments Piot*, II, 1895, 204-14; C. Diehl, *Monuments Piot*, III, 1896, 232-36.

35. Millet (*Monuments Piot*, II, 1895, 209) gives as the first example a mosaic of the middle of the eleventh century at Hagia Sophia, Kiev. However, the Baptist probably appears in the miniature of this subject in a famous manuscript of the Leningrad State Library, Petropolitanus XXI, which has been dated as early as the eighth century by some (C. R. Morey, *ART BULLETIN*, XI, 1929, 53-92, fig. 63; A. M. Friend, Jr., *Art Studies*, v, 1927, 136; K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 59-61).

hunderts, Berlin, 1935, pp. 59-61).

36. The closest parallels of all are to be found on the steatites of Toledo (see note 3) and Berlin (see note 7). However, as neither can be assigned a date or provenance they cannot be used to further our argument.

37. This manuscript has no colophon and its history is not known. It is usually considered on the basis of style to be of the twelfth century, or perhaps later. Herbert speaks of it as "thoroughly typical of Byzantine work of the time," (*op. cit.*, pp. 58-61). However, Professor A. M. Friend, Jr., and Dr. K. Weitzmann doubt its origin in the imperial atelier at Constantinople. The other miniatures of Harley 1810 do not correspond as closely to the style and iconography of the steatite as does the *Anastasis*. In the Crucifixion, the figure of St. John is almost identical, but the rest of the scene is different. The Entombment follows the early Byzantine formula.



FIG. 4. Siena, Opera del Duomo: Duccio, Detail of Maestà, Entombment



FIG. 5. Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament: Holy Women at the Sepulcher, fol. 54v, Thirteenth Century



FIG. 6. S. Angelo in Formis: Fresco, Entombment, Eleventh Century



FIG. 7. Pisa, Museo Civico: Holy Women at the Sepulcher, Detail of Crucifix, Thirteenth Century



FIG. 8. S. Angelo in Formis: Fresco, Holy Women at the Sepulcher, Eleventh Century



FIG. 9. London, British Museum: Harley MS 610, Anastasis, Twelfth Century



FIG. 10. Mt. Athos, Lavra Monastery: Evangelia v. Anastasis, fol. 15, Eleventh Century



FIG. 11. London, Ludlow Collection: Ivory Plaque, Twelfth Century

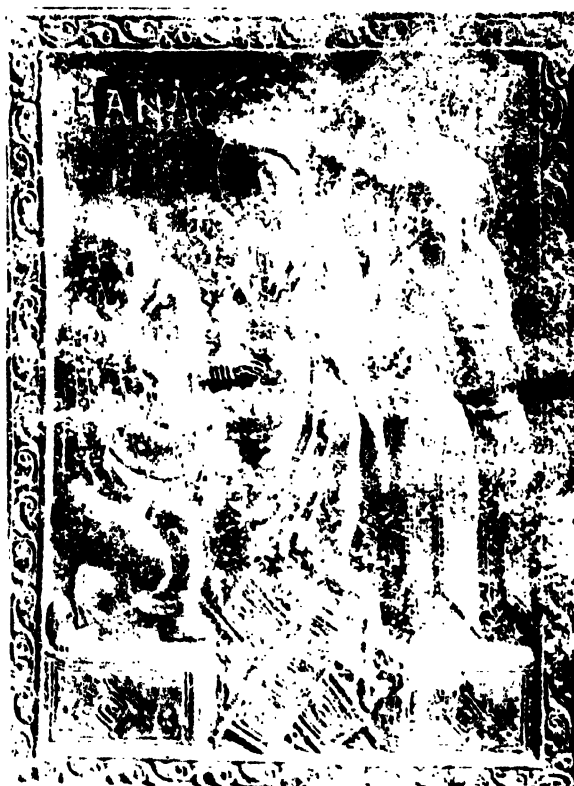


FIG. 12. Ravello, Cathedral: Detail of Portal by Barisanus of Trani, Anastasis, 1179 A.D.

The head and shoulders of John appear in the background, and he gestures with his right hand. Even details of drapery are the same, for instance the long sweeping fold from top to bottom of Christ's garment. Variants in the steatite may easily be explained as misunderstandings, e.g. the placing of the clasps of the kings' tunics in the center instead of on the shoulder, and the treatment of the wide fold across Christ's breast. The single difference of importance in the miniature is the addition of a *suppedaneum* to the cross.³⁸ Clearly both stem from an identical model which must have been closely related to the beautiful miniature on folio 1v of the Evangelary of Lavra on Mt. Athos (Fig. 10). The magnificence of the technique of this example sets it in a class apart from the comparatively rough rendering of Harley 1810, but the iconography of the two pages is strikingly alike and links them in a group with the Vatican steatite and with the bronze doors of Barisanus of Trani, to be mentioned shortly. The Lavra miniature is the product of a Constantinopolitan shop and dates from the beginning of the eleventh century.³⁹ Less emphasis is placed upon the mouth of the cave than in the steatite or in the Harley miniature. In addition a third figure is added behind Adam and beside Eve. Christ grasps Adam by the right wrist instead of by the left, David and Solomon appear in full length, the gates are not symmetrically placed, and numerous keys and fetters litter the foreground. These discrepancies do not conceal, however, the great similarity of composition and of details of pose and dress. The backward glance of Christ in the Lavra example is more nearly related to the steatite than in the case of the Harley miniature in which the Savior faces directly towards the observer.

A number of ivory carvings are also of interest. Save for reversal, the crudely rendered plaque from a triptych in the Munich State Library, ascribed by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann to their "Pictorial" group, follows the type well.⁴⁰ Among the ivories of the "Border" group, a striking similarity is presented by a plaque in the Ludlow Collection in London (Fig. 11); this closely recalls Harley 1810. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann date both these examples in the eleventh century, although on iconographical grounds a twelfth-century date would seem preferable.⁴¹ It is important to bear in mind the Italian origin of the "Border" group, already mentioned.

Most significant of all, a series of monuments of undoubted Italian origin and known date, namely the bronze doors of Barisanus of Trani, reproduce the *Anastasis* of the steatite almost exactly (Fig. 12).⁴² Certain similarities of detail are too close to be fortuitous, and

38. The Vatican steatite is unusual in the omission of the *suppedaneum* at so early a date. It is possible that space may have been the controlling factor; the upright of the cross is cut off by the crown of one of the kings. However, this explanation cannot account for the omission in the case of the Vatopedi steatite (see note 4) and of the "Barberini" triptych (see note 7). The fine silver bookcover of the Lavra skevophylakion manuscript also omits the *suppedaneum*, as does the mosaic of Daphni. Both of these representations have the upright of the cross much longer than usual and reaching to the ground in the manner of a staff. The decorative border of the silver bookcover has undergone considerable later re-decoration, but the mosaic is itself probably of the eleventh century, the date of the manuscript. It preserves the older type, in which Christ walks towards Adam and Eve (N. P. Kondakov, *Pamyatniki Christianskago iskusstva na Kavkaze*, St. Petersburg, 1902, plate xxvii). Harley 1810 and the doors by Barisanus, almost identical with the Vatican steatite in nearly every other respect, do not omit the *suppedaneum*.

39. K. Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lavra," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VIII, 1936, 83-98.

40. *Op. cit.*, II, plate VI, fig. 22b. It seems to me that stylistically this ivory could well belong to the "Border" group. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann date it on the basis of the decoration on the surrounding metal-work. However, the decoration above and below is much less fine than that at the sides, suggesting that the ivory was put in at a later date and the frame altered to fit.

41. The "Border" group was originally given a twelfth-century date by A. S. Keck (*op. cit.*). After the date was rejected by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, their argument was opposed by A. S. Keck and C. R. Morey (*op. cit.*, I, 405). The latter hold that the iconography of the Lamentation found on five ivories of the group (see note 20) does not occur in dated manuscripts before the twelfth century. They also point out that the similarity of a plaque in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 123), to the Last Judgment of the Torcello mosaic, and also to the style of the "Border" group ivories, requires that the group be dated after Torcello, i.e., not earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century.

42. I. M. Palmarini, "Barisano da Trani e le sue porte in

are indicative of a related archetype for both works. Barisanus used the same design for the doors at Trani, Ravello, and Monreale. The Ravello door is securely dated by an inscription in 1179; that of Trani can be shown to be slightly earlier, while that at Monreale must have been made about 1186. Thus between 1175 and 1186 the representation of the *Anastasis* found on our steatite was followed with great exactness by a leading Italian artist in bronze. Barisanus took many of his motives from Byzantine ivories, as Palmarini has shown, and frequently used Greek inscriptions. This rendition of the *Anastasis*, stemming from Constantinopolitan models akin to the Lavra Evangelary and to the prototype of 1111, which was therefore current in Italy in the second half of the twelfth century, the date which the iconographic evidence of the other three scenes has indicated as the probable date for the Vatican steatite. Eleventh-century representations of the *Anastasis* all have both the crossed gates and the prostrate form of Satan. The crossed gates, simplicity, rigid symmetry, and a minimum number of extra figures—all features of the Vatican plaque—are more common in the twelfth century than in the eleventh. The fact that we have here a provincial work, as brought out in earlier discussion, would confirm the twelfth-century dating, as only in Constantinople itself might such a combination be looked for in the eleventh century. Finally, we have the strong evidence that all the scenes in ivory of the Entombment, the Holy Women at the Sepulcher, and the *Anastasis*, which from an iconographic standpoint most closely approach the steatite representations, are connected with the "Border" group, which has been localized in Venice (thus supporting the theory of Italian provenance) and dated with probability in the twelfth century.⁴³

It is thus apparent from a study of the Vatican steatite that a date in the second half of the twelfth century and an Italian provenance are most consistent as explanations of its iconographic peculiarities.

FOGG MUSEUM OF ART

bronzo," *L'arte*, I, 1893, 15-26; E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, Paris, 1904, pp. 418-23, also frontispiece

and plate xviii; Gravina, *Il duomo di Monreale*, Palermo, 1859, plate v c.

43. See notes 21 and 41.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

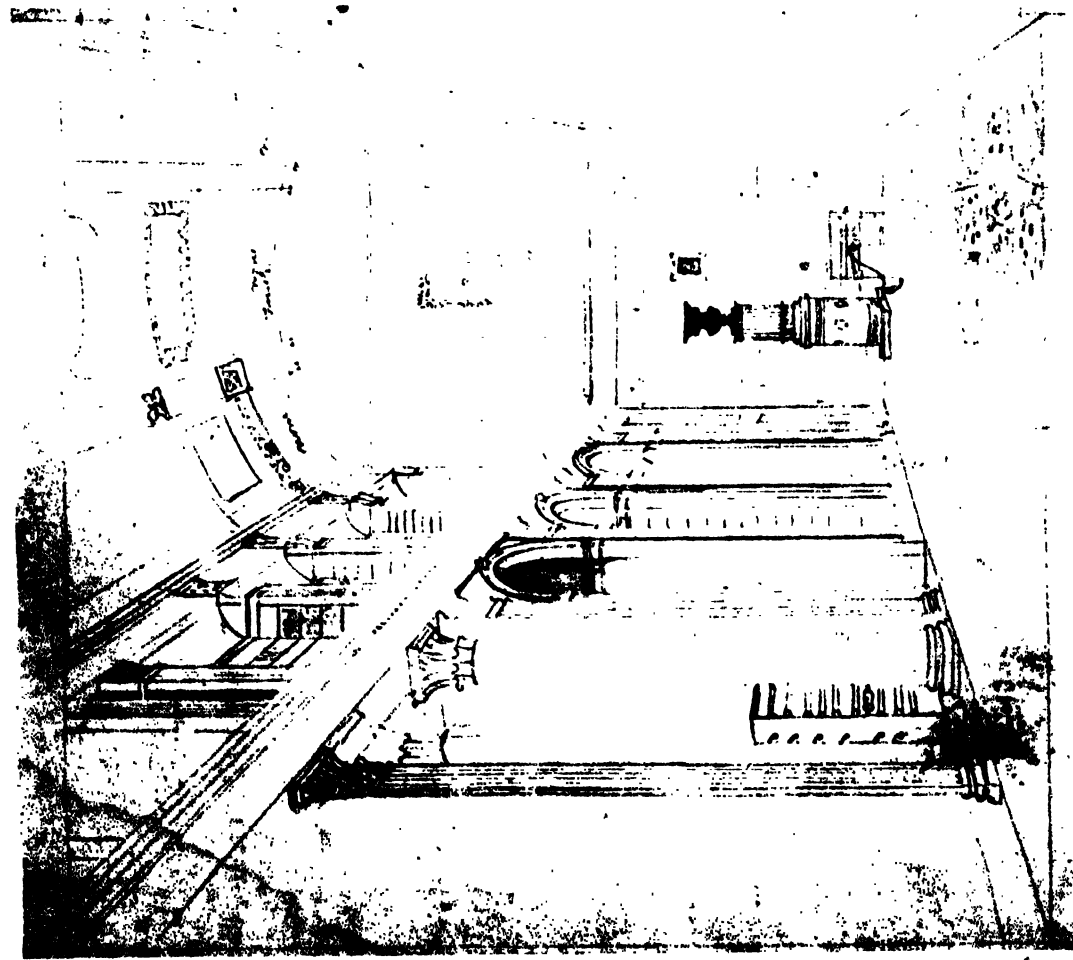


FIG. 1. Interior View of the Old Library of Congress. Drawn by A. J. Davis after the Design by Charles Bulfinch



FIG. 2. Reading Room of Library of the University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. Designed by Robert Mills, ca. 1840

NOTES

BULFINCH'S DESIGN FOR THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

BY ROGER HALE NEWTON

There has just come to light a unique drawing of a room in our National Capitol which no longer exists. But it illustrates how that famous pile has for more than a century inspired many of our Revivalist and Eclectic architects to adhere to a Classic style for public buildings the nation over.

An exhibition of "Original Architectural Drawings of 200 Years" recently held at the Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University, included, amongst others by the hand of Alexander Jackson Davis (1803-92), an interior view of the old Library of Congress as designed by Charles Bulfinch (Fig. 1).¹ So far as we know, this Davis drawing is unique in being the only extant record of the first Library of Congress to be housed in the newly completed Capitol. When the British, under Admiral Cockburn, set fire to the unfinished capital in 1814, the original Library of Congress, then housed in the Senate Wing of the Capitol, was totally destroyed. Upon being engaged to rebuild and complete the Capitol, Benjamin Henry Latrobe made a design for a new Library in the Egyptian style,² obviously to be situated beyond the Rotunda, behind the west-central façade.

When Bulfinch succeeded Latrobe early in 1818 as Architect of the National Capitol, by appointment from President Madison, he attempted to carry into execution the plans of his various predecessors, at least in spirit. But as far as I can ascertain by comparing these designs, Bulfinch's for the Library of Congress was, for the most part, original in elevation and largely so in plan. He mentions it in a report to the Commissioner of Public Buildings dated December 6, 1823:³

"The Library room is 92' long, 34' wide, and 38' high; it is finished with alcoves or recesses for books according to the most approved models of rooms for this use, with a gallery above giving access to other alcoves. The ceiling is richly finished in panels of stucco, with three skylights. . . ." And in another report dated a year later, December 8, 1824: "The Library and contiguous rooms are complete, and are furnished and occupied for use. . . ." As the Davis drawing shows, Bulfinch used the Corinthian order from the Tower of the Winds in conformity with Latrobe's famous corn-husk capitals appearing elsewhere in the building, and it may still be seen flanking the entrance to the original Library of Congress suite of rooms.⁴

1. The author wishes to thank the Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University, for permission to use the photograph of the Davis drawing of the Library of Congress, and L. Bancel La Farge for the photograph of the Library of the University of South Carolina.

2. Glenn Brown, *History of the United States Capitol*, Vol. 1, *The Old Capitol, 1792-1850*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1900, pl. 47.

3. *Documentary History of the Construction and Development of the United States Capitol, Building and Grounds*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904, p. 257.

4. Brown, *op. cit.*, pl. 95.

At the University of South Carolina at Columbia there is a Library⁵ built circa 1840 by Robert Mills (1781-1855) (Fig. 2). It is an exact duplicate, upon a somewhat smaller scale, of Bulfinch's Library of Congress, faithful to the smallest detail of plaster ornament, having a fire-place and mantel at either end (the Library of Congress had handsome Louis XVI stoves in addition), sunken panels, blind bays containing staircases to the galleries, groups of three arched bays flanking a central square one with columns in antis, an attic with clerestory lighting, and a paneled ceiling pierced by three oculi. The only difference lies in the ceiling, which is a segmental vault at Washington and flat at Columbia, while the Washington attic is considerably higher in proportion than that at Columbia. Otherwise, this amazing piece of plagiarism is complete! Beyond and at each end, we catch a glimpse of a smaller reading room, as also planned by Bulfinch.⁷ So Mills merely stole Bulfinch's design of the Library of Congress when commissioned to build a Library for the University of South Carolina some eighteen years later.

We know that Mills greatly admired Latrobe's special idiom and continued to work in it long after that master's demise. Is it possible that, when Bulfinch came to design the Library of Congress prior to 1823, Mills exerted any influence in the choice of an order and general features, and therefore felt justified in using that scheme some eighteen years later? Or did he just find it too tempting not to combine this interior with a typically Millsian façade (as his Library stands today at Columbia, S. C.), when pressed for time?

But how did Davis come to make this historically important and accurate drawing of the interior of Bulfinch's Library of Congress, and when? His senior partner, Ithiel Town (1784-1844), whom he joined in 1829 to practice in New York, had evidently heard that Bulfinch would soon resign his appointment. Accordingly, in both 1830 and 1833, he secured a basement room in the Capitol for draughting and placed young Davis there, meanwhile trying to outmaneuver their arch-rival, Mills, who also aspired to the post and attained it in 1836. During these two sojourns, Town instructed Davis to make a careful study of all Federal buildings, actual and contemplated, besides sketches; hence this one of the Library of Congress. Its accuracy attests both to Davis' skill as a draughtsman and to his keen powers of observation. Meanwhile, the firm of Town and Davis made a series of competition drawings for the Post Office, Treasury, and Patent Office in the Greek Revival style, which Mills evidently used in part when actually designing them after 1836.⁸

Bulfinch's Library of Congress remained in use until its destruction by fire in December 1851, when Thomas Ustick Walter rebuilt it in cast iron, to

5. Montgomery Schuyler, in the *Architectural Record*, xxx, 1911, 66.

6. Mrs. H. M. Pierce Gallagher, *Robert Mills: Architect of the Washington Monument, 1781-1855*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1935.

7. Brown, *op. cit.*, pl. 104.

8. See the author's *Town and Davis: Pioneer Revivalists in American Architecture* (in press).

render it fireproof, in accordance with his splendid Neo-Baroque designs for the great Senate and House wings and magnificent cast iron dome.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that Bulfinch's drawing for the Library of Congress represents a typically Classic Revival design of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, restrained in feeling, and delicate in modeling. As executed at Columbia, S. C.

circa 1840, it must even then have looked a bit old-fashioned in comparison with the more robust and richer Greek Revival then at the height of fashion. But Mills always remained true to his Latrobian training.

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EXHIBITION REVIEWS

THE EXHIBITION OF SPANISH PAINTING AT THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

BY WALTER W. S. COOK

Of the various exhibitions related to Spanish painting held in this country during the past season, the finest and most extensive was that held in the Toledo Museum of Art during the months of March and April. This exhibition was a comprehensive ensemble, including examples of Spanish painting from the Romanesque period through Goya, and contributions were made by the most important art museums and private collectors of this country. It was organized and arranged by Mr. Josep Gudiol, who during the past year was Carnegie Professor of Spanish Art at the Toledo Museum.

The earliest example shown was the series of mural paintings in fresco from the Mozarabic chapel of S. Baudelio de Berlanga. In order to exhibit in an appropriate atmosphere this important specimen of twelfth-century painting, the chapel of Berlanga was reconstructed, in slightly smaller scale than the original, but large enough to display on its walls the large compositions, including biblical subjects and an unusually interesting series of hunting scenes. The vaults of the reconstructed chapel were decorated to complete the idea of the colorful aspect of a Romanesque church. The effect of the hall was magnificent and represented one of the greatest efforts ever made to present to the public a set of Romanesque frescoes, properly lighted and built into a suitable structure.

The evolution of Spanish painting was portrayed by a large group of Spanish panels of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The early Gothic period, when Spanish schools were thoroughly influenced by the Franco-Gothic style, was represented by an altar-frontal with scenes from the Passion, in the typical style of the school of Navarre about the year 1300. The Aragonese school of the same period was represented by two panels with similar iconography which had never been exhibited before. The local schools of the fourteenth century were represented by the fine polyptych from The Pierpont Morgan Library, which after having been attributed for many years to various localities, was finally grouped correctly with a number of panels and manuscripts painted in the region of Barcelona in the second half of the fourteenth century. Jaime Serra was illustrated by a large *Adoration of the Shepherds*, again an unknown panel and one of the best works of the early period of this important Catalan master. The brilliant *Christ before Pilate*, dating about 1420, has all the qualities of Luis Borrassá, the painter from Gerona, who was the earliest exponent of the International Style in Spain.

The retable of S. Michel, one of the recent acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum, represented the rich development of the International Style in Valencia during the first half of the fifteenth century. The later development of this style in the same school was exemplified by three beautiful feminine martyr

saints by Jacomart, its greatest exponent in the middle of the fifteenth century. Martín de Soria, with his large retable of St. Anthony Abbot and St. Michel, closed the cycle of Gothic painting in the Iberian peninsula, joining the qualities of the Aragonese tradition with the style of Jaime Huguet.

The Hispano-Flemish style which developed in Castile during the second half of the fifteenth century is unusually well represented in this country. The Toledo exhibition included one of the predecessors of this style, Juan de Burgos, who signed an *Annunciation* on panel, which still retains some of the characteristics of the work of the famous painter of Leon, Nicolas Francés. Fernando Gallego, a follower of Dirk Bouts, was represented by an *Epiphany*, which is one of the important acquisitions of the Toledo Museum of Art.

The transition from the Gothic schools to the Renaissance was illustrated by the *Adoration of the Magi* by the Játiva Master, the *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, a section of the miniature painted by Juan de Flandes for Isabella of Castile, and an *Epiphany*, in which probably the hands of Osona, father and son, collaborated.

The sixteenth century in Spain is still a virgin field in art history. Most of the masters are still involved in a nebulous uncertainty, although they created important masterpieces. The reason why these artists are so little known in this country is that their works for the most part still hang in the places for which they were originally produced. Only a few painters of the school founded by Philip II of Madrid have achieved the rank of the better-known masters of the seventeenth century. Alonso Sánchez Coello, the most prominent among the Madrid school of the sixteenth century, was represented in Toledo by the striking portrait of a prince, probably the young Philip III, painted about 1575.

The Toledo exhibition gave to El Greco a special room. The great Cretan artist was represented by paintings of his different periods. The famous *Expulsion from the Temple* with the portraits of Titian, Michelangelo, and Giulio Clovio, from the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, shows the last phase of his Roman style and already possesses some of the qualities of his large paintings of S. Domingo el Antiguo in Toledo. The *Annunciation* from the Coe collection in Cleveland characterized the period about 1585, when El Greco painted his great *S. Mauricio* for the Escorial. The subsequent period could be seen in the *Agony in the Garden*, from the Arthur Sachs collection, and the impressive bust of *Christ Embracing the Cross*. The charming *Holy Family*, which was probably one of the models painted by the master in preparation for his larger compositions, begins to show some of the distortions which developed during his latest period, represented in the Toledo Museum by the *Crucifixion* with the view of Toledo.

Other painters in Spain contemporary with El Greco's last period, whose works were included in the exhibition, were the Milanese Juan Bautista Maino (*Portrait of a Man*), and the Carthusian monk Juan Sánchez Cotán, represented by a highly realistic still life; José Ribera, the Valencian painter, the most

prominent master of the Spanish Tenebrists, who showed the tactile qualities of his sculptural technique in a *St. Peter* painted around 1630, in the *Geographer* from the Boston Museum, the *Portrait of a Musician*, owned by the Toledo Museum, and a magnificent *St. Jerome*, loaned by the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University.

Francisco Herrera, one of the pioneers of the school of Seville in the seventeenth century, was shown by one of the few paintings of this artist in this country, the *Drinker* from the Worcester Art Museum. Velasquez, the most prominent painter formed in this school, was honored in this exhibition by an unusual ensemble of his paintings, covering his earliest period, when he was a pupil of Pacheco, until his latest style, when he was the royal painter at the court of Philip IV. His paintings, which like those of El Greco were displayed in a special room, were the *St. Simon and the Servant*, both painted around 1619 in Seville; the *Portrait of a Man*; the *Man with a Wine-Glass*, and the *Head of a Woman*, belonging to his first Madrid period. The *Head of Apollo*, a study for his *Forge of Vulcan*, shows the simplification of his technique at the time of his first trip to Italy. The amazing portrait of the Infanta Margareta, a canvas which has recently been acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts of San Diego, California, is an admirable example of the painter's late style.

Francisco de Zurbarán and Bartolomé Murillo, the two leading painters of the school of Seville during the seventeenth century, were also excellently represented in Toledo. The powerful realism of Zurbarán, with his simple and clear manner of representing masses, with the striking use of whites and frank tonalities, was well exemplified by the *Flight into Egypt*, the *Legend of the Bell*, and the great *St. Jerome*. One of the great masterpieces of Murillo was shown, the *St. Thomas of Villanueva Dividing his Clothes among the Beggar Boys*, one of the treasures of the

Cincinnati Art Museum. The nebulous quality and elaborate technique could also be studied in the scene of *St. Giles before Pope Gregory IX*, the landscape scene with *Jacob and Rachel at the Well*, and the impressive *Portrait of a Man* from St. Louis. Alonso Cano, the sculptor and painter of Granada, was represented by a *St. Lawrence* from the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City; Francisco Collantes, with his *Hagar and Ishmael*, and Carreño de Miranda, with his *Baptism of Christ*, represented the school of Madrid after Velasquez.

A still life by Luis Menéndez opened the chapter of eighteenth-century painting, dominated by the great genius Francisco Goya, who was represented in the exhibition at Toledo by no less than eighteen paintings. His early period was exemplified by the beautiful tapestry cartoons representing *Two Gossiping Women* and the delightful *Winter Landscape*, painted for his protectors, the Dukes of Osuna. The great canvas, the *Majas on the Balcony*, shows the climax of his technical development. The impressionistic quality of his last period, when he was perturbed by the tragedy of the Napoleonic War in Spain, is apparent in his *Escape from a Burning Town*, the *Bullfight*, the *St. Paul*, strangely reminiscent of the Spanish Baroque style, and especially in the great portrait of the architect Juan Antonio Cuervo.

This memorable exhibition of Spanish painting was a manifestation of the active life of the Toledo Museum of Art and of Mr. Blake-More Godwin, its director. It has left a permanent record with the publication of a short history of Spanish painting, illustrated with the works exhibited on this occasion as well as by other examples of Spanish painting in American collections. It is a concise, clearly-written résumé by Mr. Josep Gudiol, which for the first time gives a comprehensive study of the evolution of all Spanish painting from the Middle Ages through Goya.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

BOOK AND PERIODICAL REVIEWS

The following review initiates a series of reviews of periodical literature, which we hope will be of bibliographical and particularly of critical value to readers of the ART BULLETIN. *Ed.*

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE ON 17TH-CENTURY PAINTING IN THE NETHERLANDS AND GERMANY

Any survey of the research work in art history published in periodicals during the last two years must because of circumstances be fragmentary, since war conditions make it impossible to consult a number of recent issues of European periodicals. For this reason alone, the following attempt to cover the field of Netherlandish and German painting of the seventeenth century cannot possibly achieve completeness. As compensation for this and many other deficiencies, attention will be called to some valuable contributions which appeared slightly prior to 1939 but may not have been sufficiently noticed. Drawings and graphic arts have been included. With some exceptions, the production seems comparatively slight as regards both quantity and quality.

SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS

Leo van Puyvelde has published additional authenticated works by Rubens' teacher ADAM VAN NOORT ("Nouvelles œuvres d'Adam van Noort, maître de Rubens," *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 1, 1938, 157-61) which tend to corroborate the impression that from that very traditional painter, Rubens could hardly have profited more than "le maniement de la pâte et la bonne facture soignée." Curiously enough, all of them represent the *Last Supper* and were painted about 1610-20; incidentally, the two earliest ones must be considered among the possible sources of Gustavus Hesselius' rendering of the same subject for St. Barnabas Church in Queen Anne's County, Maryland.

An article on RUBENS of outstanding importance appeared in *Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, N.F. XIII, 1938/39, 185 ff. Its author, F. Kieser, has made excellent contributions to the study of Rubens' work, published in earlier issues of the same periodical. The present article deals with Rubens' *Silenus* in Munich and its predecessors. The probable original of the first version of this favorite subject of Rubens is, according to Kieser, the picture in the Durazzo-Pallavicini Palace in Genoa, of which copies exist in Würzburg and in Munich (by Teniers); the composition was engraved by Carlo Faucci in the year 1763. This version, painted ca. 1612, is very closely related to Rubens' *Ecce Homo* composition of approximately the same date (probably known through copies only: Würzburg Residence, formerly in Schleissheim; for a better version see *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F. XVIII, 1907, 38). It was influenced by ancient sources (head of Silenus), Caravaggio, and mainly Titian's *Ecce Homo* (cf. the copy in Augsburg). The second "state" of this composition, done ca. 1615, seems again to have survived in copies only (Cassel); the third, again somewhat later, is the

famous picture in the Munich Pinakothek. The article is written in excellent style; the analyses of the iconographic and formal evolution are penetrating and convincing.

The entire June 1940 number of the *Burlington Magazine* (vol. LXXVI) was dedicated to Rubens on the occasion of the tercentenary of his death. An article by G. Glück on "Rubens as Portrait Painter" (pp. 173-83) reviews an important field of the master's activity from the first dated painting, the portrait of 1597 in the Blank collection in Newark, N. J., to some of his later, more representative achievements, including a recently-discovered full-length likeness of Archduke Albert (possibly the one mentioned in a document of October 13, 1615), and the magnificent companion pieces representing Louis XIII and Anne of France which are now in this country. Christopher Norris ("Rubens before Italy," pp. 184-94) deals with a much more delicate subject. His careful analysis of all available data, his evaluation of van Veen's influence on Rubens, his attribution to Rubens of the putti-frame around van Veen's portrait of Archduke Albert in the Albertina, make his article a most valuable contribution, even if the correctness of his ingenious attributions of the Caravaggesque *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* (L. Burchard collection) and of the slightly more "Flemish"-looking *Tobias Returning with the Angel* should not be borne out by further research. Among the copies by Rubens after Italian masters, reviewed and partly rediscovered by J. Q. van Regteren Altena ("Rubens as a Draughtsman, 1: Relations to Italian Art," pp. 194-200), a magnificent second version of Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* in the collection of the Queen of the Netherlands is the most important item, not only for its connection with Rubens. There are many other excellent observations to be found in this article.

"Rubens, his Spirit and Style," is the title of an essay by L. van Puyvelde published in *Parnassus*, XI, February 1939, 5-9.

The valuable and presumably only too short-lived *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* contains in its first volume (1938) some further contributions to Rubens. J. Zarnowski (pp. 163-69) publishes a recently-discovered sketch for the *Road to Calvary*. It is the original of Pietro Monaco's engraving of 1763 and was acquired by the Warsaw Museum. The author agrees with Antal (*Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIV, 1923, 65) in placing it considerably before any work done in connection with the large composition painted for the abbey of Afflighem in 1634; he dates this sketch slightly earlier than the version engraved by Pontius, namely ca. 1615. Zarnowski's article was written when the Brussels Museum acquired another sketch of this composition, reproduced in the same *Annuaire*. G. Glück (pp. 151-56) publishes as by Rubens a composition of the *Massacre of the Innocents* which had been tentatively attributed by the Brussels Museum to Anton Sellaert. It is rather closely related to Tintoretto's representation of the same subject in San Rocco, known in the Nether-

lands through an anonymous engraving which was later wrongly inscribed as "Vorsterman after Rubens," possibly on account of a Rubens copy after Tintoretto's work. The Brussels painting, already published and attributed by Oldenbourg to an anonymous early Rubens pupil, looks very much like a Rubens composition of about 1610, although its execution seems to be rather weak, a fact admitted by Glück who had been shown, by L. Burchard, the photograph of a seemingly better version which was in Germany in 1926. A *Massacre* by Rubens in his "eerste manier" was in the hands of an art dealer in 1698 and may well be identified with the Brussels picture or its original. Paul Jamot (pp. 157-61) has written a short and amusing essay on "Chapeau de Paille ou Chapeau de Poil," the gist of which is contained in its title. The name now generally given to Rubens' famous portrait of Suzanna Fourment is rather recent; as late as 1877 the picture was called "Chapeau Espagnol"; and it is indeed quite possible that the title was originally "Chapeau de Poil" and has been mistakenly changed to "Chapeau de Paille" since the arrival of the picture in London.

Julius Held's article on "Rubens' *King of Tunis* and Vermejen's Portrait of Mulay Ahmad" (*Art Quarterly*, III, 1940, 173-81) is an interesting study of Rubens' relationship to, and copying of, works of older masters. The impressive work, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, corresponds exactly to an etching done by Jan Vermejen about 1535, except for its being in reverse, a fact which suggests that Rubens, when painting this work about 1609/10, used as his model a lost painting by Vermejen rather than the etching. The two other recent Rubens acquisitions of the Boston Museum, the portrait of Isabella Brant and the *Queen Tomyris*, are published in the Museum's *Bulletin* by W. G. Constable (xxxvii, 1939, 2) and C. C. Cunningham (xxxix, 1941, 35-40).

The delicate problem whether or not Rubens was in the habit of making any compositional pen and ink sketches for paintings is tackled in a short article by L. van Puyvelde in *Pantheon*, xxiii, 1939, 75-80. The author assumes a rather radical attitude by denying any considerable use of this method on the part of Rubens, except for the earlier period and in a desultory fashion thereafter, thus placing himself in sharp opposition to a great number of Rubens scholars (see also the same author's *Rubens Skizzen*, Frankfurt, 1939, and *Catalogue de l'Exposition "Dessins de P.-P. Rubens"*, Brussels, 1938-39). Van Puyvelde harks back to this question in an article "On Rubens Drawings" in the *Burlington Magazine*, lxxvii, 1940, 123-27, where he publishes a pen-and-ink study for a part of Rubens' *Battle between Constantine and Maxentius* which belongs to the Louis XIII tapestry series. As to the color sketch for this composition, he substitutes the version in the F. Stern collection in New York for the copy in Würzburg, after which he reviews the other original color sketches for the same series.

H. G. Evers deals in *Pantheon* (xxv, 1940, 103-111) with Rubens' battle pieces, and in *Das Werk des Künstlers* (I, 1939, 400-410) with his *Defeat of Senacherib*. In *Die Kunst*, lxxxix, 1940, 220-26, U.

Christoffel writes on Rubens as landscape painter.

In a comparative analysis of van Dyck's *St. Martin* at Windsor and at Saventhem (*Burlington Magazine*, lxxvii, 1940, 37-42), van Puyvelde places the Saventhem version as early as about 1615, and the one in Windsor about 1620 (after preparation of the main changes in the Holford and the Toledo, Ohio, sketches). Operating exclusively on stylistic grounds, he refutes the customary dating of the Saventhem picture (1621) as wholly unsupported by any documents, and convincingly eliminates any possibility of the attribution of the damaged and partly over-painted Windsor version to Rubens.

A little masterpiece is Charles Sterling's article on "Van Dyck's Paintings of St. Rosalie" (*Burlington Magazine*, lxxiv, 1939, 53-62). Two recently-found versions of this subject have led the author to review the whole complex of pictures painted by van Dyck in Palermo during the great plague of 1624 as some kind of prayers for intercession. G. Glück's "Notes on van Dyck's Stay in Italy" (pp. 207-208) emphasize the fact that van Dyck copied a great number of Italian pictures and tried to become as "Italian" as possible, even before he left Antwerp for the South.

In *Art in America*, xxviii, 1940, 3-8, L. van Puyvelde reaffirms the attribution of the portrait of Isabella Brant in the National Gallery at Washington to van Dyck. This view is shared—no doubt correctly so—by Charles de Tolnay in his valuable summary of the wonderful collection of van Dyck portraits in Washington (*Magazine of Art*, xxxiv, 1941, 191-98).

An article on CORNELIS DE VOS as a portraitist, by Edith Greindl (*Pantheon*, xxiii, 1939, 109-114) is valuable mainly because of its good illustrations.

As to JORDAENS, the reader is referred to J. Held's excellent article on "Jordaens' Portraits of his Family" in the *ART BULLETIN* (xxii, 1940, 70-82), and to the same author's discussion of "Unknown Paintings by Jordaens in America," *Parnassus*, xii, March 1940, 26-29. (See also under Rembrandt, below, p. 228.)

The development of BROUWER's compositions is treated by L. van Puyvelde in the *Burlington Magazine*, lxxvii, 1940, 140-44, in a rather sketchy manner. He bases his remarks mainly on a hitherto unknown enlarged version of the signed *Company of Peasants Singing* in the former M. Kappel collection. However, the emptiness and the meticulous copying of details found in the new picture seems to compare most unfavorably with the concise quality of the earlier composition.

A charming single-figure piece by DAVID RYCKAERT III in the Cleveland Museum was published by D. F. Darby (*Art in America*, xxviii, 1940, 98-108), together with a useful survey of the artist's œuvre. E. Laloire writes on "Le Peintre J. van Schuppen et le Marquis de Westerloo" (in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, ix, 1939, 21-36; not accessible to this writer). A short article on "Drawings of JAN WILDENS" by A. J. J. van Delen (*Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, I, 1938, 171-76) fails to contribute the secure data so much needed on this rather enigmatic artist. The three published drawings are by at least two different

artists, and there is still no telling whose they actually are.

HOLLAND

Two articles in the *Art Quarterly* undertake to deal with broader aspects of Dutch painting in the seventeenth century: Adolph Goldschmidt writes on "The Style of Dutch Painting in the Seventeenth Century" (II, 1939, 3-18), and E. P. Richardson on "The Romantic Prelude to Dutch Realism" (III, 1940, 40-78).

It is to be regretted that Goldschmidt has not had (or taken) the opportunity to give his statements a more elaborate substructure. It would have been most gratifying to follow the Nestor of German art history (to whom, in the field of Dutch art, we owe such splendid work as the rediscovery of Willem Buytewech) with leisure, on his way through the maze of Dutch painting of the seventeenth century, without being compelled to read scores of reservations between the lines or to pose questions for which the author might easily have provided the answers. As everyone would expect, the article contains a great number of excellent observations and intimations, for example on the qualities of figure grouping during the three periods of multiplicity, unification, and new dispersion (the third of which is partly a synthesis of the two previous ones)—those periods which have been traced by other writers mainly as to their differences in color and general composition. But there remain many open issues and a number of rather challenging statements which would have to be qualified and clarified before one could accept this article with complete satisfaction.

A different question is raised by Mr. Richardson's article. This is mainly a problem of chronology or rather of periodicity. It is to be feared that his theory of a "romantic" phase of Dutch art from about 1600 to 1630 will hardly be accepted as it stands. The author gives a rather broad definition of romanticism ("the tendency to push outward to the frontiers of experience, toward the strange, the individual, the marvelous, the intensely personal, to follow the lead of the emotions toward a dramatic and spontaneous expression"), and contrasts it with classicism. Considering his particular topic, this amounts to contrasting romanticism with late mannerism. As to the new realism, the border-lines between it and romanticism are not very meticulously drawn: witness the above quotation and the author's interpretation of Frans Hals. The resulting differentiations are perfectly justified in terms of categories but hardly of chronology. The author's excellent analysis of the landscapes of Vinckboons, Coninxloo, and Savery, and of such paintings as Vredeman de Vries' architectural fantasies, fully proves the presence of a romantic *trend* in early seventeenth-century Dutch painting; but was this really a *phase*, a "prelude" to realism, or even a transition from mannerism to realism? It seems that the dates would not permit such an interpretation. There is romanticism in many of Cornelis van Haarlem's paintings of the 1590's (e.g. the *Garden of Love* of 1596 in Potsdam) and most certainly in Goltzius' chiaroscuro landscapes of the same period; there is romanticism—granted by the author—in Seghers' works (including some later ones)

and in Rembrandt's œuvre, again admitted by the author, who tends to see Rembrandt's final solitude as caused by the turning away of the public from romanticism to classicism; and is not Ruisdael's *Jewish Cemetery* romantic also (see the author's definition quoted above)? In other words, is there not a romantic "trend" in late mannerism of the 1590's (cf. also van Mander's landscapes), in Coninxloo, in Seghers, in A. van der Neer's moonlight scenes, and in Jacob van Ruisdael, Hobbema, and Philip Koninck? And did not, at the same time, classicistic "possibilities" exist in the works of the late Cornelis van Haarlem and other Haarlem classicists such as Salomon de Bray and Pieter de Grebber, which link late mannerism with the decoration of the Amsterdam Town Hall and the Huis ten Bosch? And did not in the meantime realism actually develop from late mannerism (again van Mander, or Cornelis van Haarlem's and Ketel's group portraits, which are the immediate harbingers of Frans Hals's of 1616) via Cornelis Visscher, Buytewech, Esajas and Jan van de Velde, right into Molijn's and van Goyen's integrated works of the 'thirties? All of which seems to show that here, as often, development proper was restricted to the problem whose solution was the actual "task" of the period, whereas "classicism" and "romanticism" are indicative of attitudes rather than of an evolution.

"Reflections on Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting" were published by J. Held in *Parnassus*, XI, February 1939, 17-18.

The problem of REMBRANDT'S *Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis* has once more come to the fore on the occasion of the restoration of the gallery in the Amsterdam Town Hall for which it was painted. In an article published in *De Gids* as early as November 1937, Arnoldus Noach had endeavored to show that the current conception of an irreconcilable antagonism between the classicists and the late Rembrandt, which would have led of necessity to a refusal of Rembrandt's grandiose work for the Town Hall, could not be accepted. In an article in *Oud Holland* ("De Maaltijd in het Schakerbosch en de Versiering van het Stadhuis," LVI, 1939, 145-57), the same author has tried to fortify his position. According to his theory, the changes asked of Rembrandt by the authorities were necessitated by architectural alterations. The vaultings were first planned as elliptical and even executed as elliptical wooden emergency vaultings (in 1659 for the visit of Amalia of Solms), when they were hastily decorated with Govaert Flinck's provisional sketches. The compositions of Rembrandt as well as those of some other painters were then planned and completed with elliptical tops. When the stone vaults were eventually executed with round tops (1662), the compositions of the paintings had to be adjusted to that change. Although Rembrandt made a sketch indicating such an alteration, the picture was returned to him, possibly because he asked more for the alterations than Ovens did for his entire new work (48 guilders!), whereupon it was cut into its present format. The interpretation and chronological order of Rembrandt's sketches would consequently have to be the following: Hofstede de Groot 411; HdG 409 (as a *modello* for his patrons who

commissioned him with the work after Flinck's death in 1660; not immediately destined for execution but close to the final form); after finishing the picture, HdG 412, with indications of the change to a round top. HdG 410 is considered as a sketch for a different subject, the *Peace between Romans and Batavians*, and not by Rembrandt (Lievens?). Jordaens, too, had his pictures returned to him in 1666; the present renderings of *Victory* and *Peace* are not accepted by the author as genuine Jordaens paintings, but as imitations by Ovens in Jordaens' manner. It seems hardly possible to form an opinion on this very skillfully presented theory without having had an opportunity to review the entire material in the original and from many points of view. Suffice it to remind the reader of the fact that Valentiner (*Klassiker der Kunst*) has rejected all the sketches except HdG 409, which he considers (contrary to Bauch and in agreement with Noach) as a preparatory drawing, but as the only genuine one. If HdG 412 is a forgery (Valentiner), Noach's ingenious theory would not collapse entirely but would become very shaky, and the interpretation which blames the classicistic taste of the burgomasters for the rejection of Rembrandt's works would not have been convincingly refuted—particularly since Noach himself is inclined to believe that the burgomasters preferred an Ovens at 48 guilders to a Rembrandt that would have cost them more. The older theory was upheld and rather successfully vindicated in an interesting article by H. van de Waal which appeared after Noach's article of 1937, but before the one just dealt with ("Tempesta en de Historie-Schilderingen op het Amsterdamsche Raadhuis," *Oud Holland*, LVI, 1939, 49–65). He emphasizes the influence exerted in various degrees upon the present classicistic decorations by Tempesta's etchings after van Veen, and advances the opinion that Rembrandt's work was rejected because he refused to make use of the same source in a similar spirit. A slight methodical drawback of his analysis of the changes made by Tempesta in his adaptation of van Veen's compositions lies in the fact that van Veen's originals have not survived, but have to be hypothetically reconstructed from a different set of paintings by the same master illustrating the same subject matter.

The question which of the many versions of Rembrandt's early representation of the *Thirty Pieces of Silver* is the original, seems to have been definitely decided in favor of the picture in Lord Moyné's collection, since recent cleaning has revealed the monogram and the date 1629 (C. H. Collins Baker, "Rembrandt's *Thirty Pieces of Silver*," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXV, 1939, 179–80, with good reproductions). The attribution to Rembrandt of a *Diogenes* in a private collection at Budapest (A. Bredius, *Oud Holland*, LVI, 1939, 159) must provoke severe doubts; certainly it cannot have been done by Rembrandt about 1630, as suggested by Bredius.

Rembrandt's *Philemon and Baucis* in the Widener collection has been studied by the present writer in connection with a survey of the representations of the same story by other masters and their relationship to the *Supper at Emmaus* subject (in press in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, IV, 1940/41); an ar-

ticle on a representation of this story by E. DE WITTE, dated 1647, has not been accessible to me (Jhr. van Rijckevorsel, in *Historia*, 1938).

In a valuable study of "Rembrandt's Technical Means and their Stylistic Significance" (*Technical Studies in the Field of the Fine Arts*, VIII, 1940, 193–206), Jakob Rosenberg attempts "to find the technical features which all three categories of Rembrandt's work have in common" and identifies these with the chiaroscuro in the sense of a "fusion between the visible and the invisible," the chiaroscuro that "suggests a space which is never sharply limited but seems to be part of the infinite space around and behind the forms." The article speaks eloquently in favor of a much-needed synthesis of technical and stylistic research.

In the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, III, 1939/40, 119 ff., Ludwig Münz discusses "Rembrandt's *Synagogue* and Some Problems of Nomenclature," without attaining any definite results as to the subject of the former etching (not pure genre; "Judas Despised"?). The states of the *Jan Six* etching are reviewed and augmented (one impression of a state between I and II) by I. de Bruyn (*Oud Holland*, LVI, 1939, 193); the same author makes a contribution to the titles of Rembrandt etchings (p. 15), as do, once more, J. G. and N. F. van Gelder (pp. 87–88). The iconographical and stylistic development of the *Presentation in the Temple* in Rembrandt's work, with the main emphasis on the latest etching (B.50), has been traced by the present writer ("Rembrandt's *Presentation in the Dark Manner*," *Print Collector's Quarterly*, XXVII, 1940, 365–79).

An important discovery concerning Rembrandt's *Alchemist* or *Dr. Faust* (B. 270) was published by M. Bojanowski ("Das Anagramm in Rembrandt's *Faust*," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, XVI, 1938, 527–30). He has found the correct reading of the cryptic words in the outer circle of light which surrounds the inner circle (containing the promising *Adam, te adgeram*), and the center with the symbol of Christ. They read: *Tangas larga, latet amor*, the missing *O* being provided by the roundel to which the hand of the spirit points. "*Tangas larga*: even if you extend your investigation over the whole world you will fail to grasp one little but decisive thing: in the alphabet of science the very letter is missing which reveals the secret of the Divine Love." In a supplementary note (*ibid.*, XVIII, 1940, 112–115), E. Kieser shows convincingly that the *O* is, at the same time, a mirror reflecting the death-skull which lies on a board behind the alchemist: *amor* implies *mors*, and "only in the face of death—and at the price of death—can man solve the eternal enigma." It is, indeed, *Dr. Faust*.

O. Benesch's investigation of a hitherto little-noticed brush drawing by Rembrandt (*Art Quarterly*, III, 1940, 3–14) provides the reader with a penetrating analysis of Rembrandt's habit of drawing members of his family in the evening hours, and the artistic results of this habit, such as, for example, his assimilation of the use of "Caravaggesque" artificial light. However, the very early date assigned by Benesch to this drawing (ca. 1628) cannot but provoke

doubts, which have already been voiced by Valentiner, who, in a note attached to the article, dates the drawing about 1636. The stylistic parallels drawn by Benesch are not quite convincing; the same is true of his identifications of members of Rembrandt's family, one of whom looks very much like Saskia, as has already been suggested by J. Q. van Regteren Altena. The article is nevertheless most valuable, and the more so because of Valentiner's added publication of the recently-discovered *Touch*, one of the early painted series of the *Five Senses* (van Aalst collection).

A beautiful Rembrandt drawing of the 'fifties representing *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* was acquired by the Barber Institute of Fine Arts at Birmingham University and published by A. M. Hind in the *Burlington Magazine* (LXXVIII, 1941, 92-95). For other publications of Rembrandt drawings see *Old Master Drawings*, XIV, 1939, 57-58 (N. S. Trivas) and page 59 (A. P. Oppé).

An article on "Brouwer's Influence on Rembrandt" (*Art Quarterly*, IV, 1941, 40-54), in which A. Heppner strives hard to point out relations in subject matter and style between Brouwer and early works, mostly drawings, by Rembrandt, does not seem to carry much conviction, with perhaps one exception (*Woman Making Pancake*: Brouwer's painting in Basel and Rembrandt's drawing in Amsterdam). Most of the juxtapositions attest parallel interests and similar means of expression, rather than "influences."

The much-discussed problem of Rembrandt's hypothetical trip to England in 1640 has been taken up in an interesting article by A. Welcker ("Schilders-portretten, 1: G. Flinck," *Oud Holland*, LVII, 1940, 115-22). A drawing of a self-portrait by GOVAERT FLINCK was done on the back of a sheet of diary which contains a list of expenses written in English. Flinck had already attributed some of the landscape drawings which show English views and were supposed to prove a trip by Rembrandt to England, to the same pupil of the master. Welcker leaves, with Valentiner, only the Berlin drawing of St. Paul's in London to Rembrandt himself, and considers it a work done by Rembrandt in Amsterdam under the inspiration of Flinck's similar drawing in Vienna, which was made on the spot about 1640.

Articles on Rembrandt which this writer has not been able to see deal with the *Anatomy of Dr. Tulp* (H. Schrade, *Das Werk des Künstlers*, I, 1939, 60-100), the *Jeremiah* of 1630 (F. Schmidt-Degener, *Mededelingen van het Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunst en Wetenschappen*, 1939), and with the portrait of Maerten van Looen (J. G. van Dillen, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 1939).

Rembrandt's correspondence with Constantin Huygens relating to the *Passion* series of the 'thirties has been reprinted by Jhr. van Rijkevorsel in *Historia*, 19:8 (see also B. H. Molkenboer in *Vondel-Kroniek*, 1939).

The attributions of Rembrandt's *Samson Berating his Father-in-Law* in Berlin to LIEVENS, and of the Beresteyn portraits in New York to BACKER, have been rightly refuted by J. Held in his review of A. Burroughs' *Art Criticism from a Laboratory*, published in this periodical (XXII, 1940, 41-42).

An important study has been dedicated to WILLEM DROST (W. R. Valentiner, "Willem Drost, Pupil of Rembrandt," *Art Quarterly*, II, 1939, 295-325). Documents are extremely scarce; in fact, only a single one points vaguely to his having been a pupil of Rembrandt. Possibly coming from Germany (the portrait in the Warburg collection is signed "Wilhelm Drost"), the artist seems to have gone to Italy soon after 1656 and to have lived in Rotterdam in 1680. There are no more than four signed paintings and two signed etchings; two more paintings are pretty well authenticated by eighteenth-century reproductions bearing his name. Among the attributions, Valentiner now includes the *Sibyl* in New York, the striking new acquisition of the Chicago Art Institute, which according to Valentiner does not represent *Eli and Samuel* but the *Departure of Benjamin from Jacob* (I fail to see Drost's hand in this picture, as I still do in the Cassel *Halberdier*), and the *Hendrickje*(?) in Dresden. The copy of the latter picture in New York, formerly given to Rembrandt by Hofstede de Groot and Valentiner himself, he now tentatively attributes (with Bredius) to B. FABRITIUS, to whom the Dresden version had wrongly been given before. (I have for many years been convinced that Drost was the author of the Dresden picture.) Some other paintings are given to Drost's "Italian" period; they show relationship to Jan Lys, and also to Carl Loth, with whom Drost stayed in Rome.

Another Rembrandt pupil, this one of Danish origin, was BERNARD KEIL, whom Drost might have met in Rome. R. Longhi ("Monsù Bernardo," *Critica d'arte*, XVI XVIII, 1939) gives to him a large number of the pictures ascribed by H. Voss to Amorosi. In this connection it may be useful to refer to the less recent article by R. A. Peltzer on "Christoph Paudiss und seine Tätigkeit in Freising" (*Müncher Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F. XII, 1937/38, 251-80), which contains important documents and valuable reproductions.

A. Bredius ("Een vroeg werk van CAREL FABRITIUS," *Oud Holland*, LVI, 1939, 3-14) gives a good many reasons for attributing to a very early period of Carel Fabritius a large painting representing *The Amalekite Bringing Saul's Crown to David*. In spite of many clumsy and awkward features, the picture shows remarkable affinities with later works of the master. If it is his, it must precede the recently-discovered *Raising of Lazarus* in Warsaw, which is more integrated in movement and composition. Bredius dates the *David* from Fabritius' apprenticeship with Rembrandt, ca. 1642-44, but it is definitely less Rembrandtesque than the Warsaw picture. *Non liquet*. Jhr. van Rijkevorsel ("David en de Amelachiet door Carel Fabritius," *Historia*, V, 1939, 55-57) seems to have dealt with the same picture.

Among the "Four Paintings of the Rembrandt School at Boston," published by C. Cunningham in *Art in America*, XXVIII, 1940, 185-90, a self-portrait by BARENT FABRITIUS is the most important one; the others are by G. VAN DEN ECKHOUT, FERDINAND BOL, and AERT DE GELDER.

A. Welcker concludes his series of articles on "JOHANNES RUYSCHE alias Jonge Hercules" in *Oud Holland*, LVII, 1940, 28-39. Three etchings which are

close to Rembrandt point definitely to his having been a pupil of Rembrandt's, and the frequent appearance of views of Cleves in Ruyscher's work is accounted for by his having served as "Kurfürstlich brandenburgischer Landschaftenmaler" in that very town. In *Pantheon*, xxv, 1940, 13-16, H. Dattenberg deals with drawings by LAMBERT DOOMER.

The iconography of FRANS HALS's portraits has been enriched by an article of K. Erasmus (*Burlington Magazine*, lxxv, 1939, 236-39), in which the male subject of a pair of 1638, formerly in the J. P. Morgan collection, is identified with Andries van der Horn, a prominent citizen of Haarlem who was also represented by Hals in his 1638 *Shooting Company* and by Jan de Bray in a portrait of 1662, formerly in the Six collection.

On VERMEER VAN DELFT see the excellent article by Trautscholdt in Thieme-Becker's *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, xxxiv, 1940.

An interior by PIETER DE HOOCH, signed and dated 1658, was discovered in a private collection in Paris and published by A. Bredius (*Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, 127).

Two interesting articles have been dedicated to a much neglected topic: the iconographical aspect of the art of JAN STEEN. A. Heppner ("The Popular Theatre of the Rederijkers in the Work of Jan Steen and his Contemporaries," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, iii, 1939/40, 22 ff.) carefully expands Dr. van Gils's observations made in *Op de Hoogte* (Haarlem, March 1937, 92) towards a thorough investigation of the relationship between the contemporary stage, particularly of the Rederijker clubs, and such works by Jan Steen as *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Seleucus and Stratonice* (for this compare also the important thesis by Louis Sorieri, *Boccaccio's Story of Tito e Gisippo in European Literature*, New York, 1937), *The Banquet of Esther*, and also his representations of the meetings of Rederijkers, etc. He comes to the conclusion that "Jan Steen . . . is never mocking or condescending, he always reports accurately, without parody; in his scenes from the Bible or antiquity, he drew living inspiration from the performances of the Rederijkers which were for him a bridge between nature and fantasy." J. B. F. van Gils was able to identify a picture by Steen which was formerly called *The Grotto of Neptune* (HdG 69b), as an interpretation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* viii-ix, the *Visit of Theseus to Achelous* (*Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 145-47; see also p. 192). The interpretation of the Brunswick *Wedding* picture as the *Wedding of Tobias* was repeated (see A. Fink in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, lx, 1926/27, 230) by K. E. Simon in an article which contains some other contributions to the problem, "Jan Steen and Utrecht" (*Pantheon*, xxvi, 1940, 162-65). For other works by Steen see W. R. Valentiner in the *Detroit Bulletin*, xix, 1940, 65-69, and W. H. Siple in the *Cincinnati Museum Bulletin*, x, 1939, 97-106.

Contributions to the study of the brothers VAN OSTADE and their circle are made by F. Scheyer ("Portraits of the Brothers van Ostade," *Art Quarterly*, ii, 1939, 134-41), A. Bredius ("Een en ander over Adriaen van Ostade," *Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, 241-46; cf. J. F. M. Sterck, *ibid.*, lvii, 1940, 139),

and A. Welcker ("Jan de Groot, leerling en navolger van A. van Ostade," *ibid.*, lvii, 1940, 149-58).

A good survey of the paintings of HERKULES SEGHERS is provided by E. Trautscholdt in *Pantheon*, xxv, 1940, 81-86.

The etchings by PAUL POTTER are discussed and catalogued by E. L. Allhusen in the *Print Collector's Quarterly*, xxvi, 1939, 209-223 and 335-47. A. Heppner writes on NICOLAES BERCHEM as illustrator of the New Testament (*Het Gildeboek*, 1940). On JAN VAN GOYEN see E. P. Richardson in the *Detroit Museum Bulletin*, xix, 1939, 12-17. The present writer has made a survey of SALOMON VAN RUYSDAEL's paintings in America (*Art Quarterly*, ii, 1939, 251-64), and traced the history of a particular Venus and Cupid motive from Michelangelo, Parmegianino, and Lambert Sustris down to NICOLAES KNUPFER and his followers (*Art in America*, xxviii, 1940, 162-68). An Elsheimer-like *Philemon and Baucis* in Wanås, Sweden, is attributed to HENDRIK GOUDT on the ground of a number of related drawings (H. Weizsäcker, "Ein Gemälde von H. Goudt," *Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, 185-92). The paintings of the Frisian engraver PIETER FEDDES VAN HARLINGEN are discussed by A. P. A. Vorenkamp and A. Wasenbergh (*Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 1-13). The delicate question of the relationship between the etchings of W. BUYTEWECH and S. FRISIUS is treated by H. van de Waal (*Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 123-39). The article by V. Bloch on Haarlem classicists (*Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 14-21) discusses in a very cursory manner some aspects of the art of PIETER DE GREBBER, R. J. VAN BLOMMENDAEL, and SALOMON DE BRAY. (I am not sure whether the long-awaited monograph on the latter master by Graf Moltke has been published; if so, it is presumably in the *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*.) "Een en ander over JAN OLIS" was published by A. Bredius (*Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 143-44). On JOHANNES TORRENTIUS compare, in addition to the recent monograph by A. J. Rehorst, an article by J. G. van Gelder in *Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 140-42. DANIEL WUCHTERS, a Dutch artist active in Russia, is dealt with by A. Miller (*Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 40-48) and H. Gerson (*ibid.*, pp. 239-40).

Two Dutch still-life painters have received careful treatment from biographical and stylistic points of view: JACOB VAN WALSCAPPELLE, whose real name was Jacob Cruydenie, born at Dordrecht in 1644 but active in Amsterdam, where he died in 1727 (J. Knoef, *Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, 261-64), and JAN JANSZ DEN UYL, most of whose pictures were hidden among works by other masters (P. de Boer, *Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 49-64).

An article by Sir Geoffrey Callender on WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE ELDER and his art (*Burlington Magazine*, lxxvi, 1940, 105-110) raises a difficult problem. If the huge *Tempest* in the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich is really a work by the elder van de Velde, he seems to have equalled his famous son not only in quality but also in style, and many corrections would become necessary. But in spite of the fact that the author notes an "undoubted signature" of Willem van de Velde the Elder on this painting (no date is mentioned), it seems almost im-

possible to ascribe it to the same hand that did the old-fashioned, "stilted and theatrical" *Admiral Sir John Narbrough at Tripoli* of 1674, a picture which corresponds entirely to the style of the well-known *grisailles* of the older master. As I put down this question mark, a letter by E. Young to the *Burlington Magazine* (LXXVIII, 1941, 28-29) shows convincingly that the signature of the *Tempest* is far from being an "undoubted" one of the elder van de Velde and may just as well refer to his son.

A. Bredius ("Een en ander over HERMAN NAUWINCKX," *Oud Holland*, LVIII, 1941, 18-22) accompanies a few data concerning that rare master with the reproductions of two paintings, a drawing, and an etching. W. Mautner ("Onbekende meesters—onbekende werken," *Oud Holland*, LVIII, 1941, 38-48) publishes ten works by rare masters or works differing from the customary manner of their masters—which are apt to make one wonder where the other paintings of those masters are, or rather what attributions they may now be bearing.

Old Dutch formulas for etching prior to 1645 (that is, prior to A. Bosse) is the subject of an interesting article by J. G. van Gelder (*Oud Holland*, LVI, 1939, 113-24).

Many items from Dutch archives regarding painters are again published by the never-tiring A. Bredius in *Oud Holland*, including documents concerning an amusing law-suit brought by P. VAN SLINGELANDT against the heirs of a sitter of his (*Oud Holland*, LVII, 1940, 168-71).

For supplementary information compare H. E. van Gelder's "Survey of Literature concerning Dutch Art" in *Oud Holland*, LVII, 1939, 84-96. I am also indebted to the bibliographical lists published in the *Art Index* and in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*.

GERMANY

For CHRISTOPHER PAUDISS see above, p. 229; also: A. M. Brizio, "Due dipinti inediti di Chr. Paudiss e Jan van Bylert nella R. Galleria Sabauda di Torino," *Le Arti*, I, 393-96.

For ADAM ELSHEIMER see the article by the present writer on Rembrandt, mentioned above, p. 228 (Philemon and Baucis) and by H. Weizsäcker, mentioned above, p. 230. U. Hoff ("Some Aspects of A. Elsheimer's Artistic Development," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXV, 1939, 59-64) makes an interesting attempt to define Elsheimer's art as "an expression of personal conflicts and problems" which makes him "a predecessor of the self-expressive artist," using as examples the series of his *Juno*, *Minerva*, and *Venus* pictures and his *Death of Procris* in comparison with older representations of the same subject. Unfortunately, the article is too short to carry complete conviction and to avoid the impression of one-sidedness in several respects.

A catalogue of the woodcuts by LUDOLPH BÜSINCK was published by the present writer in a continuation of his discussion of Büsinck's life and art (*Print Collector's Quarterly*, XXV, 1938, 393-419, and XXVI, 1939, 349-59).

MATTHÄUS MERIAN as illustrator is discussed by G. F. Hartlaub (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für*

Kunstwissenschaft, VI, 1939, 29-49). The suggestion of an influence of Merian's illustrations on Rembrandt is certainly unfounded.

Th. Riewerts has written on "JOHANN WILLINGES in Lübeck," in *Nordelbingen*, 1938, 207-71.

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COMTE DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, *Les Peintures de la Synagogue de Doura-Europos, 245-246 après J.-C.*, Rome, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 86, 1939. Pp. 190; 61 pls. \$8.00.

The frescoes of the Synagogue of Dura, now visible to those who may have the fortune to visit Damascus and see them in the excellent reconstruction of the building which has been erected there, have received in this volume the most satisfactory treatment that has yet appeared. Brief but adequate descriptions are supplemented by frequent sketches to clarify the compositions and color-schemes, and the text is freed, for the enjoyment of the reader, of the author's considerable apparatus of inscriptions, textual sources, "classement des éléments constituant les tableaux et les frises," "rapports entre scènes ou tableaux voisins,"—all of which is relegated to a convenient appendix. The book is honored with an Introduction by Gabriel Millet, in which he endeavors to reconstruct *stemmata* for certain of the pictures in the Synagogue, adding a useful bibliographical note which cites other attempts of the sort by Lietzmann, Gerke, and Wodtke.

The book devotes seventeen pages to the remains of the earlier building replaced by the one in question, to the curious circumstance that resulted in so remarkable a preservation of the later edifice and its paintings, and to the disposition of the frescoes on the walls. Most of the rest of the text is taken up by description of the separate panels and explanation of their subjects, helped out with fair half-tone plates, and by drawings where the scenes are obscured by poor preservation. The general conclusions on style and technique are briefly contained in a final chapter, wherein the author comes to a conclusion as to the partition of the work not greatly at variance with that of Aubert's article in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (LXXX, 1938, 1-24): viz. that the head of the atelier, who painted the first or topmost register, was assisted by an aide who worked independently on the third zone, and by still another assistant who was the author of the second zone. A fourth hand seems to be responsible for the paintings in the central niche.

Notable contributions are made to our understanding, not only of this extraordinary cycle of frescoes, but of Hebrew concepts and customs of the time, and the degree to which these were affected by alien surroundings and affected them in turn. The placing of the Torah-shrine in the west wall toward Jerusalem is pointed out as antecedent to later Christian orientation, and the early Mohammedan location of the mihrab in Jerusalem's direction. The costume of Aaron in the twelfth scene (*Aaron and the Tabernacle*),—~~completely~~ at variance with the text of Exodus, especially in its rendering of the ephod, is nevertheless so close to the priestly costume in the

mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore and Parenzo as to suggest that Early Christian iconography drew its notion of the high-priest's dress from contemporary Jewish vestments. The prevailing sequence of scenes and narrative from right to left, though not employed throughout the frescoes of the Synagogue, is nevertheless reflective enough of script-direction to support a thesis of the influence of such direction on artistic composition.

The author makes out a good case for identifying the structure in the scene of the *Ark's Return* as a solar temple instead of the Temple of Solomon, arguing for an interpretation of Beth-shemesh, on the part of the painter, as "temple of the sun." He notes that in drawing oxen, the artist seems to have added the hump distinguishing the local breed to a conventional Hellenistic silhouette. Other indications of Hellenistic and Parthian influence on the visual images of these Jews of Dura are interesting: horsemen are regularly equipped with the Persian quiver, and their horses are drawn as in Persian reliefs; the battle of the Philistines with Israel is depicted, against all historical verity, as a cavalry-fight; royalty and distinction are marked by Parthian costume; the temple of Dagon at Ashdod is conceived, in terms of equipment and cult-image, as a temple of Adonis.

The most important contribution of the author's exegesis is his use of Jewish and Arab commentaries on the Old Testament subjects portrayed on the walls of the Synagogue. From these is gained an explanation of several curiosities: the twelve bands behind Moses in the sequence of the *Departure from Egypt*, representing the twelve paths on which the Tribes passed through the Red Sea; the lions and eagles that identify the Throne of Solomon in picture no. 8; Abraham's white hair and the addition of the sun and moon to the stars that signify his posterity; the curious font and the twelve streams in *Moses' Miracle of Water*; the introduction of Hiel and the serpent that destroyed him in the *Sacrifice of the Priests of Baal*. Attention is also called to the modifications of literal renderings, reflecting contemporary liturgical usage and belief. The costumes of the patriarchs are those of officiants in the synagogue service; the scrinium that contains the writings of Esdras, and the Ark of the Covenant in scenes where it is represented, are assimilated in form to the Torah-shrine. An allusion to the Pharisee teaching of corporeal resurrection is seen in the narrative of the *Vision of Ezekiel*, and actually recorded in a Persian graffito on the fresco of *Elijah's Healing of the Widow's Son*, which shows the episode was regarded as an image of "eternal resurrection."

Such portions of the book as may invite debate seem to be connected with the relation of the Synagogue's frescoes to Early Christian and Byzantine art. Aside from a factual slip or two, such as the location of the book-case of Figure 13 in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore (it is actually a detail in the mosaic of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna), these points of issue have to do with iconography and with the question of prototypes.

A parallel to the "rectangular nimbus" inclosing

the heads of Moses, Esdras, and Abraham, is cited by our author in "une mosaïque du V^e siècle" at St. Demetrius in Salonika. The date of the mosaic is disputed, some placing it in the seventh century, but aside from this non-pertinent point the "nimbus" in this case is a rectangular pilaster supporting curtains draped along a wall, resembling a nimbus only because it happens to coincide with the head of one of the personages represented in the mosaic. This architectural feature occurs elsewhere in late antiquity: as early as the third century in mosaics of Antioch (e.g. *Antioch on-the-Orontes*, II, pl. 40, no. 53, panel A), and in the sixth-century Codex Rossanensis in a miniature depicting Mark. The reviewer would suggest that the lines of the "nimbus" at Dura are possibly demarcations meant to isolate a portion of the fresco for the special treatment and care required for the making of the head, like the "nimbi" that surround heads in textiles. In any case the figures at St. Demetrius are not "donors" by virtue of a "rectangular nimbus," nor are Abraham, Moses, and Esdras by similar token the "fondateurs . . . du Judaïsme." A comparison with the mosaics of Antioch might have been useful to the author in other instances: the mosaic of Cupid and his team of Psyches at Baltimore provides an excellent parallel of even date for the Psyches of the Ezekiel resurrection, and the bands worn by animals in the frescoed scenes and on the dado are repeated on beasts and birds of the Antiochene pavements. The author mentions, however, the early appearance at Antioch of the motive of twisted ribbon which constitutes the sole ornament of the border of the panels at Dura.

The *Orpheus*, painted above the Torah niche, is a surprising interpolation in the orthodox imagery of the frescoes, but no more so than his occasional appearance in the Christian catacombs of Rome, and on ivories of probable Christian origin. From the author's description, we gather that the vine which was later painted over the *Orpheus* spared the representation below, the *Benedictions of Jacob*; this suggests that the *Orpheus* was by later taste regarded as a heathen intrusion, and eliminated. At any rate, it is not surprising that Hellenistic Judaism, like Hellenistic Christianity, might on occasion borrow this eloquent symbol from pagan mysticism, and the Orphic verses quoted by the author are perhaps a sufficient justification for the inclusion of Orpheus in the frescoes, rather than a desire to use him as an indirect portrayal of David, as the text suggests.

The *Benedictions of Jacob* that occupy the wall below the *Orpheus* fresco were so poorly preserved that a drawing was substituted for a photographic reproduction. In view of this, one wonders if in the original the arms of Jacob were not crossed and his hands thus placed in inverted blessing on the heads of Joseph's sons; this is the case in all of the late antique examples of the scene (a sarcophagus-lid in the museum of St. Callixtus, Rome; fol. 50^r of the Ashburnham Pentateuch; fol. 23^r of the Genesis of Vienna).

A pair of boots stands beside the bare-footed Moses in the fresco of *Moses on Mt. Sinai*. Our author cites as parallels the sandals behind Moses as he ascends Sinai, in a miniature of the Paris Psalter

(Bibl. nat. gr. 139), and Moses removing his sandals before receiving the Law in a following scene, in the Vatican Bible (Regin. gr. 1). Here he has inadvertently entered an area of conflict in Early Christian archaeology, where views on the iconographic ancestry of these representations in the manuscripts are widely divergent. In the reviewer's opinion, the sandals of the Psalter are relics of a scene of *Moses Before the Burning Bush* in the rotulus sequence of the illustrated model which was synopated by the artist of the Psalter; and the *Moses Removing his Sandals* in the Bible, being a repetition of the same figure in a previous picture of that manuscript, was inserted into the Sinai episode by the Bible's miniaturist because he was copying and adapting the Psalter's illustration, in which the unattached sandals suggested to him the scene of the *Burning Bush*. The instances of the Psalter and the Bible are at any rate frail evidence for a common "archetype aujourd'hui disparu" behind the miniatures and the Dura fresco, which gives Moses not sandals but a pair of boots and is different from the book-pictures in every other respect.

Such archetypes are an evident preoccupation both of our author and of M. Millet in his Introduction. Of *Jacob's Dream* we read, "Les modifications apportées au prototype commun ont été faibles." The comparison here is with a miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris, Bibl. nat. gr. 510), but the only feature in common is that Jacob in both pictures reclines as one might expect; at Dura there is no angel standing beside him, the angels are wingless and wear Persian dress, the ladder is at the left instead of the right. In the *Anointing of David*, "il est difficile de douter que le peintre de Doura du III^e siècle se soit inspiré aussi du prototype disparu." The parallels cited belong to a well-known traditional type of Septuagint illustration, which has in common with the fresco only two features, both indispensable—seven figures of Samuel, Jesse, David, and four sons of Jesse, and a horn of unction. The horn, however, is held by Samuel in a quite unusual way, David is differently placed and dressed, Jesse is beardless, and Samuel is at the other end of the group. The similarity between the Dura fresco of the *Sweetening of the Waters of Mara* and the mosaic of the same subject in S. Maria Maggiore reduces to the common elements of a pool and Moses' rod, which however at Dura he casts into the water in stricter accord with the text.

A comparison of the *Crossing of the Red Sea* as represented in mosaic at S. Maria Maggiore, in fresco at Dura, in a miniature of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, and another of the Chludov Psalter, suggests to both our author and M. Millet a "parenté . . . certaine," though the essentials of iconographic community are difficult to find. Equally forced is the argument for an "archetype" of the scene of *Moses Saved from the River*. This archetype is supposed to have included the execution of Pharaoh's order to drown the Hebrew male children, since this appears in a miniature of a Haggadâh, of the sixteenth century (!). The Synagogue painter has "preserved of this motive" only Moses' mother putting the child in the water. Part of the tale, the incident of Moses'

sister giving the infant to its mother, is depicted in a miniature of the Ashburnham Pentateuch; if this be turned around, and we discount the inconvenient presence in the Dura picture of the nude princess finding the child in the middle of the stream, this and other comparisons are supposed to indicate a "modèle plus développé que le peintre a resserré en quelque sorte pour le faire entrer dans le panneau dont il disposait." A Persian miniature (of the fourteenth century) "shows that there once existed an intermediary scene, with the same elements of composition." Truly, to quote the words of M. Millet (employed in a quite different context in his Introduction), "L'esprit doit suppléer ce que l'œil ne voit pas."

With the best will in the world, an eye unspectacled with *parti pris* will find no valid evidence in these frescoes, or in such comparisons, of a previously existing cycle of Old Testament illustration from which the painters drew. Nor is the unprejudiced reader likely to agree with the rather high estimate our author puts upon their artistic capacity. Such phrases as "une technique infiniment plus complexe" and "style continu analytique" imply a creative subtlety and a technical ability not borne out by the frescoes themselves, so far as they are revealed in the illustrations of this book. A more accurate description of them is given in a final verdict: "Les modifications de détail, apportées aux prototypes, nous paraissent toujours conçues dans ce même esprit: rendre l'œuvre claire." If we discount the "prototypes," this quotation fairly sums up the primitive art of the Dura painters. Their works are an extreme example of the return to descriptive style which is visible throughout the frontier backwaters of the art of the later Empire, relapsing into frontality, isolation of objects, and lack of articulation both of figures and composition. The *Capture of the Ark* reproduced in Plate xxxiii is an excellent example of this procedure, wherewith each detail is rendered as separately, for clear distinction, as is possible, and with little or no differentiation of the figures save in the obvious details of costume or attributes requisite to the story. Yet we are told that in this fresco the bodies of the captive Levite porters of the Ark are "légèrement penché en arrière, comme s'ils s'avançaient à regret." Their attitude is however identical with that of their Philistine captors. Any conscious expressionism attributed to such painting is belied by the repetition of formula.

If our author may have overpraised his frescoes, it is an understandable failing, due to enthusiastic absorption in a subject so well and clearly handled as to make this book one of the most informative and interesting treatments of archaeological data that this reviewer has ever read.

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K. A. C. CRESWELL, *Early Muslim Architecture, Part Two: Early Abbasids, Umayyads of Cordova, Aghlabids, Tulunids, and Samanids*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. xxvi+415; 123 plates +261 figs. £10.10s.

It is ten years since Professor Creswell's first

volume established his unrivaled mastery of the field now laid open. The second, completing his survey of Muslim architecture up to the end of the ninth century, can only increase the respect in which he is held. He has no peers; and all who enjoy his acquaintance know that his supremacy is the fruit of an entire devotion, notable energy, and a generous passion for truth and justice which ranges his subject as a Forest Perilous, smiting down Rivoira, Strzygowski, and all other strong monomaniacs who cross his path, and chastising the mean in the ignominy of footnotes.

His readers, like Doctor Watson, "know his methods." Wherever it has been possible he has made a minute examination of the structures he describes, with the result that he has been able to correct even observation so competent as that of Reuther, and amend interpretation so intelligent as that of Herzfeld (p. 285). Historical authorities are carefully classified according to date, source, and authenticity. His bibliographies are enormous, and seem complete. As a result, his conclusions are in almost every case acceptable, and a great body of what will serve as truth for many years is established. This is the more important for the extreme obscurity and complexity of the historical development treated. Before that development, architecture was Christian or Sasanian; after it, architecture was coherently Muslim. From the period comparatively few monuments survive; from the succeeding periods we have a rich series. The momentous centuries in which Islamic culture became great, the whole duration of its unity, and the first stages of its dismemberment constitute the period of which practically all the surviving monuments have been now for the first time carefully described (with a few exceptions such as Khazara, Sedrata, the still-unpublished excavations at Rayy, Istakhr, and Nishapur, and the Russian excavations in Central Asia). The tremendous task is nobly done.

If it is a reviewer's duty (or his nature) to deviate from praise, it must be understood that any particular objection in such a case as this is substantially trivial, and that any general criticism is only an expression of the way in which this reviewer's interests differ from those of a resolute and admirable scholar. But before assuming the uncomfortable posture of a critic I must mention those particular parts of the work which have seemed most welcome.

Among these fall the corrections to Herzfeld's reconstruction of the great Mosque of al-Mansur at Baghdad, the investigations at Raqqa, the definitive description and plausible attribution of the palace of Ukhaidir, the assemblage and discussion of all known early examples of the squinch, the publication of Herzfeld's plan of the Jawsaq al-Khaqani, the reconstruction of the Aqsa Mosque at Jerusalem, the analyses of the Great Mosques of Cordova and Qayrawan, and the masterly historical discussions of the Mosque of 'Amr, the Nilometer on Roda Island, and the Mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun at Cairo. Other descriptions seem less valuable only because of the less interesting character of the monuments described, or because (as in the case of the mausoleum of Isma'il the Samanid at Bukhara) Creswell has had

no opportunity of supplementing the good descriptions we already have. There is incidental matter of the greatest interest; for example, on page 43 the early history of the pointed arch is disencumbered of accumulated errors and set square again. It is moving evidence of Creswell's lack of malice that the ridiculously loose statements of Pope and Talbot Rice on this subject draw only an impatient correction, as Rivoira in another place draws only three exclamation marks. Creswell is attractively incapable of sarcasm.

Here and there additions to his material suggest themselves. The curious window-head at Ukhaidir (p. 55) is related by him to certain others: to these, that in the minaret of Sangbast in Khurasan should be added. The semi-domed hood on the interior resembles ancient work of uncertain date in the fortifications of the castle at Kirman, which I am inclined to attribute to the time of Ibn Ilyas in the early tenth century. To the list of early squinches, which includes certain "decorative" squinches in solid rock, should be added the rock-cut dome at Haibak in north Afghanistan. Carved capitals taken by De Lorey from excavations in Syria, now in Paris and at The Metropolitan Museum in New York, are important material for comparison with the Samarra marble discussed on page 242. And the most important parallel of all for the understanding of the stucco in Style C at Samarra is the group of mosque wood-carvings in remote Turkestan published some years ago by Denike, even though these are of later date. It may be that the second volume of *Early Muslim Architecture* was already too far advanced in printing at the time of Denike's publication for such an inclusion. The more recently published *Survey of Persian Art*, references to which were inserted in a few footnotes, also contains a certain amount of material supplementary to *Early Muslim Architecture*, such as the curious vault structure of the Mosque at Shiraz, which might be added to the discussion of vault construction on page 82. The *Survey* also contains historical references to now-vanished buildings which occasionally, as in the instance of monumental wooden domes, illuminate the subject. But the inevitable omissions, in no sense faults, are of slight importance.

The factual texture of the volume is so close that it makes somewhat difficult reading. Indeed it is probable that no one who has not already a mature appetite for these very facts will ever read it right through (it weighs twenty pounds). The defect does not lie in its style, which is plain lively English without any taint of the offensive academic mannerisms of much modern learned writing. It lies rather in the severity with which our noses are held down on brick and stone. Even if Professor Creswell's restriction of view is the product of discipline, or self-denial, its effect even upon so great an achievement is unmistakable. To put it harshly, one can read this book without gaining an informed conception of the development of early Muslim architecture. The lack of picturesque detail is felt, and in some cases this amounts to a deficiency in description. As an example, it is well known how great a part in the architectural ensemble of early Abbasid palaces was

played by curtains. Those of the audience chamber of Harun al-Rashid already were famous, and an early tenth-century caliphal palace had thirty-eight thousand of them. There can be no doubt that many state apartments must have been designed for the display of curtains as deliberately as some western structures have been designed for the exhibition of statuary. Curtains were of the essence of the whole Abbasid style; and in the architecture of the period perhaps no other element can be singled out which so significantly reveals the condition and destiny of Muslim art. The fabrics themselves have perished, and it is possible that they were mostly woven in Byzantine or Chinese territory; but their architectural use is abundantly recorded. It is unfortunate that so full a book should not emphasize it.

There is moreover an apparent lack of curiosity, amounting almost to indifference, in Creswell's determination of the uses of the parts of buildings. It is apparent rather than real and is the result of his contempt for speculation. He detects a kitchen or a stable, and has a fine nose for a latrine, but even in such extraordinary cases as those of the Balkuwara and Jawsaq al-Khaqani palaces, he fails to call attention to the enormous number of subsidiary state-chambers. Enough material survives in such accounts as those of the envoys of Constantine Porphyrogenitus to give a vivid idea of the uses of palaces, the size and splendor of the waziral offices, and the number of structures of which the purpose seems to have been pure ostentation. Such motives appear in the exclamation of Mutawakkil after the building of Ja'fariya: "Now I know that I am indeed a King, for I have built myself a town and live in it" (p. 276). But the architectural consequences of these impulses might have been explicitly mentioned. To assign particular rooms to particular purposes may often be impossible; but the palaces as a whole would be more intelligible than they are if a judicious selection had been made of the more pictorial descriptions of them and of comparable buildings.

And often there can be little doubt that an architectural form has a kind of parallel dependence on an idea. An excellent example is the triple state-chamber. Although the triple *ivan* and the throne-room with flanking chambers are certainly pre-Islamic forms, they seem to have had a very definite use in the Islamic monarchies: the *bahwu*. Such terms as "Right hand of the Caliphate," "Wazirs of the Right and of the Left" indicate a connection between the *bahwu* and caliphal ceremony which might have been explored in discussing the Abbasid palaces.

Evidently this kind of elucidation was not the aim of the author. It is perhaps in such an aside as his castigation of Caudel's arrogant criticism of Fournel that he reveals his own purposes: "Caudel is sneering at a much greater man than himself, for Fournel's thorough scholarship and tireless striving after accuracy are evident in every page of his work" (p. 211, n. 3). Greatness of this order Creswell has himself triumphantly achieved.

As if he felt that the emotive qualities of the buildings demanded some tribute, he sometimes inserts short descriptive passages, expressing part of the deep affection for Muslim architecture which must

underlie his lifelong devotion. The most eloquent passage in this volume is naturally that consecrated to the Mosque of Ibn Tulun: "On entering, one is struck by its air of peace and serenity, completely cut off as it is from the noise of the street, by its chaste ornament and devotional atmosphere. And the window-grills which, in the shadow of the porticoes, stand out against the sky like delicate lace-work, add greatly to the charm. If those which have perished resembled the three original ones which have survived, the charm must once have been greater still.

"But it cannot have been a good mosque to preach in, for a speaker in the pulpit would only command a relatively small number of people on account of the width of the piers, one of which comes almost directly in front of the pulpit. In a mosque on columns the preacher's voice would be far less obstructed" (p. 355).

This is inadequate to the subject, as are the other similar descriptive passages. Now and again a factual observation expresses more of the stylistic character of a building than any of them: for example, the "flavor" of the architecture at Ukhaidir seems distilled into such a phrase as "small arched niches on stumpy half-columns without bases" (p. 81).

"Artistic" as distinguished from architectural questions have been segregated, and the author with characteristic modesty has either quoted Herzfeld or entrusted discussion to Georges Marçais. Herzfeld's characterization of the wall-paintings of Samarra is given at length, in spite of Creswell's reserve, diffidently expressed in a footnote quoting (!) De Lorey (p. 243). The passage is of special importance since it is the only one in the book expressing general ideas upon the place of early Muslim art in the stream of human history. Herzfeld writes: "The reaction of the ancient Eastern spirit against Hellenization sets in immediately after the Seleucid period, and is consummated in the field of Persian painting in three stages: Arsacid period—beginning; Sasanian period—completion; early Muslim period—last gasp. For there is no doubt, as every single piece shows, that the painting of Samarra is the final end. The hostility, typically Semitic, to representational art, is the reason why this art had no descendants." It may be that the writer was goaded into the generalization implicit in the last sentence quoted by a justifiable irritation with Strzygowski. But it is the fact affirmed that must be questioned. This art had descendants; it was merely a tawdry link in a chain which was partly gold. Not only the historical evidence amassed by Arnold in *Painting in Islam*, but the preservation of so many of its elements, stylized and refined, in post-Saljuq painting, dispose of Herzfeld's statement. The continuous animal border of the frontispiece to the Schefer *Hariri* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the figures on an arabesque ground in numerous Saljuq ceramics, and even in fragmentary murals, preserve the elements of the very painting reproduced near the quoted statement (fig. 192). A comparison of the Taq-i-Bustan hunts with those of the archaic Leningrad *Shahnama*, and even the frontispiece of Baisunghur's *Shahnama*, can only show the continuity of Sasanian and even late Muslim painting.

The quotation is to be regretted, and the more because of the profound generalization which precedes the passage I have attacked. But if it was a mistake for Creswell to vacate the pulpit in favor of an erroneous statement so exciting in the range of its ideas, it was no less a mistake to give place to the analyses of Marçais. These stand in glaring contrast with Creswell's own thorough and conscientious work. In Marçais' discussion of the ceiling paintings at Qairawan (pp. 223-24), citing ancient Mesopotamian examples of certain decorative elements, he admits their presence at the Dome of the Rock, and proceeds to suggest influence, or "intrusion," from Abbasid Baghdad, and to say that Christian and Mesopotamian elements seem more distinct now than in the seventh century. All this is introduced by the supposition that after the settling of the Aghlabids at Qairawan "the sumptuary needs of the new masters made the local workshops revive." There is a lack of coherence in these ideas entirely at variance with the spirit of collation and caution on which Creswell's own conclusions are based. Similarly Marçais takes the diagonal arrangement of checkers at Sus as evidence of importation from Iraq, in the ninth century, when we have already seen it at Qasr al-Hair, and a diagonal trellis by an unmistakably Hellenistic hand at Qusair 'Amra. Even his more direct observation seems sometimes questionable: the Aqsa panels West 6 and East 5 appear so strikingly like certain arabesques on the capitals of the older parts of the mosque of 'Amr that those panels should perhaps be attributed to the early ninth-century reconstruction of al-Mahdi. (I have never studied the originals and am judging only from Creswell's plates.) In this case Marçais' estimate that all the panels date from the same period is weakened, since his attribution to the Umayyad age of the whole group seems correct in the case of most of its members.

No one, however, will question Creswell's own conclusions and suggestions without either unmistakable evidence or unmistakable nervousness. It is with the latter advantage that I propose certain minor alternatives. In deference to Reuther he reproduces (fig. 44) a drawing of the Ukhaidir Court of Honor with an erroneous representation of the niche system there employed. Surely it would have been advisable to redraw that part of Reuther's figure, since the three-above-two system used in the court façade is one of the actual paneling-systems of Ctesiphon, the relation between which and Ukhaidir is of considerable importance.

The photographs of the little-visited palace at Firuzabad, though not perfectly clear, seem to indicate that the squinches are built of slightly inclined courses. If so, Rosintal's diagram is less accurate than the description by Spiers which Creswell attacks (p. 106).

A more important suggestion relates to the fortifications of Mansur's Round City of Baghdad. Creswell, very judiciously, accepts the brilliant reconstruction made by Herzfeld in almost every respect. This reconstruction was derived from the collation and analysis of various accounts by Muslim authors. In one most interesting particular, however,

both Herzfeld and Creswell find themselves obliged to reject the statements of all these writers and substitute a very different dimension of their own invention. The question is that of the thickness of the main wall at its base, given by al-Khatib as twenty, by Ya'qubi as ninety, by Tabari as fifty, and by Muqaddasi as fifty cubits respectively. Ya'qubi gives the thickness of the top as twenty-five cubits, and Tabari as twenty. All these figures are rejected, and the very different figure of ten cubits as base-thickness, derived from a calculation of the recorded number of bricks used, is assumed. Both Creswell and Herzfeld suppose that the inner *fasil* (which is translated *intervallum*) was unroofed. But let us suppose that it was roofed with a normal Mesopotamian tunnel-vault. The fortification would then consist not only of that wall which faced the outer *fasil* but of the other support to the vault, which bounded the residential area within. Accepting the data of the architect Rabah, on which Herzfeld based his calculations, as referring to the outer support, the total width of this corridor-fortification would be forty cubits or more, which is strikingly close to the figures given by Tabari and Muqaddasi. If we were to question the figures of Rabah and accept al-Khatib's dimensions as authentic but referring only to the stronger outer support, we should have a thickness of the outer wall of twenty cubits continued above the vaulted corridor and corresponding exactly to the upper thickness given by Tabari and almost exactly to that given by Ya'qubi. The thickness of the base including the corridor would then be the fifty cubits of Tabari and Muqaddasi. Ya'qubi's ninety cubits must refer to the whole inner and outer wall system. It is so desirable to harmonize the accounts from which our whole conception of these remarkable walls is derived, that it seems almost imperative to assume a tunnel-vault over the inner *fasil* running all round the city between gate and gate. If this was so, the fortifications were more original, and considerably more effective. A greater space for the piling of *matériel* close to the ramparts, and a communication line sheltered from dropping fire, were both provided.

In connection with the origin of the curious pried (*ablaq*) masonry already found at Cordova, and destined to such wide use in Mamluk and Ottoman architecture, two early precedents suggest themselves. Was it a decorative adaptation of Byzantine brick-and-stone masonry? Or was it an idea derived from Christian manuscript illumination? A checkered archivolt occurs in the sixth-century Mesopotamian Gospel of Rabula (fol. 11v).

All these suggestions leave the substance of the book unassailed. Its limitations in general treatment are definite. Professor Schapiro's review of the first volume, published in this periodical in 1935, expressed with perfect eloquence the impossibility of regarding architecture as merely the combination of setting out and construction, and there is no need to repeat it. But even from a compilation so sternly devoted to truth and fact some general ideas arise. One cannot read so rich a book without modifying the unorganized corpus of impressions which constitute one's conception of a period. Perhaps the most distinct general alteration in this reviewer's picture

of early Muslim architecture which can be attributed to Creswell's work is a sense of the continued importance of Syria even after the fall of the Umayyads. A vaguer and less easily justified feeling is the suspicion that even before that date, a fairly consistent Islamic decorative style was already widely distributed among the Mohammedan communities living near the shores of the Mediterranean. However, such slightly-founded inductions are unbecoming in the presence of a disciplined achievement like *Early Muslim Architecture*. A book can only be a classic if it possesses, among other qualities, great human interest. *Early Muslim Architecture* is not a classic in that sense; but there is no doubt that it will, with its excellent plates and figures, its exhaustive bibliographies, and its immense bulk of scholarship and honest thought, remain indispensable to all whom it may concern for more than one generation.

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EMERSON HOWLAND SWIFT, *Hagia Sophia*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xvii + 265; 34 linecuts; 46 collotype plates. \$10.00.

Not since the year 1894, when Lethaby and Swainson published *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, has a book appeared in English on Justinian's great domed edifice in Constantinople. This serious gap in English literature on Byzantine architecture is now filled by Emerson Howland Swift's *Hagia Sophia*, a publication made possible by a substantial grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, and by funds from the Council on Research in the Humanities at Columbia University where the author is an Associate Professor. The monograph, dedicated to Howard Crosby Butler, founder of the School of Architecture in Princeton University, is the direct outcome of an investigation of the structure conducted when the building was still a house of worship. The data then gathered has been correlated with material from ancient sources and from modern studies of the "Great Mosque of Hagia Sophia" as Mohammed the Conqueror called it. As a result, the book is a well-ordered statement of the building as it was known before it was secularized in the year 1934. Mustapha Kemal's iconoclastic decision to convert the building into a monument and museum of Byzantine art has opened it generously to scientific investigators. Mr. Swift, by adding excerpts from the more significant findings of A. M. Schneider and of Professor Kenneth J. Conant of Harvard University, has brought the account down to the present. One could wish, however, that Schneider's reports had been more fully scientific, and that Mr. Conant's still unpublished article had appeared in print, so that their recent discoveries might have been better incorporated in the new book.

Early in 1935 Schneider, excavating in the atrium directly in front of a major portion of the north half of the exonarthex, uncovered architectural fragments of a colonnade whose more lofty middle section of four columns supported an arched entablature. A wall behind the colonnade, and like it running parallel to the exonarthex, contained two openings:

the broader of these was beneath the arch on axis with the center of Justinian's church, the smaller was considerably removed to the north. Schneider claims to have found the entrance into the narthex of Theodosius' basilica dedicated in 415, and judges it—by reason of the extent of wall found—to have been five-aisled. Furthermore, he is of the opinion that the same colonnade—then lacking the elevated central part—once enhanced the front wall of Constantius' church begun in 360 on the same site. Although we know nothing through other excavations of the imperial basilicas of Constantinople, and although Schneider's reports are sketchy, Mr. Swift is ready to accept the conclusions drawn. Only one exception is taken: he states (p. 8) that the narthex of the fourth-century basilica was preceded by a colonnaded court. Had the entrance wall of the two churches been placed behind the colonnade at the place excavated, it would have been quite impossible for either to have had an atrium to the west, since the colonnade, according to Schneider, was raised above a broad flight of steps over a paved street on whose far side the ground fell off sharply. A clue to the proper relationship of colonnade to churches comes, it seems to the reviewer, from J. W. Crowfoot's reading of Eusebius' descriptions of the ecclesiastical buildings sanctioned by Constantine the Great at Tyre and at Jerusalem. Each complex is said to have included within a walled precinct—entered off a street through a porch and three doorways—a forecourt surrounded by porticoes, and a main church building on the east side. The work of Vincent and Abel around the Holy Sepulchre confirms Eusebius' description of Jerusalem. Traces remain there of a propylaeum raised above a street which had a colonnade on either side. Behind this propylaeum, remnants of the west wall of the precinct are still to be seen, with holes for fixing marble plaques to its surface, and with a broader middle door pointing the parallel to the wall at Constantinople.¹ It would seem that what Schneider has found is the place of the porch of Constantius' church mentioned by Palladius, an eye-witness of the destruction by fire of the basilica proper within the precinct.² When one regards the portico with an arched entablature not as the façade of Theodosius' basilica, but as the propylaeum to its walled precinct, an explanation presents itself for the presence in the 2.3 meter fill of other architectural fragments of various dates, which Schneider omits from his recent reconstruction of the basilica façade.³ These may be thought to have been removed from the atrium in 532, when that feature with a cistern beneath it (Swift, p. 88) became the western part of the pavement of Justinian's edifice of greatly increased floor

1. J. W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1937)*, London, 1941, pp. 6-7, 9-21.

2. Herbert Moore, *Translations of Christian Literature (The Dialogue of Palladius Concerning the Life of Chrysostom)*, London, 1921, p. 87; Greek text in Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus series graeca*, XLVII, Paris, 1858, 36.

3. A. M. Schneider, *Die Hagia Sophia zu Konstantinopel*, Berlin, 1939, Abb. 3. A set of photographs, more complete than any issued by Schneider of the pieces found, is given by S. Larsen in *Atlantis (Länder, Völker, Reisen)*, IX, 1937, 187-92.

area. When this took place, the colonnade was razed to the ground and covered over by a new atrium laid out farther to the west. At the same time, the street which had led—with a colonnade on one of its sides—from the Mese and the Augusteum to the old Acropolis on its elevation to the north was sacrificed.

In contrast to the brief notices accorded to its predecessors on the site, there is a wealth of information about the "Great Church" as Procopius called it. Mr. Swift presents this in an easy and interesting style. The book will have a special value as an excellent text for reference in college courses on the history of architecture. Students, no doubt, would find a perspective diagram of the superstructure useful in visualizing the vertical disposition of parts in the complicated structure. Into the description of the latter has gone the mass of material in Antoniadēs' three-volume work in Greek, which is drawn upon heavily in the chapters on "The Church in Detail" from pavement to dome.

Scholars will be intensely interested in the ideas and data borrowed from an article by Professor Conant which will appear in the first issue of the *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*.⁴ Mr. Conant's new thesis, as advanced by Mr. Swift (pp. 13-14), that "the tower-buttresses were built—as a prudent afterthought—before the church was completed in 537, in order to check structural distortions even then in progress," introduces the major archaeological problem of Hagia Sophia. Mr. Swift elects to hold the view that the tower-buttresses, built above triforium roof-level over the pier-responds of the nave piers, were the product of the second building period under Isidorus the Younger, between the years 558 and 563. The testimonies of Cedrenus and Theophanes—in that order—and the report of Antoniadēs to the effect that the tower-buttresses "show no bonding or organic connection with the walls of the church" are cited by Mr. Swift (p. 141) as proof that the roof of the triforium lacked any tower-buttresses until the second dome was erected after 558. But the medieval testimonies actually supply the literary basis for a belief that the towers, the inner sections (about 10 m. wide) of the tower-buttresses, were erected to their full height before 537. They testify also that only the stair-blocks, the outer sections (about 4.75 m.) of the tower-buttresses, were added after 558. For Theophanes wrote (ca. 810-15) that the first builders had pierced the piers supporting the dome, and for this reason they did not hold; Justinian therefore constructed other piers. In a Latin version based in part on Theophanes' text, and written ca. 873-75,⁵ it is specified that the architects "had put together the heads of the piers to the foundations of the dome not solidly in all parts, but had left open with windows and openings those piers which prop up the dome; for this reason, the piers were not sufficient to sustain

the dome. Seeing this, the Emperor constructed other piers which in turn supported the dome." This makes it almost certain that the "piers" in question were the towers above triforium level, and that the "other piers" were the stair-blocks. The interpretation fits perfectly the testimony of Cedrenus (ca. 1100) that Justinian in rebuilding the fallen dome "erected four winding stairways on the outside of the church, opposite to the great piers within, and these he built from ground level, raising them unto the dome, that they might take the thrust of the great arches" (Swift translation, p. 141).

There are items of a concrete nature to support this declared relationship in time and in use of the towers and stair-blocks. The need for strong abutment to the outward thrust at spring and haunch of the lofty and wide transverse arches under the dome is manifest. Anthemius from the first may well have counted on the vaults and arches within the superposed chambers of his four towers to meet these thrusts. Calculating that the tunnel-vaults running north and south over the chambers, and the broad arches within the side-walls, would be sufficient as buttressing agents, he felt free to "pierce the piers." This was done not to save expense, as Theophanes wrote. The "openings" in the side-walls were there to permit ascent to the four corners of the dome without puncturing the functional ceilings of the chambers.⁶ The "windows" in the end-walls were there

6. See the perspective diagram by Prost reproduced in J. Ebersolt, *Monuments d'architecture byzantine*, Paris, 1934, pl. xxviii; from H. Prost, *Monuments antiques relevés et restaurés par les architectes pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome*, Supplément, Paris, 1924, pls. 1-10. I have been unable to locate a copy of this publication of the Institut de France. It might prove of considerable value judging by the author's advance statement in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1909, pp. 252-54.

The existence of "openings" in the side-walls of the upper chambers of the towers, corresponding to those in the lower chambers, is supposition on the reviewer's part, there being no indication of them in Prost's perspective diagram, nor in Conant's sketches in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLIII, 1939, 589, figs. 4, 5. The supposition is admittedly prompted by a desire to discover the means of access to the aedilae at the four corners of the first dome, if the stair blocks were added between the years 558 and 563. The existence of entrances to the stairways leading directly to the aedilae seems assured by the aperture shown in the southwest tower in Prost's perspective. This aperture, referred to by Swift (p. 140) as a "round headed window located off center and now blocked by masonry" is high up in the wall which backs against the dome's pendentive. Rather than being a window, it is obviously an entrance to the stairway which was cut out of the masonry behind and above the pendentive. Swift's careful study of the stairways which rose to the base of the dome proved to him (p. 142) that "they belong to the original building of Anthemius, at least in their lower portions" the portions with which we are here concerned. Being assured of the first and last stages of the ascent to the uppermost part of the superstructure, it is possible to restore by conjecture the intermediate stages. The way beginning from within the lower chamber of each tower led out of the chamber through an "opening" in its side-wall onto the triforium roof. It next continued up a set of outside steps built over the triforium roof, and ran to an "opening" in the side-wall of the upper chamber. The outside flights of steps may have been placed on either or both sides of the tower, but—if a decision has to be attempted—it may be surmised that they were erected in front of the inner face of each tower—that is, over the middle bays of the triforium. Having passed through the "opening" into the upper tower chamber, the way may be thought to have continued up steps within the chamber to the raised entrance of the stairway which is known to have ended in the aedilae at the base of the dome.

4. A review of Swift's *Hagia Sophia* by Conant, who has made a penetrating study of the first "saucer like" dome, has been written for *Speculum*.

5. The dates of composition are taken from K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 5:7-1453, Munich, 1891, pp. 12c, 122. The same authority (p. 140) is used in this review for the date of Cedrenus. The Greek text of Theophanes Confessor, and the Latin text by the church librarian Anastasius, are printed together in the *Bonn Corpus*, xli-xlii, 1839-41, 1, 360.

not primarily for a practical purpose, but to carry out the aesthetic scheme of disposing round-headed apertures in vertical series on the exterior.⁷ The succession of severe earthquakes which finally occasioned the disaster of 558 made clear the need for additional abutment above triforium roof level. It was then, as Cedrenus states, that Justinian ordered the winding stairways to be built. In the process, the once decorative windows, hidden by the stair-blocks, lost their aesthetic function, and the "openings" in the upper chambers were walled up, access to the dome now being through the stairs within the blocks. It is instructive to read in T. G. Jackson's report to the Turkish authorities on the condition of the mosque in 1909 (*Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture*, 1913, I, Appendix, p. 104) that "in one case, the stair-turret was not bonded to the rest, but was separated by a clear joint." Only one tower-buttress was examined and that at triforium level where a fall of plaster had revealed the joint. However, there may be in this another item of concrete evidence that the blocks were added at a later date outside the towers.

The above substantiation of the reviewer's thesis of the relationship in time and use of the two sections of the tower-buttaresses is further strengthened by the fact that Anthemius and Isidorus the Younger could have found in Rome architectural precedent for their separate buttressing devices. For the architects of Diocletian's Baths, completed in the early fourth century, had used towers raised over the roofs of the side-aisles to meet the concentrated lateral thrusts of the cross-vaults of the lofty main hall. Some of these towers had lateral extensions in the form of blocks containing winding stairs capped by aediculae.⁸ Several of the latter, it is interesting

The existence of arches in the side-walls of the upper chambers, corresponding to those enclosing the "openings" in the lower chambers, is more problematical. If an investigation on the spot should reveal their presence beneath the stucco covering the brick walls, their lateral extent would throw much light on the relationship in time and in use of the towers and stair blocks. Should they prove to have extended beyond the outer limits of the towers to spring from within the adjoining stair-blocks, it would be manifest that both upper sections of the tower-buttaresses were built at one and the same time, a circumstance which would fit the theses of both Conant and Swift. Furthermore, should the arches now known to exist—thanks to Prost and to Conant—in the side-walls of the lower tower-chambers be found to have extended into the stair blocks on the same level, the reviewer's thesis that towers and stair-blocks were the products of two separate building periods would immediately become untenable. However, until the lateral extent of the arches is scientifically determined, it is legitimate for the book-archaeologist to presume that each tower-chamber originally had side arches contained within the width of the tower itself, and also that each originally had a side "opening" making possible an ascent through it to the exterior of the first dome. A scientific corroboration of these suppositions would substantiate as true the declarations of Theophanes and of Cedrenus.

7. See the sectional drawing in Swift, pl. v, A and B. The aediculae designed by Anthemius for the four corners of the base of his dome (Swift, p. 142), like those later placed over the winding stairways by Isidorus the Younger, were probably given curved roofs. These would have fitted into the silhouette scheme determined by the roof lines of the larger arches and vaults, as would not have been the case had they had "double-pitched" terminations, as Swift proposes (pl. v A; p. 140).

8. See the sectional drawing by the "Anonymous Destailleur" reproduced by D. M. Krencker, *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen*, Augsburg, 1929, fig. 414. Krencker asserts (p. 281) that the drawing was made before Michelangelo's day.

to note, had raking retaining walls pierced by round-headed communication arches playing directly against the cross vaults. The question arises whether Hagia Sophia did not also have similar, or rather corresponding, buttressing agents playing against its dome in the sixth century. Mr. Swift is convinced (p. 164, n. 222) that "the flying buttress form was quite unknown before the rise of the Gothic style," and that the flying buttaresses of Hagia Sophia—upon the flanks of the church and around the base of the dome—could have been first erected only in the thirteenth century by Latins, that is, by Crusaders from the Ile-de-France. It is true that the dome buttaresses as drawn by Fossati (Swift, pl. XIX A) are analogous to those of Gothic France. But they may not have been so always. Originally they may have been open with arched quadrants, as are those still *in situ* around the dome base of Hagia Sophia, Salonika. Charles Diehl, who is especially well informed about the Christian monuments of Salonika, goes so far as to link the flying buttaresses in the Hagia Sophia of that city with those he must assume to have been at Constantinople as representing the "pratique ancienne du VI^e siècle" (*Manuel d'art byzantin*, I, p. 448). In the face of the formative examples in Rome and of the probable parallels in Salonika, it is best to keep open the possibility that Hagia Sophia in Constantinople may have had flying buttaresses in the sixth century. Mr. Conant suggests (Swift, p. 141, n. 59) that the squinches spanning the angles between the towers of Hagia Sophia and the lateral arches of the dome were originally simple niche-heads, dating either about 537, or between 558 and 563. Walls built over these squinches set the line of the flying buttaresses removed by Fossati in 1849 when the dome was secured by a double band of iron chains. It is conceivable that walls built over the simple niche-heads may have set the line for the first flying buttaresses at Hagia Sophia.

The dating of the tower-buttaresses constitutes the major archaeological problem of Justinian's Hagia Sophia. The issue will be decided only after a close and thorough examination of the structure such as is now being undertaken for the Byzantine Institute by Messrs. William Emerson and Robert Van Nice. On a solution of the problem must wait the final analysis of the compositional principles governing the aesthetic effects of the exterior, and also, in some small part, of the interior as well. Within the past decade, three separate attempts—all written in German—have been made to arrive at an estimate of the greatness of Anthemius as an artist. Mr. Swift presents the most significant observations of all three, stating his preference for those of Zaluski. It is wisely pointed out, however (p. 40, n. 55), that the relationship of the dome to its vertical supports was not intentionally dissimulated on the interior, as Zaluski asserts; for the upper sections of the "optical screens"—the now almost solid tympana under the lateral bearing arches—were at first open as windows⁹ exposing the intrados of the bearing

9. Swift (p. 144, n. 80) restores a three-part window under each bearing arch of 22.60 m. span on the analogy of the west window of 14.84 m. span, now the largest window in the edifice. But the two columns at present in the latter have plain and uncarved capitals (p. 71), and a drawing of the interior from Du Cange

arches. If it be accepted that the towers were in place to their full height before 537, then these too might have been visible from the interior, at least from triforium level.

Unfortunately for those who would hope to find in the new monograph a recapitulation of the best that has been written about Hagia Sophia, Mr. Swift has overlooked an article by Professor C. R. Morey of Princeton University.¹⁰ The simplified and clear exposition of this author seems to the reviewer to eclipse all other treatments of the place held by the church in the history of architecture, and to be uncomplicated in its aesthetic analysis. As Mr. Morey writes: "Hagia Sophia is half Byzantine, half classic; in it a Hellenistic interior is veneered with oriental ornament." Here is proof that it was possible to join in a dynamic structure of awe-inspiring size the first great telling expression through color of oriental mysticism with the last convincing manifestation through form of Greek intellectuality. Justinian in his most celebrated church brought together the pendentive dome on a square base, the mark architecturally of the creative spirit in the East, and the oblong basilica plan, the symbol architecturally of the old liturgical practice conserved in the West. The two could have been so effectively combined only under Justinian, and nowhere but in Constantinople. The measure of the genius of Anthemius and of the greatness of sixth century Byzantine culture is nowhere better taken than in the monument still standing after constant use through fourteen centuries. Mr. Swift, by producing his book on Hagia Sophia, earns the gratitude of all students and general readers who would become well acquainted with the supreme achievement of Byzantine architecture.

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ELIZABETH LAWRENCE MENDELL, *Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. 187; 140 ills. \$7.00.

In this volume, the second in the field of the history of art in the series of Yale Historical Publications, one of the regional divisions of the western school of French Romanesque sculpture receives its first detailed and extensive study. The sculpture of Saintonge has been dealt with previously in comprehensive studies of Romanesque art, such as Porter's

(*Historia Byzantina*, Paris, 1680, Book III) shows four columns. A reproduction of the Du Cange drawing and an English translation of the Latin text by Petrus Gyllius (Pierre Gilles, died 1555), the earliest modern description of Hagia Sophia, may be found in John Ball, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, London, 1729.

10. In *Architecture (The Professional Architectural Monthly)*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 143-45, 183-85. The opinion is here advanced, based on a reading of Antoniadès, that the major constructional weakness of Anthemius' scheme is not in the lack of resistance to the outward displacement of the lateral bearing arches—this is Swift's opinion (pp. 24, 143-44)—but in the daring span of the transverse arches, buttressed though these were by semi-domes. The bearing arches (72 foot span) under the lateral arches have probably never fallen; the transverse arches (100 foot span) have several times fallen: the east in 558 and 1346, the west in 989. It should be noted that Conant finds (Swift, p. 144, n. 78) each lateral arch to be now about 1.15 m. out of plumb as a result of having "ridden out" with the piers, and that Jackson (*op. cit.*, p. 91) found "no bulging" (concavely to the nave?) in the masonry between the nave piers.

Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads and Deschamps' *Romanesque Sculpture in France*, in which, however, it has been included for the sake of completeness rather than with the purpose of characterizing the style itself. C. Dangibeaud's "L'école de sculpture romane saintongaise" in the *Bulletin archéologique* for 1910 is more extensive and detailed, but somewhat colored by local patriotism.

The study of Saintongeais sculptural style begins with the Preface, in which the salient fact of a notable sparseness of documentary evidence concerning the monuments is developed and the general character of the investigation established. This is initiated in the Introduction with a definition of the geographical area involved—corresponding roughly to the department of Charente-Inférieure—and a brief survey of the history of the region from Roman times through the twelfth century. The chronological documentation of the style is then given in so far as it can be accurately applied to existing monuments; and relationships between abbeys and churches in Saintonge with others outside the region that have some bearing upon the understanding of the sculptural style are suggested.

The physical background of the sculpture is established in chapters on the Saintongeais *parti*, devoted to the architectural elements of the style, the chevet and the façade being the most important parts of the churches from the viewpoint of the building as a framework for sculptural ornament. Implicit in this discussion are the principles enunciated by Focillon in *L'art des sculpteurs romans*, to which the author gives explicit references *passim*. Two classes of church building are defined—the monastic foundations and the local or parish structures—the former being more developed architecturally and with many features relating them to styles outside Saintonge, while the local churches are almost purely indigenous in organization and show little if any influence of the abbeys. Of the two parts considered, the façade is the more important for sculptural decoration. The relationship of the Saintonge façade to the basic western type is pointed out, at the same time that the individual characteristics of the regional style are clarified—the three-story arrangement, large central portal with shallow blind arches flanking it, the second-story arcade—stressing throughout the importance of the arch as the basic element in the façade design. The chapters on the architectural *parti* constitute Part I of the book.

Part II—"The World of Sculpture in Saintonge"—deals with the subject matter found in the plastic ornament of the region. Figure sculpture falls into three classes—religious, anecdotal, and decorative—which are discussed at some length with particular emphasis on the part played by architectonic considerations in determining the popularity of certain subjects. Examples that seem to be among the earliest chronologically, such as the portal sculpture of S. Marie-des-Dames at Saintes, are characterized by a radiating arrangement imposed by the vousoir pattern of the arches, which thus invites the employment of such subjects as the Elders of the Apocalypse. A later development finds a change to compositions extended along the periphery of the arches,

and subjects that lend themselves to such treatment—the Wise and Foolish Virgins and the Psychomachia—replace the older themes. Churches at Chadenac, S. Pierre of Pont-l'Abbé, and Corme-Royal are outstanding examples of this type. Themes that appear in façade decoration occur but rarely elsewhere in the building, either on the chevet or in the interior where figure sculpture is limited for the most part to capitals. Daniel in the Lion's Den, the Weighing of Souls, the Holy Women at the Tomb, and the Temptation of Adam and Eve are among the subjects most frequently treated in this category. Anecdotal subjects and folklore figure in the ornament of arches and capitals but occur most frequently on the corbels supporting cornices of chevets and heavy mouldings on façades. Decorative figure sculpture, in which animal or human forms are simply formal motives related in processions and combats, or combined with vines in what are termed "fantastic compositions" are also of some importance, since the disposition of such sculpture can be dominated by considerations of emplacement to an extent usually impossible in iconographic themes. Stress is laid on the implications of Hispano-Moorish influence in the groups of lions and dogs attacking lambs on the façade at Chadenac.

Even more abundant than figure sculpture in all the three categories established is Saintongeais decoration consisting of flora and abstract elements. Floral designs are classified in two groups—those inherited from the Romans and those directly inspired by nature, while abstract motives are considered under the headings of architectonic, geometrical, and the interlace. In analyzing the various motives, the method developed by M. Jurgis Baltrušaitis is applied and defined with reference to Saintongeais examples, more particularly in considering floral motives of classic origin and the interlace. Carolingian manuscripts are adduced as a probable source for the last-mentioned which, furthermore, appears to have existed as a tradition of ornament separate from that of iconographic sculpture in the region. It is in the architectonic category, however, that the Saintongeais sculptor was most freely creative in the realm of abstract decoration.

"The Art of Sculpture in Saintonge" is the general heading of Part III, in which the distribution and placing of sculpture, compositional methods, figure style, technical characteristics of relief and modeling, and the effects attained thereby are discussed. Once more the essentially architectonic character of Saintongeais sculpture in disposition and arrangement are dwelt upon, and the importance of these considerations in the determination of figure style is developed. Figures in Saintongeais sculpture are giants or dwarfs or normal, using these terms in Focillon's sense, that is, descriptively rather than ethnographically. Such development as can be established in the somewhat tenuous chronology of Saintonge would appear to indicate an early preference for figures of more arbitrary proportions—dwarfs and giants—which gradually develops into a more normal canon. Among the earliest examples are four capitals found on the site of S. Martin at Saujon and three which are in o. from S. Eutrope of Saintes in which the

dwarf type of figure predominates. Similarly conceived figures occur in archivolt decoration of the radial type, but when this architectural form is composed in extension, the figures are more nearly normal in proportion. Relationships with monuments outside the Saintonge area—Fontevrault, Moissac, S. Pierre at Aulnay, Angoulême, and Ruffec—are mentioned, as well as affinities with closer examples in Bordelais, and one atelier seems to have worked at both Chadenac and Blasimon. Technically, sculpture in Saintonge seems to have begun with low relief and relatively little modeling and to have developed progressively toward a higher projection and more complex treatment of surfaces, though never attaining the multiplicity of planes or the animation of contour that characterizes the schools of Burgundy or Languedoc. Here again it is the preëminently architectural conception of sculpture with its insistence upon a relative simplicity and uniformity of plane, that must be kept in mind as a fundamental factor in the Saintongeais attitude. This, in its ultimate phase, produces none the less an effect that is one of light and shade rather than of sculptural mass serving to integrate architectonic form. Focillon's "Romanesque Baroque"; and this evolution proceeds independently of the contemporary developments taking place in the centers of vital creation in the Ile-de-France.

In limiting herself rigorously to the geographically, chronologically, and stylistically restricted field of Romanesque sculpture dealt with in this study, the author has been placed in positions both to her advantage and disadvantage. Foremost among the latter is the question of the larger relationships of Saintongeais style to what are admitted to be the more rich and dramatic manners of Languedoc and Burgundy—relationships that are touched upon, it is true, but which the student of Romanesque art would gladly have seen discussed at greater length than has here been attempted. It is disappointing to encounter, for example, on page 78 a footnote directing the reader's attention to a comparison between a capital at Vézelay and that of Daniel and the Lions at Saujon, and yet to find no reference to the group of capitals of the same subject to be seen in the cloister at Moissac, and in the Musée des Augustins and S. Sernin in Toulouse. One could wish as well that note, at least, were taken of the obviously Burgundian qualities in the style of the capital of the Three Marys at the Tomb also at Saujon. An interesting point bearing on the flame-haired demons of the capital representing the Weighing of the Souls at S. Eutrope at Saintes could have been made by referring to observations on this feature made by Helen Woodruff ("The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius," *Art Studies*, vii, 1929, 33-79) and C. R. Morey (*The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence*, i, 172), who noted its occurrence in capital figures at Moissac as well, another parallel that must ultimately be recognized as one of considerable significance. The omission even from the bibliography of these two studies which are fundamental to any discussion of Romanesque art in the west of France cannot be overlooked, especially in view of the importance of Miss Woodruff's study of the iconography of the Psychomachia.

Along this same line, Walter W. S. Cook's investigation of the scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre ("The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia," *ART BULLETIN*, x, 1927) might aptly have been cited and its conclusions applied to the examples to be found in Saintonge.

A handicap to the usefulness of the book is the relative sparseness of detailed illustrations of the various monuments discussed. To mention but a few instances of this, the importance of Chadenac, dwelt upon at some length on pp. 68-69, is not indicated by the illustrations which are limited to two plates. S. Pierre at Pont-l'Abbé, Biron, Talmont, and Les Essards are all discussed with reference to minute details of subject and style that are not visible in the illustrations provided. Monuments outside of Saintonge proper—notably S. Pierre at Aulnay—might well have been reproduced in view of the copious references thereto in the text. Restrictions of this character are probably a consequence of the necessity of essential economies in publishing, on the one hand, and on the other, of the difficulty (known all too well to the reviewer) of obtaining good photographs of subjects in the small rural communities in which the majority of these monuments are found. These difficulties could have been compensated in some degree, however, by specific references to plates in Porter's *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, where many of the details in question are reproduced, or to those in Deschamps' *Romanesque Sculpture in France*, which might well have been included in the bibliography for this reason alone if for no other.

The outstanding advantage accruing from the limitation of the subject of this study is the opportunity thus provided for a definitive study of the Romanesque attitude within a frame uninvaded by the problems of nationalistic controversy that have obscured so effectively the principal issues of the larger problems of sculptural style in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The necessity of cutting through the strands of polemic that enmesh the more spectacular manifestations of Romanesque style is not encountered here; formal vocabulary and expressive aims are accordingly capable of clear definition to an extent that can only be envied by the student of Spanish, Languedocian, Burgundian, or Lombard style. For this reason, Mrs. Mendell's study will have a certain if modest place in the literature of Romanesque plastic expression, in spite of what seem to this reviewer to be unfortunate omissions. It is, furthermore, an historic document in that it represents the influence upon the study of medieval archaeology in the United States of an increasingly fruitful and creative attitude on the part of French scholars—an attitude which will produce in time a body of hitherto unused data, whose bearing upon the more dramatic aspects of Romanesque art will go far toward resolving what have appeared to be insoluble problems. For all the vast literature dealing with French Romanesque sculpture, the number of unknown or improperly evaluated monuments is great, as Gudiol's recent photographic survey of relatively limited areas in the southwest has shown. When the results of study of these monuments—for the most part modest

parish churches such as are dealt with in this monograph—are available, and the various investigations of manuscript evolution that have been promised are at hand, it will be possible to arrive at a new and more truthful concept of much that now seems hopelessly beclouded.

DAVID M. ROBB
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KENNETH ROMNEY TOWNDROW, *Alfred Stevens: A Biography with New Material*. Pp. xxviii+294; 42 ills. Constable, London, 1939. 21 s. net.

"My Monument will remain standing when St. Paul's is in ruins." Today, the chancel of the Cathedral is wrecked, the north transept destroyed; but Stevens' masterpiece, the monument to Wellington, with its great bronze groups of *Valour and Cowardice*, and *Truth and Falsehood*, crowned by the mounted figure of the Duke, still stands untouched. That monument commemorates not only a great soldier, but also the patience and courage of an artist who in the teeth of ill health, of the apathy of his contemporaries, and of official stupidity and hostility, carried through one of the greatest pieces of architectural sculpture of the nineteenth century. Stevens' words were no boast, but a simple record of the fact that a master craftsman had put into his work everything that he knew. In an age of jealous specialization in the arts, when technical traditions and knowledge were being neglected or forgotten, Stevens stands beside William Morris as a descendant of those medieval or Renaissance artists who added to creative imagination a manual skill which could master any material with equal ease and confidence. Stevens was not only a sculptor in marble, bronze, and wood, but could put his hand to designing a medal, a fireback, a stove, a knife, or a piece of pottery. He was a brilliant draughtsman, an accomplished painter and interior decorator, and even on occasion turned architect, though no building by him was ever erected. There was nothing he asked an assistant or workman to do, that he could not do better himself, always with the power of evoking the special qualities of the material concerned. But with him, as with Morris, an art was more than an opportunity for dexterity or a means of self-expression; it was a means to making beautiful something that served a purpose. His drawings, for example, were never ends in themselves, but part of the endless study and experiment which went to the creation of something else.

It may well be asked why this remarkable figure should be so little known. Often, he is confused with that charming confectioner of Parisian society genre, the Belgian Alfred Stevens; and it is even said that after Stevens' death, the Royal Academy elected as an Associate a mediocre West Country sculptor, E. B. Stephens, under the impression that he was the maker of the Wellington Memorial. Ignorance is partly due to much of Stevens' work having been destroyed, to some of it being inaccessible, and to some of it not being recognized as his. Chiefly, his decorative work has suffered. The ceilings at Deysbrook Hall, near Liverpool, have been partly white-

washed, and are in a neglected state; Dorchester House, the dining-room of which was Stevens' most ambitious project in interior decoration, has been pulled down; and the decoration of the hall and staircase at Melchet Court was destroyed by fire. Examples of work almost forgotten as being by him are the stoves, fireplaces, fenders, etc. designed for firms in Sheffield and Coalbrookdale; the superb seated lions intended for the gate posts of the British Museum, but now placed in front of the Record Office; and the pediment and pavement of St. George's Hall, Liverpool, which Cockerell the architect commissioned from Stevens.

Another factor contributing to forgetfulness, is the large amount of Stevens' work which was never completed. Doors for the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street, decorated with a series of fine bas-reliefs, were never cast; nor were two medals designed for the Department of Science and Art. A monument to commemorate the exhibition of 1851 only exists in model form, like a series of sculptures intended to be placed beneath the dome of St. Paul's; while the decorations designed for the dome itself, which were to have been carried out by Stevens' pupil, Hugh Stannus, were after Stevens' death rejected by the Cathedral authorities. A scheme to decorate the cupola of the British Museum Reading Room never got further than a series of designs, as was the case with the plans for a School of Art in Sheffield, for a group of new Government offices, and for the Victoria and Albert Museum in Bombay.

Finally, Stevens has not been well served by his biographers. Certainly their task was made difficult by his executor's destroying all personal letters, memoranda, and documents. Armstrong's *Biographical Study*, published in 1881, contains a few penetrating judgments, but is superficial. More substantial is the book published in 1891 by Hugh Stannus, Stevens' devoted pupil and assistant, who was able to supplement his own knowledge with information from Stevens' executor and life-long friend, Alfred Pegler. But Stannus was too near to Stevens to see him in the round, and too inexperienced as an historian and writer to use his material to advantage. The one man, D. S. MacColl, who could write a definitive biography and estimate of Stevens has unfortunately never had time to do so. Not only has he collected much material, previously unknown, which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum; but in a series of articles published over a long period, he has shown a mastery in weighing evidence, a depth of understanding, and a balance in judgment, far beyond other writers. To him, more than any other man, is due the garnering into museums of much of Stevens' finest work; and it was his courage and persistence which brought about the completion in 1912 of the Wellington Monument by the placing in position of the bronze equestrian figure of the Duke, cast in bronze by John Tweed from Stevens' full-size model.

Mr. Towndrow does not wear the mantle of Elijah easily. He has scanned most of the available sources, human and documentary, and has produced a sympathetic and reasonably systematic presentation of the facts. It is not certain, however, that more could

not be dug up. For instance, the conflicting accounts of Stevens' journeyings in Italy might be cleared up by search at the Italian end, which does not appear to have been made. But as a biography, Mr. Towndrow's book is likely to remain for some time the most convenient and authoritative one. What is now wanted is a systematic survey and intensive analysis of Stevens' work; and until that is made the full value and significance of his production cannot be properly estimated.

Yet there is easily accessible enough of his finished work to establish him as a great master. To realize that only needs a visit to St. Paul's, where in addition to the Wellington Monument can be seen the figures of prophets in mosaic, designed by Stevens, which fill four spandrels of the dome. Only one of these, the *Isaiah*, was finished under Stevens' own supervision, and he was not satisfied with it. But in the poor mosaic translations of his cartoons the grandeur of his designs can be realized, and their admirable response to the lines of Wren's architecture. As Mr. MacColl says in his preface to Mr. Towndrow's book "... He was practically forced, by the conditions of subject and shape, to tread closely in the steps of the most formidable of masters ... Michael Angelo was before him. But even from that challenge he comes off undefeated."

In museums, as would be expected, the collections consist largely of drawings, sketches, projects, and models both small and full size, though the great caryatids for the dining-room mantelpiece at Dorchester House, now in the Tate Gallery, are complete and independent evidence of Stevens' genius as a sculptor, torn though they are from their original setting. It is in the museums, however, that Stevens as a painter can best be seen. Such works as the large cartoon in oil on canvas, representing a seated woman and a boy bending a bow, made for Dorchester House, cannot fairly be judged in isolation, though they witness to Stevens' powers as a designer and colorist. It is in his portraits that Stevens' measure as a painter may best be taken. Here, his masters were the Venetians, and in particular Titian, from whom he made many copies while he was in Italy. His *Mary Ann Collman*, now in the National Gallery, ranks as one of the finest portraits ever painted in England. Subtle in design, sculpturesque in handling, full of rich yet reticent harmonies, it challenges in vigor and feeling for personality any portrait in the great gallery in which it hangs.

The failure of his contemporaries to realize the stature of Stevens, and the large amount of work by him that never came to fruition, were no doubt partly due to the character of the man. Of his complete integrity, both as man and artist, there can be no question; and it is one of Mr. Towndrow's merits that he produces plenty of evidence to make this clear. But even such a considerate and generous patron as Holford, the owner of Dorchester House, found him difficult. To be kept waiting seventeen years for a piece of work, and then for it to be unfinished, justifies impatience in any man. Stevens' desire for perfection led to endless hesitations and to revisions of anything he undertook, though he was a swift worker. Apparently, too, he lacked the ability

to choose really competent assistants, or to use them wisely; and in order to keep himself alive while working on a major enterprise, undoubtedly took on more miscellaneous work than a man with his standards and methods could well accomplish. Added to this was constant ill health in his later years, the result mainly of overwork.

Obviously, Stevens was the last man to work happily for a government department, with its inevitable call for work to be done according to schedule, and within limits of an estimate. But even so, the dealings of the Office of Works with Stevens over the Wellington Monument make a shabby story, rivaling those of the heirs of Julius II with Michelangelo over the monument to the Pope, though mercifully with a less disastrous outcome. In truth, Stevens was wholly out of tune with his age. The Industrial Revolution was working itself out in England, with increasing use of machinery and of standardization in production. Artists such as Turner and Constable could survive by virtue of a few private patrons free to gratify their own tastes. But at a time when art was ceasing to be part of the texture of life, and was becoming an agreeable superfluity, an artist like Stevens, whose work was mainly designed to serve the everyday activities of men, and had no meaning in a *hortus inclusus* which such painters as the Pre-Raphaelites built for themselves, was almost destined for neglect and indifference. The extraordinary thing is not his failures, but his achievements.

His training, too, was not such as to secure him ready acceptance in England. Born in 1817 at Blendsford, Dorset, the son of a joiner, household decorator, and painter, he was reared from early years in a workshop. His precocity as a draughtsman and painter attracted some attention, and nearly led to his becoming a pupil of Landseer. Saved from that fate by the high fee demanded, he was sent off to Italy at the age of sixteen, with £60 in his pocket, without introductions, and knowing no Italian. Here he remained nine years, visiting many places, and apparently keeping himself alive by selling sketches, making copies, and working for other artists. The stay in Italy was intended to train him as a painter; and the copies he made in Rome and Venice with the watercolor sketches of Italian subjects, sold after his death, witness considerable activity. Also, it is significant that while a master from 1845 to 1847 at the Government School of Design in London, he taught painting. How and where he learned to become a sculptor, and in particular a stone-cutter, is a mystery. Certainly he rapidly became proficient, for in 1841 and 1842 he was employed as an assistant by Thorwaldsen in Rome, and only gave up the work when Thorwaldsen himself left Rome. Incidentally, it was at this time he designed a house for an American client, shipping the marble work for it to America. One wonders where that house and marble work may now be.

Thus, when he returned to England in 1842, Stevens could point to no orthodox academic training, and brought with him no outward and visible evidences of his ability, except some sketches and copies. What he had done was to soak himself in the tradition and methods of medieval and Renaissance

Italian art, and to go behind this to Rome and Greece. Mr. Towndrow does not emphasize sufficiently the potential influence of the first two years in Italy, which were spent in Naples. While there, he is known to have visited Pompeii; and, more important, the royal collections of Greek and Roman sculpture were open to him. Assumption of a knowledge and understanding of antique sculpture helps to explain much in Stevens. It would restrain a tendency to "go Gothic" which might easily have developed from his visits to Siena and Florence; it would check a tendency towards the aridities of the neo-classicism of his time; and finally, would prevent his falling into mannerism, as did other students of Michelangelo and Raphael. With these pitfalls avoided, Stevens was able to identify himself completely with the spirit of the High Renaissance, and to express that spirit in terms of his own personality and of his own time.

It is sometimes said that Stevens was a *pasticheur*, a mere disher-up of motives taken from Italian Renaissance art. Those who make the charge have evidently never looked at Stevens' work attentively. Neither in design nor detail is there any specific resemblance to the work of his forerunners. Where he borrows, as in ornamental motives, he borrows from the antique, thereby following ancient precedent. The likeness to Renaissance work is there; but it is a likeness in spirit, in ideals, and not in superficial traits. Sometimes the ideas and conventions of his own day were too much for Stevens. His decorative schemes are apt to be lifeless; while his furniture and industrial designs, though always well proportioned and practical, are often heavy in a peculiarly Victorian way. But it is by his major works that he must be judged; and in them, energy and vitality add fire to bold imagination and fine craftsmanship, to justify their maker's being regarded as among the greatest artists of England.

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Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

YNEZ GHIRARDELLI, *The Artist, H. Daumier: Interpreter of History*, San Francisco, The Grabhorn Press, 1940. Pp. vi+78; 20 pls. \$15.00.

From the vast storehouse of Daumier's production, Miss Ghirardelli has isolated twenty lithographs and has discussed their importance as historical documents of the artist's epoch. If one must quarrel with the author's program as announced in her Introduction, it would be to say that Daumier's printed works, numbering over four thousand items and depicting every phase of French life, can scarcely be adequately appraised by the analysis of so small a sample. It may also be justly said that while the present book gathers much useful information regarding the historical aspects of Daumier's lithographs, the program is not especially novel. One thinks immediately of Fritz Stahl's study (*Honoré Daumier*, published in Berlin in 1930), in which the text is quite brief and where the selection of illustrations is expanded to some four score well-chosen lithographs illustrating every aspect of the master's work. Such a group is large enough to permit ade-

quate study and demonstrate the scope of this artist as the chief reporter of his epoch. Our author's choice of thesis places before her the task of treating a complicated subject with both originality and comprehensiveness. This reviewer must confess to some degree of disappointment in both of these respects.

Miss Ghirardelli has divided her work into two sections. The first of these—"Daumier: Man and Artist"—is devoted to a compilation of facts dealing with the artist's life and work before and after 1848. The second part—"Daumier: Man of his Time"—discusses the significance of ten lithographs before 1848, ten lithographs after 1848, and a résumé underscoring the artist as the interpreter of history. The book is handsomely printed and the illustrations are excellent.

One cannot take too much exception to the recitation of the artist's career. The few known facts are contained in most works on the artist and we are not given many new ones, but some that are well known have been further amplified. Here, at any rate, the author is on safe ground, and she has taken care to quote her authorities in the very copious notes which appear at the end of the volume. One cannot so easily accept her apparent lack of precision when dealing with the authenticity of certain works quoted. Thus, such important pictures as the *Third-Class Railway Carriage*, *The Street Singers*, *The Laundress*, *The Smokers* and a score of others are mentioned without further designation. It has become increasingly clear to students of Daumier that the utmost caution must be exercised in accepting as his all the paintings which have, from time to time, been gathered under his banner. If one discusses the artist's work in terms of certain pictures it becomes imperative to indicate to the reader to which version or versions reference is made. To avoid this duty is to undermine the soundness of the argument which is advanced.

One can support this criticism by quoting from a section in which the artist's method is described. The author says: "The *Don Quichotte* series has a further importance because of the artist's unusual method of treatment of his material. In these paintings he seems to have adopted something of the oriental method of painting. He emphasizes the contours and outlines of the figures by a bold and expressive use of line. This novel treatment of an imaginative subject resulted in a series of paintings quite different from most of the rest of his work." It would have helped to know which specific pictures illustrate these characteristics. One such *Don Quichotte* has recently figured in an important exhibition without having the slightest connection with Daumier's epoch. Many will also find it impossible to agree that the *Don Quichotte* series differs technically from the treatment to be observed in any of the artist's other subjects, nor will they understand the reason for assuming that Daumier borrowed from the oriental method of painting. Rather would it seem that Daumier's use of line in the construction of his paintings was the result of a technical handicap.

Everyone will immediately concede that Daumier was one of the greatest draughtsmen of all time. Linear representation with him resulted from a functional

urge which encountered no mechanical obstacles. Aided by his keen observation and a stupendous visual memory, he was able to crystallize with a few lines the smallest gesture made by his actors. This same facility is to be observed with equal force and directness in Daumier's watercolors but it cannot be said to exist in his work in the oil medium. Daumier's painting in oil, while it may have been his first love, was nevertheless an experience of his later years. It seems clear that the artist's facility with this medium never approached the deftness which he enjoyed on the lithographic stone or in the realm of watercolor. Countless examples exist indicating that Daumier's pictures emerged laboriously from a framework of lines over which thin glazes of pigment sought to create an illusion of solidity and volume. The method had nothing to do with oriental painting but was entirely personal and unique in its epoch.

It is due to the artist's shortcomings with the oil medium that his paintings have darkened and not, as the author indicates, because he used the "mixed medium of oil painting." It is obvious that if glazes are superimposed one upon the other an undesirable amount of medium must be used. This, in time, will cause the pigment to darken. This is especially true in the areas where blacks and browns have been employed, and as these tones tend to predominate in many of Daumier's pictures, the low key which we associate with his works results.

Miss Ghirardelli, in attempting to analyse Daumier's importance as a painter, has seemed to rely too greatly on previous opinions without, perhaps, confronting these critically with the body of the artist's works. The author refers to the "fine harmony between figures and background" in the artist's pictures. While the authority cited for this statement is generally reliable, it is hard to find many examples in which such a relationship exists as the result of conscious effort. The *Crispin et Scapin*, of the Louvre, one of the master's greatest works, contains the barest suggestion of a background which can be said to serve the ends of design. In authentic works of Daumier the background or *mise-en-scène* follows, as a rule, the demands of Daumier's kind of reporting. It is simplified and serves to place the action in a given locale. Where elaborately-conceived landscapes frame the action, it is not always certain that Daumier is responsible for the work in question. Indeed, elaboration in backgrounds, along with smartly-painted surfaces, offer problems which, by their very nature, tend to have little connection with Daumier's mentality.

It also seems odd that in reviewing Daumier's sources, Rubens should have been omitted, for in this master more than in others Daumier had the opportunity to find a style which suited his own temperament. This relationship would seem closer than that to Velasquez which is pointed out or, indeed, than Daumier's suggested indebtedness to Michelangelo. With Velasquez we sense a direct method, whereas many of Rubens' unfinished sketches show a linear framework out of which plastic reality was created. As for Michelangelo's influence, one wonders where Daumier could have had the opportunity to study this master at first hand. Daumier traveled

little and to the best of our knowledge was never in Italy. Miss Ghirardelli suggests that Daumier was the "avowed brother of Millet"—but surely she must have seen only the most superficial resemblance between these two artists. Oddly enough, Corot's relationship to Daumier is not developed, and yet these two friends had a tremendous influence one upon the other. The chronology of Daumier's paintings will require time to establish but it becomes more certain that the solidly-painted pictures must date from the end of his career. Not a few of these show marked resemblance to Corot's method.

Chapters III and IV of Miss Ghirardelli's book are valuable and well presented. In these she has assembled from a variety of historical and other sources material which explains the meaning of the ten early lithographs and ten late lithographs she has selected. This section of the book is so well done that one wishes that the author had amplified it further, possibly at the expense of the earlier chapters. This would have permitted a wider selection of lithographs and the consequent inclusion of such stones as *Celui-là on peut le mettre en liberté*, *Le ventre législatif*, *Enfoncé Lafayette . . . Attrape mon vieux*, and the famous *Gargantua* of 1831, for which Daumier was confined in the prison of S. Pélagie. Without referring to personal enthusiasms, one could cite other works whose political significance might have warranted their inclusion in Miss Ghirardelli's discussion.

HENRI MARCEAU
Philadelphia Museum of Art

LUCIA MOHOLY, *A Hundred Years of Photography*, Harmondsworth (Middlesex, England), Penguin Books Limited, 1939. Pp. 182; 35 ills. 25 cents.

The chief value of this inexpensive book is the indication which it furnishes of the present state of the history of photography. For Mrs. Moholy's essay is quite frankly an outline of the existing literature of the subject, from the sociological and artistic approaches. The book was intended to appeal to a wide audience; space restrictions and the demands of the publisher quite evidently precluded independent research.

The text follows a pattern established by previous historians—Eder, Potonniée, Freund, and the present reviewer—of dividing the first century of photography into convenient periods of technical development. Discussion of each period is introduced with a brief description of the technique, and then followed by an account of certain of the workers who flourished in the years covered. This categorizing tends to submerge personalities. Brady, for example, is discussed under the section embraced by the wet collodion process (1851 to ca. 1880-89) together with Fenton, as a war photographer. The daguerreotype work of Brady, for which he was internationally famous, is mentioned only parenthetically. Certain workers, of course, fall neatly enough into technical classifications. D. O. Hill, for example, is known only by his calotypes, and while there may be evidence that he worked in collodion, this output has not been identified and his fame rests upon his earlier work.

But such a photographer as Charles Marville, overlooked by Mrs. Moholy together with many of his colleagues, is equally important as a calotype and as a wet plate worker.

While it is true that in no other form of picture-making is technique so integral a part of the artist's work as in photography, we feel that this division of the subject does not permit the reader to grasp the full artistic value of the medium. A study of its stylistic development is urgently needed, and it is a constant source of wonder to us that this fruitful field of research has been so persistently ignored by historians of art. It seems surprising that, among the hundreds of scholarly monographs on artists, only one is devoted to a photographer.¹ As Max Lehrs pointed out, in one of the few contributions on photography to be found in the literature of art history,² the nineteenth century cannot be understood unless photography is taken into account. Ignorance of photography has caused more than one specialist in the paintings of that century to draw conclusions which are false, and to attribute to painters influences which did not exist at the time they were working.

Mrs. Moholy's book is not, unfortunately, a contribution to this stylistic study. She ignores completely the important controversies of the mid-century regarding focusing as an artistic control. She fails to show how P. H. Emerson in the 1880's reacted against the artificiality of the school of genre photographers who, under the leadership of H. P. Robinson, imitated with the camera the Dutch "little masters" and their English nineteenth-century followers. She does not do justice to the rise of "pictorialism," the formation of the Linked Ring and Photo-Secession societies, the rise of the "New American School" of the early twentieth century.

It is particularly unfortunate that she is so ignorant of the work of Alfred Stieglitz that she dismisses him in these lines: "Alfred Stieglitz, born in U.S.A. in 1864, studied photography in Germany, and went back to America in 1890. He specialised in street photographs, in series of cloud pictures and night photographs. He has been editor of several photographic journals." In the entire history of photography there are few masters who can be compared to Stieglitz—Hill, Atget, Nadar in his earlier period, may possibly equal his results, yet none of these workers show his versatility or his constant experimentation. The beautiful periodical which he not only edited but published, *Camera Notes*, does not even appear in Mrs. Moholy's bibliography. Yet for this alone Stieglitz was awarded by the Royal Photographic Society its highest honor, the Progress Medal. His efforts, more than those of any other single worker, set a stylistic pattern in photography which the historian is obliged to trace.

But this is not to say that the book is valueless to the art historian. The demonstration that photography crystallized in 1839 not from the impetus of science, but in answer to the demands of the bourgeoisie for a facile and rapid method of creating

1. Heinrich Schwarz, *David Octavius Hill*, New York, 1931.

2. "Daguerreotypen," *Zeitschrift f. bildende Kunst*, xxviii, 1917, 181-96.

pictures, is clear and well documented. The influence of photography upon the other arts is hinted at; the photographer's place in society, both independently and in contrast to "accepted" artists, is evaluated. This discussion should prove, if proof at this date be still needed, that photography is indeed an art form and as such deserves consideration as a part of art

history. Photographers, critics, and even the historians themselves have but incomplete pictures of photography's tradition. The need for chronicling and interpreting this tradition is real; the challenge clear; the field comparatively untouched.

BEAUMONT NEWHALL
Museum of Modern Art

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

MEHMET AGA-OGLU, *Safawid Rugs and Textiles, The Collection of the Shrine of Imām 'Alī at Al-Najaf*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv + 59; 28 plates + 14 figs. \$7.00.

Antioch on-the-Orontes, III: *The Excavations 1937-1939*, edited by Richard Stillwell, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. viii + 260; 92 plates + 104 figs. \$20.00.

The George Grey Barnard Collection, a catalogue by Martin Weinberger, New York, Robinson Galleries, Inc., 1941. Pp. xi + 66; 62 plates. \$8.50.

OSCAR BRONEER, *The Lion Monument at Amhipolis*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. xvii + 76; 11 plates + 37 figs. \$2.50.

AUGUSTO CENTENO, ed., *The Intent of the Artist*. Articles by Sherwood Anderson, Thornton Wilder, Roger Sessions, William Lescaze. Princeton,

Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. 162 + 8 sketches. \$2.50.

H. PHELPS CLAWSON, *By Their Works*, Buffalo, Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, 1941. Pp. xxi + 236; 107 plates. \$4.00.

KARL B. LOHMANN, *Landscape Architecture in the Modern World*, Champaign, Ill., The Garrard Press, 1941. Pp. 162; 92 figs. \$2.50.

ERWIN PANOFSKY, *The Codex Huygens and Leonardo da Vinci's Art Theory* (*Studies of the Warburg Institute*, vol. 13), London, The Warburg Institute, 1940. Pp. 138; 117 figs.

The Paintings of Jan Vermeer, with text by Thomas Bodkin (*Phaidon Edition*). New York, Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. 14; 51 plates (15 in color). \$3.50.

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THE ART BULLETIN

The Allegories of the Months in Classical Art DORO LEVI 251

The Madonna of the Writing Christ Child CHARLES P. PARKHURST, JR. 292

Sources and Evolution of the Arabesque of Berain FISKE KIMBALL 307

Bronze Figures of the Late Chou Period LUDWIG BACHHOFFER 317

BOOK REVIEWS

Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* RENSSELAER W. LEE 332

Erwin Panofsky, *The Codex Huygens and Leonardo da Vinci's Art Theory*
IRMA A. RICHTER 335

William Sener Rusk, *William Henry Rinchart, Sculptor* H. HARVARD ARNASON 338

G. H. Hardy, *A Mathematician's Apology* ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY 339

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR 340

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED 340

INDEX FOR VOLUME XXIII 343

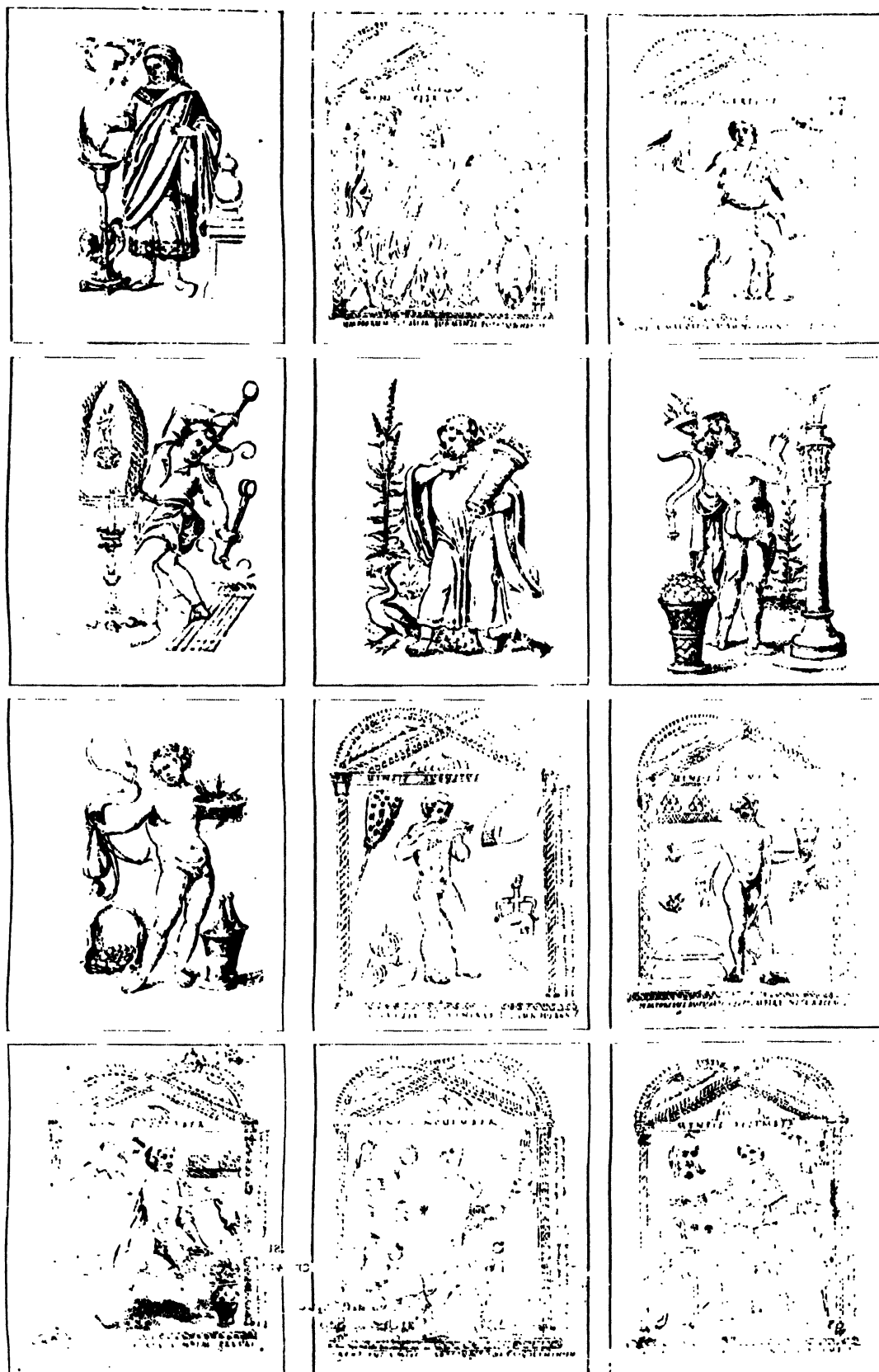


FIG. 1. Calendar of Philocalus, or Chronograph of 354: Illustrations of the Months

THE ALLEGORIES OF THE MONTHS IN CLASSICAL ART

BY DORO LEVI

STRZYGOWSKI's book on the famous Calendar of Filocalus, or the "Chronograph of 354," published in 1888,¹ is still considered the solid and fundamental basis for any study of figured calendars of Antiquity. Peiresc and Aleander, with knowledge and intuition admirable for their time, had almost exactly determined the meaning and the date of the original manuscript from which was derived the ninth-century copy² of the Calendar they had the good fortune to discover. Mommsen had proposed a relationship of the several manuscripts containing parts of the same Calendar; this was accepted by Strzygowski—and is denied today. The supposed achievement of the latter scholar was the understanding, through the study of all ancient monuments accessible to him, of the artistic phenomenon of illustrated calendars, the determination of their origin, and their evolution. How did he solve this problem?

The representations of the months in the Calendar of Filocalus (Fig. 1) are accompanied by a series of Latin tetrastichs in the margin and by a series of distichs at the bottom of the pages. The correspondence between verses and illustrations is very close; all the poetical conceptions in the tetrastichs are represented by objects scattered in the field, even if these have no connection at all with the main figure representing the month. Sometimes, however, there is something in the illustrations which is not described in the verses, or vice versa there is something in the verses that does not appear in the illustrations.³ The tetrastichs, once attributed to Ausonius, were considered by Baehrens to be a product of the Augustan age.⁴ From these considerations Strzygowski correctly deduced that the verses antedate the Calendar. He affirms consequently the existence of another cycle of illustra-

I am greatly indebted to Glanville Downey for correction of the English of this paper as well as for valuable suggestions.

1. "Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354," *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Ergänzungsheft 1, Berlin, 1888.

2. Recently it has been suggested, however, that the manuscript copied by Peiresc was the very original text of 354 A.D. See Carl Nordenfalk, "Der Kalender vom Jahre 354 und die lateinische Buchmalerei des IV. Jahrhunderts," in *Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar*, Föl. v, Ser. A, Bd. 5, no. 2, Göteborg, 1936. Nordenfalk's arguments have been rightly refuted by Meyer Schapiro, *ART BULLETIN*, XXII, 1940, 270 ff.

3. The tetrastichs at any rate evidently refer to the illustrations of a cycle of figures: the words themselves which begin the descriptions hint at a visual activity. The description of January, for example, begins: "This is the month sacred to Janus; look how on the altars etc. . . ." "Look how May. . . ." For March, it is said: "It is easy to recognize this month cloaked in a wolf's skin"; "Behold how July shows its sunburnt limbs"; "Look how August drinks," and so on. The fact that the verses lack some details of the illustrations might be due to the poet's wish to keep to the essential and to avoid overcrowding the tetrastichs with elements considered by him as secondary. So, for example, in the tetrastich of January nothing is said

about the cock and the trefoil-shaped object which the personage holds in his hand; in that of March, about the baskets of *ricotta* (a kind of new cheese) in the field, in that of April about the pipe-organ; nothing again in that of May about the pheasant, in that of June about the torch, in that of July about the moneybag and the baskets (or bird-cages, as we shall see later), in that of August about all the objects surrounding the drinking man. In like manner, the tetrastich of September is silent about the big jars and about the basket interpreted by Strzygowski as the cushion of the owl used in bird-catching; nothing is said in that of October about the basket with mushrooms, in that of November about the image of Anubis, in that of December about the bundle of hunted birds and the leaves in the field. But vice versa, we have said, the verses contain descriptions of objects of which there is no trace in the Calendar. So in the tetrastich of April the smoke of incense-burners for the feast of *Cerealia* is mentioned; May is described as *filled with ears of corn*; for August the bushes heavy with blood-colored blackberries are described, such as are represented indeed in the mosaics from *Caesarea*; September is depicted in the shape of the harvester; in October there is an allusion to the vases full of new wine. The first two verses of the tetrastich of December hint at sowing, and at the rain with which the earth is soaked, while nothing of this appears in the illustration.

4. *Poetae latini minores*, I, 1879, pp. 201 ff.

tions, accompanied by the same verses, which would have been the prototype of our Calendar, and the archetype of most of the Roman representations of the months.

But what was the form of this original cycle? Since we cannot imagine either paintings or mosaics or reliefs accompanied by such long inscriptions,⁵ it seems probable that Strzygowski had in mind another illustrated manuscript; not only that, but a manuscript of even less monumental character than the Calendar of Filocalus. The illustrations of the former indeed ought to have contained, beside all the details of the latter, all those which do not appear there but are mentioned in the verses. The verses would prove, incidentally, no less inadequate to the illustrations of the first figured cycle than to those of the Calendar of 354; artistically, the illustrations would have been, if possible, even more overcrowded with details scattered in the space. In some cases, furthermore, we cannot conceive how the original representation would have looked because the tetrastichs not only mention objects which might have been added in a corner of the representation, but depict in the two distichs two scenes which seem to contrast with each other: for example, in the first distich December is described as a man sowing in a rainy landscape, which has nothing to do with the feasts of the *Saturnalia* described in the second distich and represented in the Calendar of 354.

As we are left with no satisfactory conception of the form of the original cycle, we will take up the whole problem again, and try to solve it by a careful examination both of artistic

TABLE A

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1. Panel of Mosaic in the Hermitage, Leningrad (Fig. 5)						—						
2. Mosaic of Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Figs. 2, 4)	—		—	—	—	—						
3. Miniature in Text of Ptolemy, Vatican Library (Fig. 3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. Mosaic from Carthage, Storerooms of the Trocadéro (Fig. 6)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. Calendar of Filocalus (Fig. 1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. Fragmentary Mosaic from Carthage, British Museum (Figs. 8-10)			—	—			—				—	
7. Mosaic discovered by Beulé at Carthage (Description)					(—)	(—)						
8. Roman Mosaic, Palazzo dei Conservatori (Fig. 7)					—							
9. Mosaic partially excavated at Argos	—	—										
10. Mosaic from Thermae, Ostia (Fig. 14)			—	—								
11. Fragment of Egyptian Sarcophagus, Golenisheff Collection (Fig. 13)	—	—										
12. Mosaic of El Hammām, Beisan (Fig. 11)				—			—	—			—	—
13. Mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan (Fig. 12)	(—)	—	—	—	—	—	—	(—)	—	—	—	—

5. Series of verses can be found in some mosaics, usually alone in the middle of the field or between decorative elements, occasionally also accompanying figured scenes, but in single panels and not in comprehensive cycles like those of the months. Among these inscriptions we may mention the eight verses, the last of which is a verse from the

Georgics by Vergil, in a mosaic from Corneille in Algeria (*Bull. du Com.*, 1927, pp. 475 ff.); the distich by Martial branding envious men in the mosaic from Pèbre (Var) (*ibid.*, 1919, pp. 259 ff.); the six hexameters describing Bassianus' farm at Hippo-Diarrhytus (Bizerte), *Rev. Arch.*, 1, 1906, p. 465 f.; the inscription extolling the mosaic of



FIG. 2. Mosaic Calendar from Antioch-on-the-Orontes, First Half of Second Century A.D. March-June

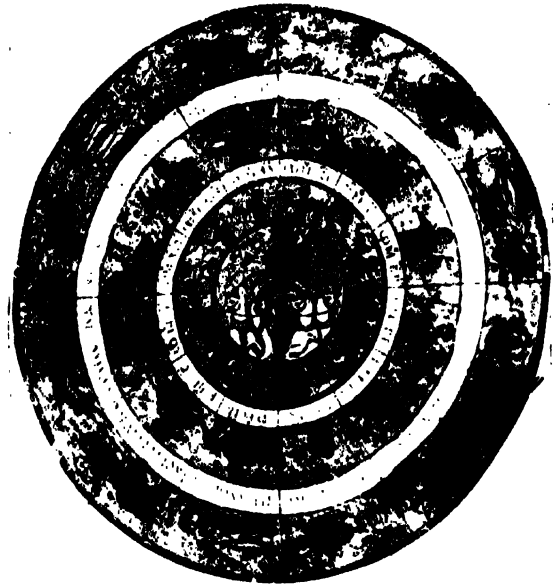


FIG. 3. Rome, Vatican Library: MS Gr. 1291, Ptolemy, Astronomical Text. Ninth-Century Copy of Third-Century Original



FIG. 4. Mosaic Calendar from Antioch-on-the-Orontes: Fragment, January



FIG. 5. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum: Roman Mosaic Panel, Second Century A.D. June



FIG. 6. Paris, Trocadéro Storerooms (2): Mosaic from Carthage (From a Drawing)



FIG. 7. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori: Mosaic Panel from the Esquiline, Fourth Century A.D. May



FIG. 8. July

FIGS. 8-10. LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: FRAGMENTS OF MOSAIC FROM CARTHAGE, FOURTH CENTURY A.D.



FIG. 9. November



FIG. 10. March-April

monuments and of literary tradition.⁶ Table A on p. 252 lists the monuments at our disposal for the study of figured Roman calendars, which have greatly increased in the last few years, although the material is still scanty and fragmentary. These monuments are more fully enumerated in the Appendix. We will prefix to the description of the figured representations of each month the tetrastichs and the distichs of the Calendar of Filocalus, as well as other poetic texts of calendars⁷ which may help in understanding them.

JANUARY

*Hic Iani mensis sacer est; en aspice ut aris
Tura micent, sumant ut pia tura Lares.
Annorum saeclicque caput, natalis honorum,
Purpureis fastis qui munerat proceres.*⁸

This is the month sacred to Janus. Behold how incense is burning on the altars, how the Lares receive the incense of the worshippers. It is the beginning of the year and of the age, the time when the honorary offices are assumed, when the consuls are presented with a copy of the *Fasti* bound in purple.

*Primus, Iane, tibi sacratur, eponyme, mensis,
Undique cui semper cuncta videre licet.*

To you, O Janus who gives it its name, the first month is sacred, to you who can always see all things from both sides.

The mosaic of the Argos, which presents the clearest representation of this month, shows a magistrate standing near the *sella curulis*, who raises the *mappa* with the right hand in the well-known gesture, often repeated later on the ivory consular diptychs representing the start of the games. With the same hand he scatters some coins on the ground; he holds in his left hand a red book, which is too large to represent the *codicillus* of his nomination, and which may perhaps be meant as the book of the *Fasti*, the *fasti purpurati* mentioned by Apollinaris Sidonius. The figure has the characteristic elements of the proto-Byzantine dress, the linen tunic (*φαινόλης*, *paenula*) with red *clavi* and long sleeves, the shorter *colobium*,

Algiers, *Ino. mosaïques*, Algérie, no. 318; etc.

There is neither evidence nor probability of series of frescoes representing the months in classical art.

6. Almost all monuments are listed and sufficiently well reproduced in a recent and most useful book by J. C. Webster, who however accepts the current ideas of their genesis and their evolution: *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art* (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, XXI), 1938. For the bibliography of the monuments with which we shall deal, we may refer to the Catalogue of this work (p. 117 ff.), to which the following citations can be added: No. 2, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, II, 191 f., pl. 52. No. 6 Hettner, *Antike Denkmäler*, I, pls. 47-49; S. Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 228; Krüger, *Arch. Anz.*, XI.VIII, 1933, cols. 700 f., fig. 22. No. 8, M. A. Blake, in *Memoirs of the Amer. Acad. in Rome*, XVII, 1940, 104 f., pl. 20, 1. No. 9, H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, p. 272, no. 8, pl. 107. No. 10, R. P. Hinks, *British Museum, Cat. of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics*, pp. 89 ff., figs. 98-105. No. 11, *Ino. mosaïques*, Tunisie, no. 752; Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 222. No. 12, *ibid.*, 223-224; *Ino. mosaïques*, Gaule, no. 246, pls. No. 18, G. M. Fitzgerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth-Shan (Scythopolis)*, 1939, frontispiece, color-plate and pls. VI-X; for its date see also G. Downey, *Classical Weekly*, XXXIV, 1940, 43 f. No. 19, see also Kubitschek, in *Öst. Jahresh.*, VIII, 1905, 98 f., fig. 30; Reinach,

Rép. peintures, 352-353. No. 20, K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX u. X Jahrhunderts*, 1935, pl. I, 1 (better but unfortunately incomplete reproduction).

7. The most important ones are collected in a useful Appendix to Webster's book. These are: another cycle of distichs, known after the first words as *Dira patet Iani*; two eclogues contained among the works of Ausonius, one with one verse for each month and the second with two verses; a series of verses called *De mensibus* by the poet Dracontius, of the end of the fifth century A.D. To the same century seem to belong the *Officia XII mensium*, where one verse describes the activities peculiar to each month, while to the sixth century is attributed the *Laus omnium mensium*, again with a distich for each month. Occasionally we shall quote also the agricultural activities listed for each month in the *Menologia rustica*.

8. The second verse, because of the displeasing repetition of *tura*, has been judged ill-adapted, and variously corrected (*pia liba*; or *flamma micet*, etc.); Vollgraff however defends the correctness of the original verse. He corrects on the contrary the very obscure final verse of the manuscript: *purpureos . . . numerat* in the way we have transcribed it; this makes it much more understandable, and acceptable both for the content and for the versification, as we shall see later: see "Nieuwe opg. vingen to Argos," *Mededeelingen der k. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterk.*, Series B, 72, 1931, 91 f.

and the usual senatorial *toga praetexta*, not the consular *trabea*. As far as the garments are concerned, the figure may be compared, not only with the ivory diptychs, but also with the two famous marble statues in the Conservatori Palace, datable between the age of Constantine and 400 A.D. The coiffure of our personage especially resembles that of the Constantinian age.

In the literary tradition the assumption of the consular office, fixed at January first by Augustus, is peculiarly connected with this month down to the last epochs of Antiquity. We read for example in the *Laus omnium mensium*:

*Fulget honorificos indutus mensis amictus
Signans Romuleis tempora consulibus.*

The month shines, dressed in illustrious garments, while crowning the temples of the Roman consuls.

Thus in the *Anthologia Palatina* (ix. 580, 1) January is described as *μὴν ὑπάτων πρῶτος*. Even more specific is an epigram which is seen to have been composed in Alexandria because January is called with its Egyptian name *Τυβί* (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 383, 5):

Τυβί δὲ πορφύρεον βουλευφόρον εἶμα τιτάνει.

January unfolds its purple senatorial dress.

And the scholiast, mistakenly attributing the senatorial dress only to the consuls, interprets: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ Ἰανουαρίῳ τοὺς ὑπάτους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καθίστασαν* ("In January in fact the Romans established the consuls in office").

As for the religious ceremony represented on the Calendar of Filocalus, our first thought turns to the solemnities which took place on the first day of the year on the Capitol, whither the newly-appointed consul went accompanied by his friends, wearing his new dress, to sacrifice for the good fortune of the state and of his office. Ovid admirably describes this festivity, mentioning the incense and the purple and the flames of the sacrifices.⁹ But the magistrate of the Calendar has neither consular garments nor *insignia*. The tetrastich, beside mentioning the nomination of the consuls, hints at the sacrifices to the Lares. Strzygowski's interpretation, that this is a Roman nobleman sacrificing to his familiar Lares, cannot be accepted, because these sacrifices did not take place exclusively at the beginning of January, but every month. Vollgraff consequently recognizes in this magistrate a *vicomagister* sacrificing to the Lares in the feasts of *Compitalia*, which took place in the imperial age in the first two days of January,¹⁰ and about which Festus informs us that they were dedicated to the Lares. They probably were celebrated, consequently, near the urns of the ancestors, in the same way as the similar feasts *Parentalia* and *Lemuria*. This is the reason for the presence of the urn; the rectangular base on which this rests may be the altar of the Lares. The *toga praetexta* had been granted to the *vicomagistri* by Augustus.¹¹

9. *Fast.* i. 79 ff.:

*vestibus intactis Tarpeias itur in arces,
et populus festo concolor ipse suo est.
iamque novi praecunt fascēs, nova purpura fulget
et nova conspicuum pondera sentit ebur.
cernis, odoratis ut luceat ignibus aether
et sonet accensis spica Cilissa focus?
flamma nitore suo templorum verberat aurum
et tremulum summa spargit in aede iubar.*

10. From January 3rd to 5th on the Calendar of 354.

11. Vollgraff proceeds further, and interprets the still

unexplained trefoil-shaped object held by the magistrate in his left hand as an avotropaic rod, similar to the wand of Hermes which sometimes assumes a similar aspect. The magic rod is often used, as a matter of fact, in order to evoke the shades. The cock itself would be an allusion to the shades of the dead: *αὐτοῦ φωνήσαντος πᾶς δαίμων φύγει*. But we find it also in other representations where we cannot see any allusion to the ceremonies of the Lares. Other scholars explain it as a symbol of the beginning of the year, in the same way as the cock announces the beginning of the day. We shall return later to this topic.

The fragment of mosaic from Antioch (Fig. 4) represents for Ἀύδωναῖος a simple figure wrapped in white, its head crowned, performing a libation: from what we have said before it is not too hazardous to recognize in it the consul, sacrificing on the Capitol, as he is described, with a wreath on his head, in the *Laus omnium mensium*.¹² But is it not even more legitimate to recognize in the figure of the Vatican Ptolemy an image of the consul appearing, even before the mosaic of Argos, in the attitude which will soon be the most usual one to represent the consular office, i.e. giving the signal to start the games with the *mappa* in the outstretched right hand, and with the characteristic scepter, surmounted by an eagle, a personification of Rome, or another similar symbol? The figure is solemnly cloaked in a *toga* with a broad hem, which may be interpreted either as the simple senatorial *toga praetexta* or as the consular *trabea*.

January appears in the fully-preserved mosaic from Carthage (Fig. 6) as a man wrapped in his mantle holding in his right hand a bifurcate object like a bare branch and in his left something which Cagnat describes as a basket full of rolls of bread. On his left, between him and December, is a cock and a branch with leaves like olive-leaves.¹³ According to Vollgraff this person might be identified with the *vicomagister* of the Calendar of Filocalus, and he would hold in his hands a bifurcate apotropaic rod and a sack full of gold coins for the presents which were granted the victors in the *ludi compitalicii*; the cock would again be an allusion to the shades of the ancestors. To us, on the contrary, this figure does not seem in any way concerned with a religious ceremony. We shall find the bifurcate stick again in other representations referring to rural works, while the object in the figure's left hand seems to us to resemble especially the sack of seeds held by the sowers more often representing December. January is a very late time for sowing; but in the *Menologium rusticum* one sort of sowing appears a month behind time in respect to the other ones, that is, the sowing of *fabae* (a sort of lima beans) which is assigned to December, while all the others are assigned to November: *fabae serentes*. We shall consequently return to this subject when dealing with December.

FEBRUARY

*At quem caeruleus nodo costringit amictus
Quique paludicolam prendere gestat avem
Daedala quem iactu pluvio circumvenit Iris,
Romuleo ritu Februa mensis habet.*

But the month wrapped in a blue mantle, who sets out to catch the birds of the marshes, and whom under a shower the multicolor rainbow surrounds, in the Roman rite performs the ceremonies of purification.

*Umbrarum est alter, quo mense putatur honore
Pervia terra dato Manibus esse vagis.*

This second is the month of the Shades, in which it is believed that the wandering Manes have access to the earth when the honors due them are rendered.

Laus omnium mensium:

*Rustica Bacchigenis intentans arma novellis
Hic mcruit Februi nomen habere dei.*

12. A very similar aspect to our personage is shown by the realistic portrait of Vergil, with *toga* and short hair, in the mosaic from Hadrumetum-Soussa, about contemporary or little earlier than ours: see Gauckler in *Mon. Piot*, iv, 1897, color-plate xx.

It is probable that the effaced figure of January in the

mosaic of the Hammâm of Beisan also represented a high magistrate, since "all that is visible shows that January wore a long dress of blue with purple stripes and red and yellow sandals."

13. In December, in the *Menologium rusticum Colotianum*, we read: *oliva legent*.

This month which turns the agricultural implements to Bacchus' vines, was worthy to derive its name from the god of purification.

Officia XII mensium:

Piscibus exultare solet Februarius almis.

February rejoices for the nourishing fish.

All preserved monuments, excepting the mosaic from the Monastery of Beisan, agree in the main representation of this month, which is the figure described in the first two verses of the tetrastich: a figure all wrapped in a hooded mantle, and holding in his hands the birds of the marshes, generally two ducks. If indeed the bird, described as a goose, held by the month in the Calendar of Filocalus does not exactly correspond in its aspect to a bird of the marshes, it is highly probable that the original drawing meant to represent the very creature described by the poet.¹⁴ Boots suitable for the marshes protect the legs of the male figure in the Argos mosaic. The figures in the complete mosaic of Carthage and in the Calendar of Filocalus are female. The cowed person in the Vatican Ptolemy holds an obscure object, which however does not hang like a bird by its claws. Only on the Calendar of Filocalus is the shower of rain, described in the third verse of the tetrastich, hinted at by the vase pouring water; here in the background are scattered, besides a second bird which we have said is described as a heron by the editor of the Calendar, three shells, a big fish, a cuttle-fish and an octopus—all aquatic elements, appropriate to the month of waters, dedicated to Neptune: "February rejoices for the nourishing fish." A fish is represented on the left, and a harrow, or a hoe, on the right of February in the Carthage mosaic. The hoe connects this first group with a second one, represented only by the mosaic of Beisan, where February is a figure with a girt-up tunic, setting out to work in the fields, with a dry branch, or rather a reed, in his right hand, and a hoe on his shoulder. This is a reference to the first agricultural activities of the year, the weeding and the cleaning of the new tendrils, which are mentioned not only in the late verses of the *Laus omnium mensium*, but also in the *Menologium rusticum*: *Segetes sariuntur; vinearum superficies colitur; harundines incendunt*.¹⁵ The first work on the new tendrils begins, however, only in March according to other sources: for example in the *Officia XII mensium*, the words *Martius in vites curas extendit amicas* may refer to the superficial work among the vines, besides the first pruning of tendrils mentioned in the *Menologium rusticum*. The hoe in the Carthage mosaic lies indeed between February and March.

The image of the month of February, the heart of winter, is the one generally used to represent the season of Winter itself. This is most frequently a woman, but sometimes also a man, cloaked in mantle and hood, holding either ducks or a hoe or both.¹⁶ In the famous

14. See on this topic Vollgraff, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

15. The implement is the *σκαλός* of the Greeks, called more usually *σκαλιστήριον*, the Roman *sarculum*, used in fact to weed plants and crops; with it the hardened soil is softened, and the harmful growths which might suffocate the crops are cut off. This is indeed the rural activity which, according to Columella (*De re rustica* 2. 12), follows sowing: *peracta sementi, sequens cura est sarationis*.

16. Cowed women holding two or even three birds appear in a series of Pompeian frescoes (W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, 998-1002; cf. *Museo Borbonico*, xii, pl. 18; xiv, pl. 32. More uncertain is the meaning of other women with birds in their laps, Helbig, 1003-1004, 1948). A bearded man with the branch or reed in his hand was painted in the Nasonii tomb (Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 142, 3). A woman, this time nude and with a panther-skin

on her shoulders, a wreath of reeds on her head and holding the ducks and the hoe, appears in the fine mosaic of Aumale (*Inv. mosaïques*, Algérie, no. 350, pl.; Reinach, *op. cit.*, 228, 5). The cowed figure with a hoe is in other mosaics, such as one from Lambesis (*Inv. mosaïques*, Algérie, no. 181, pl.; Reinach, *op. cit.*, 227, 5. See further the monuments quoted in *Mém. de la soc. des antiquaires de France*, l.vii, 1896, p. 258, note 1; the fragment of mosaic from Carthage, Gauckler, *Cat. du Mus. Alaoui*, Suppl., no. 187, etc.). The same cloaked figure with a duck in its hands can be found also on reliefs, for example on the Arch of Septimius Severus (cf. Reinach, *Rép. des reliefs*, 1, 270), or on a sarcophagus in the Camposanto of Pisa (Reinach, *Rép. des reliefs*, iii, 123, 1), but on sarcophagi, both pagan and Christian, we find more often the representation of Winter in the shape of a winged Genius, also holding the duck and

Trier mosaic of the Seasons,¹⁷ the cloaked Winter holds the two ducks, but these hang from a pole resting on his shoulders: this is an intermediate representation between the above figures and another image of Winter in the shape of a cowled lady carrying a much richer trophy, i.e. a duck and a hare hanging from the two ends of a pole on her shoulder, and a little boar in her right hand. This is the image on the well-known sarcophagus with the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis at Villa Albani, on a second relief in the same Villa Albani, on Campana slabs, on a glass vase from Cyzicus in the British Museum, on a fragment of *terra sigillata* in Berlin: an image belonging to a well-determined series of Seasons, the three other seasons of which, excepting Winter, appear also on a fine gem in glass paste in Berlin.¹⁸ In these last representations, in other words, Winter combines with the attributes of February also the elements peculiar to the hunter of big game, which we shall see more often attributed in the calendars to December, the month which represents not the heart of winter but its beginning.

MARCH

*Cinctum pelle lupae promptum est cognoscere mensem:
Mars olli nomen, Mars dedit exuvias.
Tempus vernum aedus petulans et garrula hirundo
Indicat et sinus lactis et herba virens.*

It is easy to recognize the month wrapped in the wolf's skin: Mars has given him the name and the spoils. The lascivious kid and the garrulous swallow, the pail of milk and the living verdure, show forth spring.

*Conditæ Mavortis magno sub numine Roma
Non habet errorem: Martius auctor erit.*

There is no doubt that Rome was founded under the great divinity of Mars; the month of March will be a warrant of it.

In the same way as for January the tetrastich, contrary to the distich, contains only a hint at the tutelar divinity of the month, while all the rest is a detailed description of a scene of nature: for January the Calendar offers a religious ceremony, and here a pastoral idyl, the representation of coming spring. All the elements mentioned in the verses are meticulously rendered and more or less loosely connected with the action of the shepherd, who carries a kid, and whose garment made of a wolf's skin is the only hint at the god. We notice

the bare branch (Reinach, *ibid.*, III, 27, 3, Torrigiani sarcophagus in Florence; III, 296, 1, Mattei sarcophagus in Rome; III, 475, 3, sarcophagus at Porto in Portugal; II, 57, 9, sarcophagus in Cassel; Boldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri*, p. 466, Christian sarcophagus from the Cemetery of S. Agnese; etc.). I do not think that the cloaked figure of Winter in the fine mosaic from Pesaro in the Ancona Museum holds on its shoulders a bundle of clothing hanging from a stick, but rather a mattock or rustic hoe (P. Marconi in *Boll. d'arte*, XXVI, 1932-33, 453, fig. 10; Blake, *Memoirs Am. Acad. in Rome*, XIII, 1936, 179, pl. 44, 2). In the same way we recognize the two ducks in the folds of the garments of the cowled woman representing Winter in the mosaic of Beit Djebrin-Eleutheropolis, where in the background we find besides a half-bare tree on the one hand, and on the other an elongated vase, recalling to mind the vase pouring water in the Calendar of Filocalus (L. H. Vincent, *Rev. biblique*, XXXI, 1922, 260 ff., pl. VIII, 3; M. Avi-Yonah, *Mosaic pavements in Palestine*, reprinted from the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, II, 1932, 163 ff.; III, 1934, 26 ff., pls. I-II). The drawing in Reinach,

Rép. peintures, 411, 9, is wrong).

17. *Trierer Jahresberichte*, 1908, pl. 1; *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.*, XXXII, 1917, 94, fig. 65; *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 693, fig. 20; Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 110, 1.

18. On all these monuments see Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II, pl. 1 and text; also Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, 701; Helbig, *Führer*, 3d ed., II, 399, no. 1825, 436, no. 1887; Reinach, *Rép. des reliefs*, III, 139, 1; 143, 1; II, 262, 1; 480, 2; H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld, *Die antiken Terrakotten*, IV, *Architektonische röm. Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit*, 1911, 89 ff., pl. XLVII. On mosaics representing the seasons, see Héron de Villefosse, *Gaz. arch.*, V, 1879, 148 ff.; Gauckler, s.v. "Musivum opus," in Daremberg-Saglio, p. 2119, note 10; Müntz, *Les pavements historiques du IV au XII siècle*, pp. 26 ff.; Vincent, *Rev. biblique*, XXXI, 1922, p. 275; Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten*, pp. 101 ff.; M. F. Blake, in *Memoirs Am. Acad. in Rome*, XIII, 1936, 179 f.; XVII, 1940, *passim*, pl. 20, 5, 7; pl. 24, 2; Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 82; *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, New Haven, 1938, pl. LXXXV; Matern, Mouterde, and Beaulieu, *Mélanges Univ. S. Joseph*, XXII, 1, 1939, pp. 31 ff., pls. XIV ff.

the swallows, the pail of milk, the blooming herbs; and besides, we have already said, three small baskets of *ricotta*, which are not mentioned in the verses, but which we find again in the Carthage mosaic in the British Museum, where we find also the pail of milk, the sprouting tree with a swallow between its branches, but where the shepherd is replaced by the image of a girl elegantly dressed. Much closer is the connection with the Calendar of Filocalus of the allegory in the mosaic from Ostia: here a shepherd, with a girt-up garment similar to the skin on the Calendar, proceeds to the right while playing with his right hand with a bird resting on top of a slender column; he holds in his left hand the handle of the pail, while the kid is crouching at the foot of the column. Consequently, if this mosaic is really later than the Calendar, it nevertheless does not derive from it, but approaches nearer the common original, and better preserves a monumental character, where all the elements are harmoniously used for the scene of nature, without fictitious accessories such as the window in which to place the bird. The slender column reminds us, in its shape, of the shaft of the sundial in the page of August in the Calendar of Filocalus. Except for the detail of the baskets of *ricotta*,¹⁹ the fully-preserved mosaic from Carthage also corresponds to the Calendar of Filocalus, showing a shepherd in swift motion, carrying a kid in his arms, dressed in an animal's skin and a waving mantle, at whose feet are the pail of milk and the verdant bushes. The swallow, which does not appear near the month, can be seen flying toward a blooming bush near the figure beneath the month representing the season of Spring.

In two other representations, on the contrary, the inspiration is taken no doubt from the verses of the distich, that is, from the eponymous god of the month and protector of Rome. This time the Vatican Ptolemy is quite perspicuous in its image of the warrior god, with helmet and cuirass, shield and spear, with his right hand stretched forward. No less clear is the image in the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan, where Mars, wrapped in the broad *paludamentum*, with greaves reaching his knees, wears helmet and shield, but does not have any offensive weapons; curiously enough here too the god stretches forward his right hand in a rhetorical gesture, like a general in the *adlocutio*.

The representation of *Δύστροπος* in the Antioch mosaic is not as easy to explain. It is a female figure with a solemn dress, a wreath on her head, majestically leaning on a spear (of which the tip is distinguishable over the woman's head) and holding in her left hand a cup for the libation: the figure of a divinity, no doubt, or that of a priestess during an important religious function. As we are at Antioch, our thought runs to one of the most celebrated feasts which took place there in March, as well as to the goddess more venerated there than the Roman Mars: Isis. Even in the *Menologium rusticum* among the religious ceremonies the *Isidis navigium* is mentioned first, while the *Hilaria* of March were considered among the principal festivities in Rome as well as in Asia. To tell the truth, the identification of the goddess herself would be quite superficial; but I think we are entitled to recognize the same goddess, in an interesting scene of her mysteries, in another mosaic of Antioch, where

19. It has been questioned whence the baskets of *ricotta* originated. This time we must take the way opposite to that we have taken for February. It is perhaps from a not very usual image of the season of Spring, that this attribute, too infrequent to be described in the literary text, was derived: we find it indeed in a Pompeian fresco (*Museo Borbonico*, xiv, pl. 32; Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 975) where Spring is a girl, her head crowned as usual with flowers, holding a little lamb on her shoulder and a small basket of *ricotta* in her outstretched right hand. In the same way the graceful bust representing Spring in the mosaic of the seasons from Zliten in Tripolitania (*Aurigemma*, *op. cit.*,

p. 104, fig. 63 and color-plates A-B), her head crowned with quince flowers, has as attributes a shepherd's staff and two *fiscellae* of *ricotta*. A similar *fiscella* of new cheese is carried by a boy in one of the pastoral scenes, representing milking, of the mosaic of Zliten (*Aurigemma*, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 f., figs. 54-55). *Fiscella* is the little basket, generally of osier, in which the fresh cheese is put in order to let its rennet drop (see Prudentius, *Cathem.*, III, 66 f.). It is called in Greek *ταρός*, *τάλαρος* *πλεκτός*, *καλάθιον* or *καλαθίσκος*, popularly also *τυροβόλον* or *τυροβόλιον*. See also the fresco from Herculaneum, *Museo Borbonico*, vi, pl. 20.

she is again characterized only by a single attribute, the torch.²⁰ For the Antiochenes the understanding of what divinity was represented in a calendar for this month was quite easy.²¹

APRIL

*Contectam myrto Venerem veneratur Aprilis.
Lumen²² turis habet, quo nitet alma Ceres.
Cereus en dextra flammam diffundit odoras;
Balsama nec desunt, quibus redolet Paphie.*

April worships Venus crowned with myrtles; he has the light of burning incense, with which Mother Ceres is shining. Behold, in his right hand a candle spreads fragrant flames; nor are the perfumes lacking, which the Paphia gives forth.

*At sacer est Veneri mensis, quo floribus arva
Compta virent, avibus quo sonat omne nemus.*

But it is sacred to Venus, the month when the fields are blooming with flowers, and all the woods resound with birds.

Ausonius, *Monosticha*:

*Fetiferum Aprilem vindicat alma Venus.
Kindly Venus claims April, month of fertility.*

Officia XII mensium:

*Dat sucum pecori gratanter Aprilis et secat.
Willingly April suckles the flock and cuts the grass.*

The distich, after the usual mention of the divinity to which the month is dedicated, contains in its description the elements of full spring: the luxuriant blooming of verdant fields, which monumental iconography appropriated, however, for the month of May, the time when roses blossom; the singing of birds, with which by now all woods are resounding, on which however, artistic representations could not insist, since they had used this motive to celebrate the first reappearance of birds, at the return of swallows. No wonder, consequently, that for a group of representations of this month were chosen ceremonies of the cult of the goddess worshipped in it, Venus, of whose ceremonies the tetrastich gives a detailed description. In the Calendar of Filocalus is a person in a strange costume, with a short girt-up tunic and with sandals, holding two long castanets and dancing before a statue of Venus within a niche; in front of him is the candle, and at his feet a pipe-organ, which is unparalleled elsewhere. Again, the representation closest to the Calendar of Filocalus seems to have been the very fragmentary panel in the mosaic from Ostia: we find here the identical statue of Venus within a kind of little wood of myrtle, flanked not by candles but by two torches on the ground; in front of it an almost obliterated figure was dancing, the remaining foot of which is described by the editor as that of a little satyr (?). In the Carthage mosaic in the British Museum, it is a lady in magnificent garments who dances with her castanets

20. I discuss this mosaic in a still unpublished paper.

A crowned figure, holding a cup and a staff, represents, for example, the seated image of Cybele in the cult ceremony of a well-known Pompeian fresco; see G. E. Rizzo, *La pittura ellenistico-romana*, pl. cc.

21. An image of the same goddess, but this time identified by the peculiar "crown of Isis" on her head, holding a spear in the right hand and a jug for the libation in her left, appears among the paintings of the *Domus Aurea*: Turn-

bull, *A Treatise of Ancient Painting*, pl. 34; Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 159, 7. Cf. also the image of Isis, with nimbus, a twig in her right hand, and a sceptre and an ear of corn in her left, in the painting from the Fayoum (*Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.*, xx, 1905, pl. 1; Reinach, *op. cit.*, 159, 10; also L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, p. 60, fig. 40).

22. A variant: *Flamen veris, quo nitet alma Thetis* ("he has the breath of spring, with which Thetis is shining").

before what remains of a statue of Venus on a high pedestal. The dancer with castanets is specifically mentioned in the *Laus omnium mensium*:

*Sacra Dioneae referens sollemnia matris
Lascivis crotalis plaudit Aprilis ovans.*

April, bringing back the festivals of Venus, daughter of Dione, cheering applauds with the lascivious castanets.

To our surprise, however, in most monuments we find again the same representation which we have seen already used for March: the shepherd with the kid, and the attributes of coming spring. So the month of *Ἐαρθίος* in the mosaic of Antioch is a shepherd dressed in an *exomis*, with a mantle thrown over his left arm and with bare legs, supporting a young lamb near his side with his right hand; the shepherd rests his left hand on the blooming bush nearby. The bust in the Vatican Ptolemy wears a simple shirt-like tunic well characterizing him as a shepherd; he holds in his left arm a stick, which seems adorned with leaves.²³ In the mosaic of the Hammām of Beisan is preserved the bust of the shepherd carrying the little lamb on his shoulders, as we have seen him on the images of Spring in the Pompeian frescoes, but also in the same attitude which by now had been assumed by another much more widespread image, that of the Good Shepherd. In the second mosaic of Beisan a shepherd, wearing a shirt and a short mantle over his shoulders, carries the kid in his arms near his breast, while holding with his left hand a large basket which might well be the basket of *ricotta* we have often met with. We cannot leave unnoticed the fact that the only literary mention of the newly-born kids occurs indeed for this month, quite clearly in the *Officia XII mensium*, but also in the adjective *fetiferus* characterizing April in the Eclogue by Ausonius quoted above.²⁴

MAY

*Cunctas veris opes et picta rosaria gemmis
Liniger in calathis, aspice, Maius habet.
Mensis Atlantigenae dictus cognomine Maiae,
Quem merito multum diligit Uranie.*

See May, dressed in linen, carries in baskets all the wealth of spring, and clusters of roses with colored buds. The month was called thus by the name of Atlas' daughter, the month whom rightly Urania deeply loves.

*Hos sequitur largus toto iam germine Maius,
Mercurio et Maiae quem tribuisse iuvat.*

May follows them, rich with all sorts of buds, who to his profit has paid tribute to Mercury and to Maia.

.Dracontius:

*Prata per innumeros vernant gemmata colores,
Floribus ambrosiis cespes stellatur odor.*

The meadows full of blossoms renew the innumerable colors of spring, the fragrant bushes are studded with ambrosial flowers.

23. The roundish object in his right arm is very poorly preserved in its colors and not exactly distinguishable in its outline. It does not seem to be big enough for a kid; a white spot in the center might suggest the little basket of fresh cheese; but its shape rather points to the outline of a cup, the projecting spot on one side representing perhaps a bird on its rim: the delightful figure of *ἔαρ* on the above-mentioned mosaic of the seasons of Eleutheropolis (*Rev.*

biblque, xxxi, 1922, pl. viii, 1; M. Avi-Yonah, *Mosaic Pavements in Palestine*, pls. 1-11; Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 411, 6), her head veiled and crowned with roses, holds in fact in her hand a cup on which a little bird is resting.

24. On the fully preserved Carthage mosaic, the greatest part of the month of April is lost, and does not allow us to recognize the action and the attributes of the persons represented.

Excepting the distich, which here as often expands on the tutelar divinities of the month and only in an accidental way hints at the sprouting of flowers, all the other literary descriptions insist upon the luxurious blooming of meadows, and attribute to the month abundance of roses, in bunches, in baskets, in garlands (garlands are mentioned, for example, in the *Laus omnium mensium*). And here too all clearly interpretable monuments agree with the literary tradition. In the Calendar of 354 there is a woman (I do not know how Strzygowski can see a man in this figure) with a large basket of flowers, before a flowering bush, with a pheasant at her feet. A basket of pink flowers, evidently roses, is held by the figure of the Calendar of Ptolemy, who holds besides a small sprouting branch in the right hand. The high basket of flowers carried by the figure in the fully-preserved Carthage mosaic resembles more that in the Calendar of Filocalus; bushes studded with buds are on both sides. We have already described the profusion of flowers on the panel of the mosaic from the Aventine; here too the youth, wearing a short linen tunic, with his right hand holds a large flower to his nose to smell its perfume, as the figure in the Calendar of Ptolemy seems to do also. In the Beulé mosaic of Carthage is described "a stout boy with a brick-red face, dressed in a short tunic, and bearing a basket of flowers." Finally, the May of the Monastery of Beisan carries large flowers within the folds of his mantle. It is this attitude of the latest among our monuments which brings us back to the charming image of Spring on the series of classical monuments we have quoted before, the Albani sarcophagus, the Campana slabs, the gem of Berlin and so on. Among these the sarcophagus, however, perhaps because of a misunderstanding, shows instead of flowers a kind of round fruit, not exactly determinable, which the flowers in our mosaic also resemble.

Only one, and the earliest, of our monuments, the Antioch mosaic, provides an exception to the general rule. The figure representing the month of Artemisius (*Ἀρτεμεισιος*), unfortunately fragmentary like all the others, wears a white (or more exactly white and gray) tunic, with painted hems and ending with fringes,²⁵ above it a darker shawl in dark red and violet tonalities, and sandals on its feet; in the right hand is held a torch with the flame turned downward, and in the left hand an object resembling a vase is grasped by its base.²⁶ The attitude of the figure as well as the torch clearly indicate that we again have before us a divinity, or a personage in a ritual action. And for the month of May at Antioch, what ceremony would come straight to our mind if not the great feast called *Maiuma* (*Μαῖουμᾶς*)? Antioch, if not the place of origin, was certainly the center of this gay orgiastic festivity of Syria (*τῶν λεγομένων ὁργίων*), comparable with the mysteries of Bacchus and of Venus, and which, according to our principal source of information, took place each third year in the month of May: *ἐν τῷ ματῷ καὶ ἀρτεμισίῳ*.²⁷ Nocturnal processions with torches and fireworks, as well as stage representations, belonged to these ceremonies, the licentious character of which was often censured; but for these, as well as for the *Navigium Isidis*,²⁸ popular enthusiasm triumphed over reforms dictated by the moral restrictions of the new dominating religion; the feasts were indeed abolished many times, and as many, more or less explicitly, re-admitted. An edict by Arcadius and Honorius of April 25, 396, declared *ut Maiumae provincialibus laetitia redderetur*, provided that the decency of customs were respected:

25. Fringes, or *fimbriae*, are specified on the scarf dotted with stars in the description of Isis' costume by Apulcius.

26. It seems, however, to have a handle; if it had none, it might be instead of a vase a little incense-burner, or *thymiaterion*, of the type called by a German scholar "balusterförmig": K. Wigand, "Thymiateria," in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 122, 1912, pp. 79 ff., pl. IV, 121-125. See e.g.

a specimen of a small size and of a shape similar to the object of our mosaic, on the votive stele in Copenhagen, p. 82, fig. 11.

27. Malalas, ed. Dindorf, 284 f. According to the various sources, the feasts lasted from five to thirty days.

28. I deal with this feast in the paper mentioned in note 20.

decency seems not to have been respected, as three years later the feasts were again abolished. Their existence, however, is confirmed for Byzantium as late as the year 770 under Leo IV.²⁹

JUNE

*Nudus membra dehinc solares respicit horas
Iunius, ac Phoebum flectere monstrat iter.
Iam falx <lampas> maturas Cereris designat aristas
Floralisque fugas lilia fusa docent.*

Then June, with nude limbs, watches the hour on the sundial and shows that the sun has turned its course. The sickle means that the ears of corn are already ripe, and the scattered lilies that flowers are withering.

*Iunius ipse sui causam tibi nominis edit,
Praegravida attollens fertilitate sata.*

June himself gives you the reason for his name, he who raises the heavy, ripe ears of corn.

Dracontius:

*Messibus armatis flavae crispantur aristae:
Rusticus expensas et fluctus nauta reposcit.*

The fair ears of corn are waving at the passing by of the sickle. The farmer awaits the reward of his efforts, and the sailor that of his travels.

Here for the first time the representative tradition is almost entirely different from the literary one. The latter, indeed, stresses especially the ripening of crops, in some cases even harvest. June as a matter of fact is the time of harvest only in very warm countries and in the plains. The ears of corn, besides, were soon taken up as the main symbol of summer; in the groups of the four Seasons, Summer often holds a bundle of ears of corn and usually has its head crowned with a wreath of ears of corn; and June is only the very beginning of summer. No wonder, consequently, that on the calendars the ears of corn are used rather for July, and that only on one, and the oldest, among all our monuments, they certainly represent in the bundle and the wreath the attributes of this month: precisely on *Δαίσιος* in the Antioch mosaic. The first two verses of the tetrastich give a quite episodic image, the nude young man watching the sundial, which is represented only in the Calendar of Philocalus.³⁰ The young man holds a big torch, which has caused an interpolation in the tetrastich, where certainly there was no mention of this detail originally. In the field, beside a branch of lilies and a sickle, there is a basket containing fruit, not the fruit of Ceres—as Strzygowski believes—which is specifically explained as ears of corn, but the fruit of trees. Fruit is more

29. It has been supposed also that the same festival was celebrated in Christian times in the harbor of Gaza—called indeed *Μαϊουμῆς*—under the name of “Feast of the Day of the Roses” (*ἡμέρα τῶν ῥόδων*). Several other harbors in the East have the same name, e.g., Askalon, Alexandria, etc. According to a single source (Lydus *De mens.* iv, 8) the feast would have spread to the West, and precisely as far as Ostia, where it would have taken place also in March; but the reliability of this information is doubted.

We notice, by the way, that in spite of the fragmentary state and the loose characterization of the figure in our mosaic, the white tunic and the dark mantle are elements peculiar to the garments of Isis. As for the vase of our figure, we may mention the similar one held as an attribute by the Vienna statue of the goddess (F. de Clarac, *Musée de sculpture ant. et mod.*, v, pl. 991, no. 2577; Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. “Isis,” p. 371). A similar vase, elongated but

apparently without a handle, is held by its foot by the high priest in one of the two famous Isiac frescoes from Herculaneum (Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 160, 7; Leipold and Regling, “Archäologisches zur Isisreligion,” *Αγγελος*, i, 1925, 126 ff., pls. 1–5; P. Marconi, *La pittura dei Romani*, fig. 108). The priest touches the vase only with his covered hand, probably because it contains the sacred water of the Nile.

30. A new representation of a similar sundial on top of a slender little column can be seen, e.g., in a mosaic from Antioch, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, II, pl. 75, no. 93, Panel C. For the sundials in the mosaics with the Seven Wise Men from Pompeii and Sarsina, their different shapes, and on the literary tradition on this kind of monuments, see Elderkin, in *AJA*, xxxix, 1935, 92; Brendel, in *Röm. Mitt.*, II, 1936, p. 11.

often used in ancient art to characterize Autumn, and the girl with a basket of fruit or with the lap of her mantle full of fruit is indeed the personification of Autumn opposed to the figure of Spring carrying flowers we have already mentioned.³¹ Notwithstanding, the first appearance of fruit, or at least of certain kinds of fruit, seems to have inspired several other representations of this month, the iconography of which remains however very vague, and differs in the various compositions. We have already described the panel of June in the Hermitage, where again we find the basket with fruit in a corner of the scene; perhaps the recommencement of fishing and the abundance of fish suggested the element dominating this panel, of which we may find a hint, in literary tradition, in Dracontius' verses.³² June holds a small basket of reddish-brown fruit in the Vatican Ptolemy; a boy with a basket of fruit "of equal dimensions in deformity" in comparison to the figure of May, is the description of this month in the Beulé mosaic of Carthage. As for the fully-preserved mosaic of Carthage, we are warned that the elongated objects the month holds in his hands and which look like birds, are not such; they resemble the elongated objects held in the same mosaic by the figure of Summer, which holds also a plate with round fruit resembling the plate of figs in the Hermitage panel, but the whole drawing is too uncertain to enable us to make a safe judgment. Even less understandable is the object held by June in the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan, looking like a small sack containing round objects: it may be a sack of fruit or figs, but it might be on the contrary the small cage of the partridge which we shall soon mention again. The other object held by June in this mosaic is undoubtedly a small scythe, which seems to hint in all probability at the mowing of hay, the *faenisicium* mentioned in the *Menologium rusticum*. We find in this a link with the later medieval calendars, where in fact mowing and harvest follow each other for the illustrations of two months.

JULY

*Ecce coloratos ostentat Iulius artus,
Crines cui rutilos spicea sarta ligat.
Morus sanguineos praebebat gravidata racemos
Quae medio Cancris sidere lacta viret.*

Behold July who shows his sunburnt limbs, his red hair tied with a wreath of ears of corn. The bushes of blackberries, happily blooming under the constellation of Cancer, offer their branches heavy with fruit.

*Quam bene, Quintilis, mutasti nomen: honoris
Caesaris, o Iuli, te pia causa dedit.*

How right you were, O Quintilis, to change your name! It was a pious reason, O July, that caused you to be dedicated to Caesar.

Dura patet Iani:

Iulius ardenti divertit lumina Soli.

July turns away his gaze from the blaze of the sun.

Officia XII mensium:

Iulius educit fruges per prata, virecta.

July flaunts the crops on the meadows, on the verdant plains.

31. In Pompeian paintings several figures of dancing girls with fruit in their laps may also represent images of Autumn: see e.g. Reinach, *Rép. peintures*, 137. In the same way may be represented Ge (*ibid.*, 411, 5; *Rev. biblique*, xxxi, 1922, pl. viii, 2). Besides the figures above quoted for painting and relief, a statuary type of a Hora is also known to us, certainly representing Autumn, with fruit and grapes

in her lap: see Amelung, *Die Sculpturen d. Vat. Museums*, II, pl. 27, 102.

32. For the plate of figs held by the boy, we may perhaps recall the figs on a golden dish presented by one of the dancing girls of the Pompeian frescoes, among which we have often found images resembling the representations of seasons: Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei*, pl. 92, 2.

Excepting the distich, which merely explains the origin of the month's name, all the other poems insist on the warm weather, the ripening of the crops, and on harvest itself. This is also, we have said, the inspiring motive of the largest group of figured representations, and this gives the constant attribute to the image of the season of Summer. In Ausonius' distichs indeed July is described as the heart of summer:

*Inde Dionaëo præfulgens Iulius astro
Æstatis mediæ tempora certa tenet.*

Then July, brilliant with Dione's star, occupies the fixed season of midsummer.

In the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan July, wearing light garments, holds with both hands a bundle of ears of corn; his headdress, in a golden color, is like a wreath, which might be the wreath of ears of corn. In the Vatican Ptolemy the Month has a nude breast and holds some ears of corn in his outstretched right hand; in his left hand he holds a very damaged object looking like a little basket or a vase full of roundish fruit. Again in the fully-preserved mosaic of Carthage, July embraces with both arms a sheaf of wheat; between him and June a small cage containing a partridge lies on the ground.

But a second group of mosaics returns to the theme of fruit, or of certain kinds of fruit, which we have also seen represented for the preceding month. So, for example, the figure wearing a light tunic in the mosaic of the Hammâm of Beisan, who holds with both hands some big roundish fruit among large leaves.³³ A more peculiar naturalistic subject is that dealt with in two more monuments, and which besides is described in the third verse of the tetrastich: the ripening of blood-colored blackberries on their bushes heavy with fruit. This is a subject which presents great difficulties for a clear artistic representation, and for which consequently a literary origin seems evident. Our two monuments indeed deal with it in two quite different ways, both of which would probably be incomprehensible without the poetical commentary. In the Calendar of 354, we have an entirely nude man holding in his left hand a little flat basket on which we distinguish some small sprigs of blackberries; in his right hand there is an object which has nothing to do with his general attitude, and of which there is no mention in the verses: a moneybag. Another open moneybag, where a number of coins are quite clearly shown, lies on the ground. So true is the literary origin of this representation that the artist, not daring to create a new monumental type of the naturalistic motive referring to the picking of blackberries, is obliged to draw his inspiration from an image of the god under whose special protection the month was placed (as we read in the *Menologium rusticum*), and in whose hands he now puts the attribute of the blackberries. Our nude personage obviously derives indeed from a statuary original, and precisely from a type of Hermes *πλουτοδότης*: almost identical in fact—only a little more classical-looking—is the image of the planet Mercury in another part of the same manuscript.³⁴

Obviously the poet of the tetrastichs has developed this picturesque naturalistic detail,

33. This fruit and leaves recall to mind the branch held by the boy (*παῖς ἀμφιθαλής*) who carries the Eiresione in the feasts *Pyanopsia* in the Athenian calendar with which we shall deal later: this branch has been interpreted as a branch of laurel or a branch of pomegranate tree with its fruits. But July is not yet the season of pomegranates.

34. The generic drawing of the Calendar, where the style of the original monument appears much transformed by the copyist or copyists, does not enable us exactly to determine the original itself. The Hermes from Atalanti adduced by Strzygowski does not resemble it any more than a number of other statues and statuettes, better characterized in their quality of Hermes *πλουτοδότης* (cf. Reinach,

Rép. de la statuaire, III, 41 ff., IV, 85 ff.; e.g., the statuette of the Cook collection, IV, 94, 1, or, nearer to our manuscript for the movement of the body, that of Chalon-sur-Saône, IV, 88, 1). Similar, and without the *petasos*, is Mr. A. M. Friend's statuette in Princeton (see *Burlington Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, 1904, B. 43, pl. LV). Many specimens have a completely nude body, others have a little mantle on the shoulders, or on the left arm holding the caduceus which has been replaced in our drawing by the plate of blackberries. It is not easy to admit, on the contrary, the transformation from a misunderstood wreath of flowers into the moneybag, as is suggested by Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, p. 16 (see our note 2).

which was perhaps a secondary one in the artistic representation he was admiring, and which he briefly describes in the first verses. The artist of the Calendar in his turn entirely neglects all essential characteristics in the representation of July for this single detail cherished by the poet. The author of the fragmentary mosaic of Carthage neglects them even more, in so far as he omits also the detail of the nudity of the month mentioned in the first verse of the tetrastich: his image of July is indeed a richly dressed lady, gently leaning upon a pedestal and picking up berries with a pointed stick from a glass bowl laid on another pedestal. Here at least we notice above the second pedestal the blackberry bush full of fruits which was probably the detail of the original representation that inspired the verses of the tetrastich. It is very curious to notice that such a flight of fancy as that in our last monument could in its turn inspire a late poet with his image of a month, this time not for July but for June; for this month in fact the *Laus omnium mensium* celebrates the offering of blood-colored blackberries during the summer banquets:

*Sanguineis ornans aestiva prandia moris
Iunius: huic nomen fausta iuventa dedit.*

June adorns the summer banquets with blood-colored blackberries: propitious youth gave him his name.

AUGUST

*Fontanos latices et lucida pocula vitro
Cerne ut demerso torridus ore bibat
Aeterno regni signatus nomine mensis,
Latona genitam quo perhibent Hecaten.*

Look how, heated, he drinks fresh water plunging his lips into the shining glass cup, the month called by the eternal name of Augustus' reign; the month when it is said that Latona has given birth to Hecate.

*Tu quoque, Sextilis, venerabilis omnibus annis
Numinis Augusti nomina magna geris.*

You likewise, O venerable Sextilis, forever bear divine Augustus' great name.

Dracontius:

*Atria solis habet, sed nomen Caesaris adfert.
Mitia poma datat, siccas terit area fruges.*

He lives in the house of the sun, but bears the name of Caesar Augustus. He offers tender fruit, he threshes the dry crops on the threshing-floor.

Officia XII mensium:

*Augustus Cererem pronus secat agmine longo.
August bent forward mows the long rows of the crops.*

We see how the poems describing August differ widely from each other. Besides the usual tribute to the Emperor Augustus, who gave his name to the month, we return to the celebration of agricultural works, with harvest; but in Dracontius there is mention of an activity which follows the end of harvest, that is threshing. We hear again of fruit; there is insistence on the glowing heat. Unfortunately we have very few understandable monuments for this month, but all of great interest. In the Calendar of Filocalus we have again a completely nude young man, who drinks eagerly from a glass cup, as he is described in the first verses of

the tetrastich.³⁵ Around him are, however, several objects of which there is no mention at all in the tetrastich: clothing which the young man has removed, a fan of peacock's feathers, three melons and an amphora of wine six years old,³⁶ the latter indeed contrasting with the fresh fountain-water described in the verses. The only other monument distinctly showing us this attribute is the mosaic of the Hammām of Beisan: here the youth with girt-up dress holds a jug in his left hand, and in his right hand a fan, or *flabellum* (ῥίπτις) resting on his shoulder, not the fan of feathers, *πτερίνα ῥίπτις*, common especially in the Hellenistic age, but probably one woven with rushes; anyhow of a quite peculiar shape which begins to appear only in the fourth century A.D.³⁷

The figure of August in the Vatican Ptolemy, also with a half-naked bust, holds in its left hand two big round orange-colored objects, in which we may well recognize the above-described melons.³⁸

What surprises us most is to find again all the month's attributes which are scattered in the field in the Calendar of Filocalus and which are absent in the tetrastich, in another poem, the *Laus omnium mensium*: here there is mention of the vase, the fan, and the melons, which give relief from the glowing heat of the month:

*Augustum penitus torret Phaetontius ardor:
Quam recreant fessum gillo flabella melo!*

The sun's ardor terribly burns August; how much relief to his fatigue do the jar of wine, the fan, the melon give!

We cannot imagine that this late poet was inspired by the Calendar or by a similar representation derived from it; it suffices to notice that such a scattered representation was little fit to inspire any poetical description; furthermore all these objects are spread there in the field, as a mere commentary to the verses, and do not give any relief to the thirsty man. Two of these attributes, on the contrary, appear in the mosaic of Beisan in relationship with the figure of the month. Here too, consequently, the painter of the Calendar of Filocalus was inspired by the verses only for his principal figure, but derived all the other details scattered around in the field from an artistic representation which has nothing to do with the verses, indeed introducing them by force into his representation in spite of the silence of the verses. From the same original composition were derived also other monuments which we have already compared with the Calendar of 354, such as the *putti* representing the warm season on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, where we find also the melon and the cup of water.³⁹

35. His attitude has recalled the painting by Pausias in the *tholos* of Epidaurus described by Pausanias (II. 27, 3; see Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, III, 248; cf. also Paus. VI. 24, 8) where Methe, that is Drunkenness, was represented "drinking out of a crystal goblet: in the picture you can see the crystal goblet and the woman's face through it."

36. In order to understand the debated origin of this amphora, we may compare for example the very interesting though fragmentary mosaic of the seasons from Sbeitla (Fig. 16) (*Bull. du Com.*, 1910, p. cxcvii, pl. LXX; *Inv. des mosaïques*, Tunisie, no. 338, pl.) signed by its author "*autor Xenofontas*," where Summer was represented by a nude youth with a bundle of ears of corn surrounded by two amphoras, lying on the ground, of a quite similar shape to our vase.

37. One of the earliest monuments where it can be seen, borne by a slave near his mistress, is a gilded glass of the Vatican Library; other *flabella* of this category have been discovered at Akhmīn, and are represented also on the consular diptychs: see Fougères, s.v. "Flabellum," in Daremberg-Saglio, II, 2051; Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionn. d'arch. chrétienne*, s.v. "Flabellum," V, 2, p. 1612. A specimen is represented also in the Carthage mosaic of *dominus Iulius* which we shall mention later (*Bull. du Com.*, 1921, pl. XII, p. 100 and p. 110, note 1).

38. The attributes in the drawing of the large Carthage mosaic cannot be identified.

39. See Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, p. 18, fig. 13. On the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus see Friedrich Gerke, *Der Sarkophag des Junius Bassus*, Berlin, 1936, pl. 33.

SEPTEMBER

*Turgentes acinos, varias et praesecat uvas
 September, sub quo mitia poma iacent,
 Captivam filo gaudens religasse lacertam,
 Quae suspensa manu mobile ludit opus.*

September cuts off the turgid grapes of all kinds; on the ground, ripe fruits are lying. He is amused by the wriggings made by a captive lizard which he holds hanging from a thread.

*Tempora maturis, September, vincta racemis
 Velate e numero nosceris ipse tuo.*

O September covered with veils and with your temples adorned with ripe grapes, your name will be explained by your own number (in the order of the months).

Laus omnium mensium:

*Aequalis Librae September digerit horas,
 Cum botruis captum rure ferens leporem.*

September divides the hours in equal parts on the scales, while carrying from the country the captured hare together with clusters of grapes.

Here all literary texts agree in the description of vintage and of fruit. It is now the beginning of autumn, and this Season itself, we have seen, has as its own attributes grapes and vine-leaves, which often adorn its temples—as is described in our distich—as well as the basket of fruit, or the fruit in the folds of the garments. The *Menologium rusticum*, which attributes vintage to the following month, characterizes September with its fruit: *Dolea picantur, poma legunt*. The first element (“the vats are bedaubed with pitch”) describes indeed the activity immediately preceding vintage, that is, the preparation of the jars in which to put the wine next month. Elsewhere, on the contrary, there is already reference to the pressing of wine, as in Ausonius’ distich: “September, who soaks the presses with Bacchus’ gift.” Only the *Laus omnium mensium* introduces a new detail, the capture of the young hare, which we shall see to be more characteristic of the following month. Grapes and fruit are the theme of all other poems, which consequently it is useless to quote. Most of the figured monuments are divided between these elements.

In the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan September, now wearing a scarf besides the short tunic, holds in his right hand a big bunch of grapes and in his left a small basket. He is evidently returning from vintage. Much more picturesque is the image in the Vatican Ptolemy, where the month, like a vintager returning from the vineyard, holds on his shoulders a rough pole, the tips of which are bent by two enormous grapes hanging from them. September holds a high basket with fruit in the fully-preserved mosaic of Carthage, and a shrub at his right seems clearly to show vine-leaves; the same basket of fruit, and grapes, characterize Autumn in this mosaic. Only the mosaic of the Hammām of Beisan, unexpectedly, shows a rustic scene of a quite different kind: a farmer returning home from the fields holding with his left hand a cock hanging by its feet, and supporting on his shoulder with his right hand not a basket but a peculiar jug, decorated with horizontal channelings, of a kind still used in Palestine to keep the water cold. In this scene perhaps the merry return from the country after the toils of vintage is depicted.

The tetrastich, after the generic elements, again introduces in the last two verses an unusual motive which, however, becomes the main subject in the Calendar of Philocalus: the nude male figure, wearing only a little mantle thrown like a scarf across his body, holding the writhing lizard hanging on a thread. In his other hand he holds (by its bottom) a basket,

from which five sticks with heads are rising. At his feet are the upper parts of two big jars, or vats, a hint at the must which would ferment within, and which are mentioned in the *Menologium*; another hint of vintage is perhaps the two large vine-leaves in the field. An identical representation of the upper part of two large vats, above which the vintagers merrily pressing the grapes are represented, appears in the scene of vintage in a fine mosaic from Caesarea-Cherchel (Fig. 17).⁴⁰ In the upper corner of the calendar-picture another flat basket contains figs, piled up in two groups, in the same way as nowadays—Strzygowski says—they are exhibited on the seller's bench and offered "six for one cent." But the main figure is not directly inspired, as he believes, by another popular scene which also can be noticed often in Italy, the playing with the captive lizard. It is again, on the contrary, a divine image which represents here in a symbolical way grapes, vintage, and the month: it is an image of Bacchus, the god of grapes and wine—an image which in its turn was indeed originally inspired by the realistic motive of the popular game, but where the realistic motive, as in so many other images of classical antiquity (such as the Apollo Parnopios, probably also the Apollo Sauroktonos) has been used for a specific symbolical aim. We are enlightened on the original motive by an extremely interesting mosaic (Fig. 15) recently discovered at El-Djem, ancient Thysdrus in Tunisia, where the god appears in the same attitude, accompanied by his panther, with an undoubted apotropaic purpose, for which numberless other talismans are introduced in the mosaic around the central figure.⁴¹

OCTOBER

Dat premsum leporem cumque ipso palmite fetus
October; pinguis dat tibi ruris aves.
Iam bromios spumare lacus et musta sonare
Apparet; vino vas calet ecce novo.

October offers you the captured hare and the grapes within vine-leaves; he offers you the fat birds of the fields. One can see already the fermenting must foaming and rumbling in the vats. Behold, already the jars are warm with new wine.

Octobri lactus portat vindemitor uvas:
Omnis ager Bacchi munere dives ovat.

The merry vintager brings grapes to October; all the fields exult, full of Bacchus' fruit.

40. *Bull. du Com.*, 1921, pl. 1; M. Durry, *Mus. de Cherchel*, Suppl., pl. xiv. See also the central episode of vintage among the fine allegories of the seasons painted in the Prætextatus Cemetery (Wilpert, *Le pitture delle catacombe romane*, Rome, 1903, p. 33, pl. 33).

41. Merlin and Poinssot, *Mon. Piot*, xxxiv, 1934, pl. ix, and p. 155, fig. 5. See on this topic my observations in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, 1941, 231 f.

The editors of this mosaic go much further than the simple comparison with the statuary type; they believe that the strange object on the left hand of the figure in the Calendar likewise has a similar magic purpose; that it is not a cushion with limed sticks where the owl would sit to lure birds, but a pointed crown often represented among the usual prophylactic symbols or by itself. Putti hold a lizard hanging from a thread, and have in the other hand a big cluster of grapes above the rim of a jar, on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus and on other similar Roman sarcophagi (see Nordenfalk, *op. cit.*, p. 17, figs. 10-11).

But to return to the main figure, the Calendar of Filocalus is not entirely isolated. We may take up again, indeed,

not another image of a month, but a representation of Autumn in a cycle of the seasons, and precisely in the mosaic, already mentioned, of Sbeitla in Tunisia (Fig. 16). We have examined Summer in this mosaic when studying the iconography of August. Autumn is a nude man, wearing across his breast what seems to me to be rather a wreath of flowers and tendrils than a mantle. In his left hand he holds a very damaged attribute (a thyrsus? or a cluster of grapes?); with his right he holds up by its tail a serpent, another prophylactic animal much more widespread and generally understandable than the lizard. If there is not also in this mosaic an indistinct or misunderstood representation of a lizard, we may deduce that the lizard, more characteristic of autumn, was intentionally replaced by the artist with a serpent for a clearer understanding (see my paper on the Evil Eye in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, 220 ff.). Finally we may mention a winged standing Genius holding up a lizard on a string, in the mosaic, unfortunately still unpublished, of the calidarium in the Baths of Djemila (Ballu, *Bull. du Com.*, 1910, p. 106; *Inv. des mosaïques*, Algérie, no. 291).

Ausonius, *Disticha*:

*Et qui sementis per tempora faenore laetus
October cupidi spem fovet agricolae.*

October, gladdened with the season's usury for seedling grain, who flatters the grasping farmer's hopes.

Officia XII mensium:

Elicit October pedibus dulcissima vina.

October presses under his feet the very sweet wine.

Laus omnium mensium:

*Conterit October lascivis calcibus uvas
Et spumat pleno dulcia musta lacu.*

October enjoys pressing the grapes under his feet, and the sweet must foams in the full vats.

Again vintage is celebrated, the only activity which we have said is mentioned in the *Menologium rusticum*; but more often there is reference to the subsequent activity, the pressing of the grapes in the vats. The hunting season opens, and the capture of hares and birds is described: but for the moment hunting is mentioned only in the tetrastich, while the hare, we have seen, has already been spoken of in September. Finally, sowing begins to be mentioned;⁴² this is the activity of October also in the later fragmentary poem of the eighth century *Martius hic falcem*. But in the monumental iconography of Antiquity, sowing will be the object of the following months; vintage has been attributed to September, often with hints at the making of wine: so that on the few understandable monuments preserved to us, only the capture of the hare is adopted from the topics of the poems for the representation of this month. The Calendar of Filocalus represents a youth, still nude and with a statuesque body, a broad mantle floating on his shoulders, raising the hare in his right hand and holding in his left an elongated basket, in which Peirese has recognized the trap for the hare itself.⁴³ Another high basket on the ground at the right and a wide flat basket in the field apparently contain mushrooms; on the left there is a bundle of rods, perhaps the limed sticks for the capture of birds, a net, a small object hanging from a thread and looking like a small cage, and above it a big bird with a hooked beak which has been interpreted as a hawk. In the large Carthage mosaic, too, a figure holds up a hare by its hind paws, not above a basket but above a vase, which probably suggests the new wine.

In two better-preserved monuments, the figures of October have different objects not mentioned in literature or not clearly understandable. In the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan a peasant with his shirt girt up has a stick in his right hand and holds with his left hand a kind of little round basket hanging from a rope at his shoulder, from which the tufts of a plant seem to rise. In the Vatican Ptolemy a figure plays a long horn: he recalls the shepherd holding or playing a horn while grazing his flock, for example in the representation of Summer in the mosaic of *dominus Iulius* at Carthage (Fig. 19).⁴⁴

42. Likewise Ausonius in his other eclogue says concerning the same thing in one verse: "October enriches the fields, lending them the corn of the seeds."

43. A hare peeps out of a basket, perhaps its own snare, in the panel of a mosaic with still-lives and catables from Rome in the Vatican (see B. Nogara, *I mosaici del Vaticano e del Later.* no. pl. xxvi, 12). We may mention other panels of the same mosaic representing mushrooms, cooked with

pork (pl. xxv, 12), and melons (pls. xxv, 5 and xxvi, 10).

44. *Bull. du Com.*, 1921, pl. xii. Cf. also the shepherd with a horn and perhaps also with a basket of new cheese, in the mosaic of the Constantinian villa of Antioch, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, II, pl. 62, no. 87, Panel A; and the agricultural scenes in the mosaic from Orbe, *Inv. des mosaïques*, Gaiule, no. 1380, plate.

NOVEMBER

*Carbaseos post calvus atrox inductus amictus
Memphidos antiquae sacra deamque colit,
A quo vix avidus sistro compescitur anser
Devotusque satis (or sacris?) incola Memphideis.*

Then the fierce, bald priest, wearing linen clothes attends the cult of Isis in ancient Memphis; from him with difficulty the greedy goose is kept away by his sistrum, and the pious Egyptian devoted to the ceremonies of his country.

*Frondebis amissis repetunt sua frigora mensem,
Cum iuga Centaurus celsa retorquet eques.*

The leaves having fallen from the trees, the month grows cold again, when the horseman Centaur turns back the high pole of his chariot.

Dracontius:

*Pigra redux torpescit hiems; mitescit oliva,
Et frumenta capit quae fenore terra refundat.*

Winter, returned, lazily grows numb; olive trees grow ripe and the earth receives the seeds, which one day it will give back with usury.

Excepting the tetrastich, all the other poetical descriptions, out of which we have cited only a couple, describe the return of winter, sowing, the ripening of olives. Sowing wheat, which we have already noticed sporadically mentioned by the poetical descriptions of October, is the principal activity of November in the *Menologium rusticum: Sementes triticariae et hordiariae* (seeds of wheat and of barley). In the *Officia XII mensium* there is reference only to an activity following the making of wine, that is the filling of the cellars with wine, and locking them up. But in the *Laus omnium mensium*, "November with the plough upheaves the clods of earth fecundating the fields, while the big olives already feel the weight of the turning mill-stone which presses them." The tetrastich, on the contrary, is wholly dedicated to the description of a picturesque religious ceremony: the solemn feasts of Isis, which took place at the beginning of November, to which only the Isiac celebrations of March were equal in importance, and the impression of which at Rome would evidently remain the dominating feature of the whole month. In the *Isia* of November the dramatic character of the legend of Osiris was stressed; the anxious search by Isis for the corpse of her husband, a quest in which she was helped by Anubis—a priest with a mask in the shape of a dog's head; after the mourning came the jubilation for the finding of the body, which was expressed by the words: *εὐρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν*.

A group of calendars borrow for their representations of November a scene from these Isiac celebrations. In the Calendar of Filocalus we see the priest of Isis, wrapped in his sacerdotal mantle, holding in his right hand the sistrum and in his left hand the serpent of Isis on a plate, facing an image of Anubis, that is, a dog's head upon a high pedestal; the goose, frightened by the sound of the sistrum, runs away at his feet. Five fruits of pomegranate scattered in the field are the only hint of the natural events of this month, of which there is no mention in the tetrastich.⁴⁵ Peiresc has already compared to this representation the similar one carved on a metal pipe, published by Lorenzo Pignoria in his work on the

45. I agree with Peiresc ("i pomi granati, che sonno buoni in quel tempo"), rather than with Strzygowski who sees in them an allusion to fertility connected with the myth of Isis. If they were really connected with the religious ceremony, they would have been put in some relationship to the representation, as all other symbols are,

instead of being scattered inorganically in the field, as we so often find in the Calendar the elements probably deriving from literary sources or from heterogeneous monuments and which have nothing to do with the main representation. Moreover, the pomegranate is an attribute of the cult of Cybele rather than of Isis.

famous *Mensa Isiaca*, or *Tabula Bembina*: there too a man, wearing a silver garment well corresponding to the white linen of the verses, holds a sistrum and an Isiac *situla*, and bends over a goose at his feet. The sacred goose, furthermore, can be seen in front of Osiris with a bull's head, in a Pompeian fresco.⁴⁶ In the mosaic from Carthage in the British Museum only a fragment of a priestess of Isis, wrapped in her dress and holding a sistrum in her right hand, is preserved: here the artist has chosen the more usual motive of the priestess, for the religion was renowned for the large participation of women in the administration of the cult as well as in devotion.⁴⁷

A bird near the feet of the person representing November on the fully-preserved mosaic from Carthage has been interpreted as a goose hinting at the cult of Isis; but although the objects he holds in his arms are rather mysterious, the whole representation looks like an agricultural scene rather than a religious ceremony, and the meaning of the bird remains uncertain: we may remark that a quite similar bird appears in this mosaic also near the figure of Autumn.⁴⁸

It has rightly been shown to be out of the question, on the contrary, that the object held in the left hand of the month in the Vatican Ptolemy should be the plate with the serpent of Isis, as had been suggested in order to connect this image with the preceding representation: it is a small reddish object kept tight in the fist, and cannot be more precisely identified. But the right hand of the same figure holds without any doubt a bird of prey, probably a hawk: a belated hint at the hunting of birds, which we have seen mentioned in literature and represented in art for October. We may add here that, if a hawk is really present, we must recognize in the original of this monument the first antique representation of hunting with the falcon, preceding both the Calendar of Philocalus and the mosaic of Argos.⁴⁹ The same belated representation of hunting seems to be the subject of this month in the mosaic of the Hammām of Beisan: here the figure seems to hold on his shoulder a bundle of limed rods for fowling, rather than a torch which would have no meaning in this place; the green cloth floating nearby might represent a net. More mysterious is the object the youth holds near his breast with his left hand, shaped like a truncated cone, which has been identified as a brazier, or a basket, or a trap for hares. We might have, however, a quite different subject, that is a sower with his sack of seeds, the most appropriate image for this month according to the texts, which we have not encountered on the monuments but which we shall meet in the allegories of the following month. Finally, the objects held by Novem-

46. Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1106. The animal is mentioned also in literary texts in connection with the goddess and her cult: the priest would require of pious ladies an offering of a fat goose, and of a cake, if they wanted to find grace by the goddess (see Juven., *Sat.*, 6, 526 ff.; for the worship of Isis by Roman ladies, also Tibull. 1. 3, 23 ff.). Inscriptions mention other costly offerings to the goddess: for example the rich donation by a lady of Tarracona (*CIL*, II, 3386) includes silver sistra, cups and metal serpents inlaid with precious stones. The indistinguishable objects on the plate held by the priest of the Calendar might be, instead of lotus-leaves—since fruit is already represented in the field—the cakes, fit to be presented on a dish, but perhaps misunderstood by the copyist: although sacrifices of flowers to Isis are also attested. From the Isis festivals was derived the attribute of the lotus-flower adorning the forehead of the bust of Autumn in the mosaic from Tor de' Schiavi (see *Mem. Am. Acad. Rome*, xvii, 1940, 108 f.).

47. The gesture of her left hand has been interpreted as a proof of the presence of a goose on the ground.

48. The objects our month is holding look in the drawing like the bundles of fruit or flowers monotonously repeated in this mosaic; but we cannot think of flowers as a characteristic of November: the only flowers connected with the month, if any, might be the pomegranate flowers which might be meant in the bush on the right of the figure. On his left are branches resembling branches of olive-trees, which also are very common in the mosaic, but which would be suitable for this month. It might be that branches of olive-trees full of ripe fruit are also the objects held by the figure in his arms.

49. On hunting with the falcon see Vollgraff, *op. cit.*, note 15, pp. 103 ff.; P. Friedländer, *Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza*, Città del Vaticano, 1939, 113, n. 1. In literature, the first author exactly to describe a hunt with the falcon in the Occident is Paulinus of Pella, at the end of the fourth century A.D. On more rudimentary forms of hunting with a bird of prey, known also in earlier times, but not before Pliny the Elder, see Lafaye, *s.v.* "Venatio," in Daremberg-Saglio, p. 693.

THE ART BULLETIN

engaged in work in the field; he has bare arms, and holds with his left arm an object which may well be identified from its horizontal striations as a basket rather than a sack. But it is not a basket full of fruit or flowers, which would be indicated above the rim; it is the *φορμὸς πυρῶν*, the basket of seeds which the peasant has scattered around on the field from the open palm of his outstretched right hand. All the space beneath this arm is indeed full of seeds, indicated as a matter of fact by little strokes disposed with geometric regularity, but in a way not dissimilar from that of the seeds in the mosaic from Beisan.⁵⁷ The second figure wears a heavy dress, with long sleeves clinging to the arms and with a cloak clasped around the neck, the folds of which form the vertical striations near the left side of the figure, which do not resemble the strokes of the seeds in the other panel. The personage wears, besides, the high and heavy hunter's boots used in winter. He holds two ducks hanging from the top of a pole which rests on his shoulder, and in his left hand a bundle of fish: he is February, the only month in which we have found both the water birds and fish, of which the poems also speak. Consequently the preceding month, which might be either December or January, must be interpreted as the latter month.⁵⁸

In order to reach more easily the conclusions of our study, we present in tabular form all images of the single months we have analyzed above. At the top appear those from the poems: 1) the tetrastichs, 2) the distichs, 3) the other poems; and for each month, beneath the main subjects is added a list of the various attributes included in its representation. The subject of each allegory is distinguished by a letter; the corresponding letter recurring below denotes its attributes. The arabic numbers following the phrases refer to the monuments enumerated in Table A and described in the Appendix.

TABLE B

JANUARY	MARCH
<p>1)-2) Ianus bifrons Lares, tura, consuls, magistrates</p> <p>a) magistrate 2, 3, 5, 9 b) sower 4, 11</p> <p>a) libation; mappa and scepter; incense-burner, cinerary urn, cock; fasti b) sac of seeds, hoe</p>	<p>1) Mars; pellis lupae aedus petulans, garrula hirundo, sinus lactis, herba virens 2) Roma 3) Isidis navigium e) Isis? 2 f) Mars 3, 13, (Tegea) g) shepherd with kid or lamb 4, 5, 10 h) woman in vernal landscape 6 g) vase with milk, swallow, baskets with <i>ricotta</i> h) <i>id.id.</i></p>
FEBRUARY	APRIL
<p>1) Februa caeruleus amictus, paludicola avis, iactus pluvius, Daedala Iris 2) Manes 3) first works of vines, segetes sariuntur, vinearum superficies colitur c) wrapped figure with duck (3), 4, 5, 9, 11 d) peasant with hoe 13 c) fishes, cuttle-fish, polypus, bird, water; hoe d) dry branch?</p>	<p>1) Venus contexta myrto Ceres (or Thetis?) flamen turis, cereus, balsama 2) flores, aves 3) Fetiferus Aprilis g) shepherd with kid or lamb 2, 12, 13 i) cult of Venus 5, 6, 10 g) leafy branch; baskets of <i>ricotta</i> i) castanets, candle, organ, flute</p>

57. For reasons of symmetry or because of a misunderstanding, the sculptor has also filled with strokes the space beneath the basket on the other side of the figure.

58. One might ask why, if we have here the first two months of the year, the arcades continue on the left, where there must have been other figures before January. But the Egyptian year begins, indeed, in the Alexandrian as

well as in the successive eras, with the month of Thoth, corresponding to about September in the Julian calendar (more precisely with the last days of August): see F. K. Ginzel, *Handb. d. Chronologie*, 1, pp. 224 ff. We shall soon see how the provincial calendars each followed its own New Year's day in the disposition of its months.

THE ALLEGORIES OF THE MONTHS IN CLASSICAL ART

TABLE B (Continued)

MAY

- 1) Maius liniger
opes veris, rosaria in calathis
- 2) Mercurius, Maia
- 3) Flora
- j) priest? with torch and vase 2
- k) personage with flowers 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13
- k) basket and blooming branch; smelling flower,
flowers in folds of mantle; bird

JUNE

- 1) Iunius nudus, horae solares
falx (or lampas), aristae maturae, lilia fusa
- 2) sata praegravida
- 3) messes
- l) figure with fruits 3, 4?, 7, 13?
- m) figure with ears of corn and crowned with ears of
corn 2
- n) figure in front of solar clock 5
- l) plate with figs, basket with fruit
basket with crabs, fishes, cuttle-fish
- n) basket with fruit
torch
sickle, branch of lilies

JULY

- 1) artus colorati
spicea sarta, morus
- 2) Iulius Caesar
- 3) fruges, fontanae exhaustae, sol, Nilus
- m) figure with ears of corn? 3, 4, 13
- o) figure with pomegranates? 11
- p) figure picking or holding blackberries 5, 6
- m) cage with partridge
- o) bags of money
baskets, or cages for birds?

AUGUST

- 1) Augustus, Hecate
fontani latices, pocula
- 3) secat Cererem
gillo, flabella, melo
- q) drinking man 5
- r) man with fan 12
- l) man with melons 3
- q) fan, jug, melon
- r) jug

SEPTEMBER

- 1) praeseceat uvae
mitia poma
captiva lacerta
- 2) tempora vineta racemis
- 3) Libra; botrua, lepus
dolea picantur, poma legunt
- s) figure with grapes 3, 12, 4?
- l) figure with basket of fruit 4?
- t) figure with lizard 5
- u) figure with jar of wine and cock 11
- s) basket (with figs?)
- l) vine nearby
- t) plate with figs, grapes, barrel of wine
basket with limed rods for bird-hunting?

OCTOBER

- 1) lepus, fetus cum palmitibus
aves ruris
lacus et musta
vas, vinum novum
- 2) vindemitor
- 3) semens
elicit pedibus vina
vindemiae sacrum
- w) hare- and bird-hunting 4, 5
- x) shepherd playing the flute 3
- w) vase with new wine
the trap for the hare? limed rods for bird-hunting,
birds, baskets with mushrooms?

NOVEMBER

- 1) priest of Isis, sistrum, anser
- 2) frondes amissae
Centaurus
- 3) oliva, frumenta
- w) bird-hunting 3, 11?
- y) cult of Isis 5, 6 (4?)
- w) goose, pomegranate flowers?
- y) goose, pomegranates

DECEMBER

- 1) sowing
cuncta madent
Saturnalia, verna
- 2) Festa
- 3) faba serentes
item venantur
- b) sower 3?, 12
- c) winter 11
- w) hunter 4
- z) verna 5
- b) sac of seeds, hoc?
- c) hoe
- w) bunch of killed birds, hunting-bag, limed rods for
catching birds
- z) bunch of birds; dies; torch; theatrical mask;
leaves (of vine?)

Thus through a minute and attentive analysis of the preserved monuments, we have obtained a comparatively clear picture of the genesis and the development of the figured calendars.

First of all we must exclude the term "personifications" of the months. We may speak of "allegories," of "representations" of the months; but personifications, with a fixed iconography for each single month, have not appeared, and do not exist in classical Antiquity. We have met with the same representation used in different calendars for two and sometimes even three different months, lent sometimes to the representation of a season or borrowed from the usual representation of a season. The repertory of the allegories of the months is entirely composed of scenes referring to the most characteristic events of each single month, which may be divided into two main categories: religious feasts, in their turn represented either by the divinities presiding over the feasts or by ceremonies of the cult; and civil events, mostly referring to life and activities in the country, but sometimes represented also by genre episodes, by some picturesque details of life which may recall to mind the month when they happen, such as the picking of blackberries or even the presentation of plates with blackberries in summer banquets.

It is time to say a few words about the unique and famous popular liturgical calendar left us by Greek art, and precisely by the last phase of Greek art, since it belongs in all probability to the second or to the first century B.C.:⁵⁹ this is the relief which has for centuries adorned the façade of the so-called "Little Metropolitan Church" of Athens, the old *Παναγία Τοργουεπήκοος* now dedicated to St. Eleutherios (Fig. 18). For a long time there have been recognized on it various representations referring to the principal feasts of the Attic calendar, separated from each other by the signs of the Zodiac, and moreover by four figures which Svoronos has correctly interpreted as the images of the four seasons. Of these, three are preserved to us, namely: Autumn, a winged female figure with soft garments, carrying a plate or a little basket with fruit; Summer, nude, with sickle and ears of corn; Winter, a bearded man wearing boots and a flapping mantle.⁶⁰

59. It has, however, been dated variously from the third century B.C. to the third A.D.

60. But the learned and imaginative Greek archaeologist has gone much farther, by recognizing in each figure of the relief the image of a *Hora*, a season, month or part of a month or a week of the year. Where a ploughman alluding to the Bouzyges and to the feasts of *Zeus Georgós* in the month of *Ἀπρίλιος* had been correctly recognized, he has also seen in *Ἀπρίλιος* and *Σεπτέμβριος*, the time of sowing and sowing, the time of *Ἑκταμέσιος*, he sees a personification of the month of *Ἑκταμέσιος*, in that of the *Βουρβύσιος*, the season of *Ἑκταμέσιος*; in the figures attributed to a representation of *Ἑκταμέσιος* in the month of *Πυανέσιος*, he sees the image of *Ἑκταμέσιος* gathering of grapes, and *Ἑκταμέσιος*, harvest. The figures are identified by him as the *Horae* whose names are given by Hyginus (*fabul.*, ed. M. Schmidt, p. 36, c. lxxxiii), namely the nine daughters of Zeus and Themis, Auxo, Carpo, Tnallos, etc., concerning whom however other authors have different opinions, Auge, Anatole, Musice, Gymnastice, etc. This interpretation is placed always at the beginning of the panel, and the figures are entirely immobile and not participating in action. This interpretation has generally been accepted: but it has been, I think quite correctly, remarked (see Riegl, "Die mittelalterlichen Kalender-illustrationen..." in *Mitth. des Inst. für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, x, 1889, 12 f.) that these personifica-

tions of the months, without any attribute distinguishing them from each other, personifications without any mythological, allegorical, or artistic content, would be foreign to Greek thought and art. As a matter of fact the figures are not so immobile and passive as Svoronos affirms. Some of these mysterious personages, such as figure no. 38 of Svoronos (no. 30 of Deubner and Webster) directly participate indeed in the ceremonies, namely in the *Great Panathenaea* holding a wreath in the left hand; the same may be seen in the figure of *Ἀπρίλιος* whose object in the left hand is a cup of libation. It is much more probable that the figures are personifications of the months (see Riegl, *op. cit.*).

cereus, balsama

ilis

12, 13

It is interesting to note that the fact that the presentations of the months, may be due to a simple aesthetic criterion: thus, together with the signs of the Zodiac which follow each panel, they include in the center of the panels the main scenes more specifically representing the months themselves. In any case, even if we would admit that these figures were personifications of the months—a point which considering the Athenian Calendar chronologically is not head of all the others—they might be connected with the late representations we have

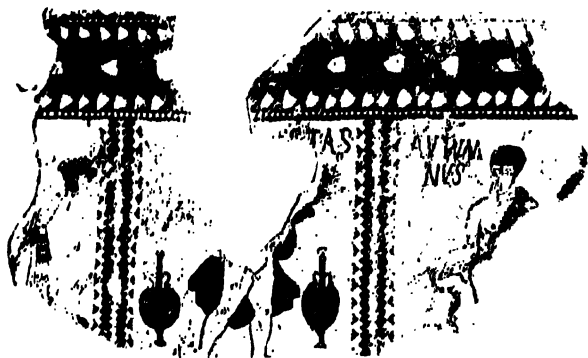
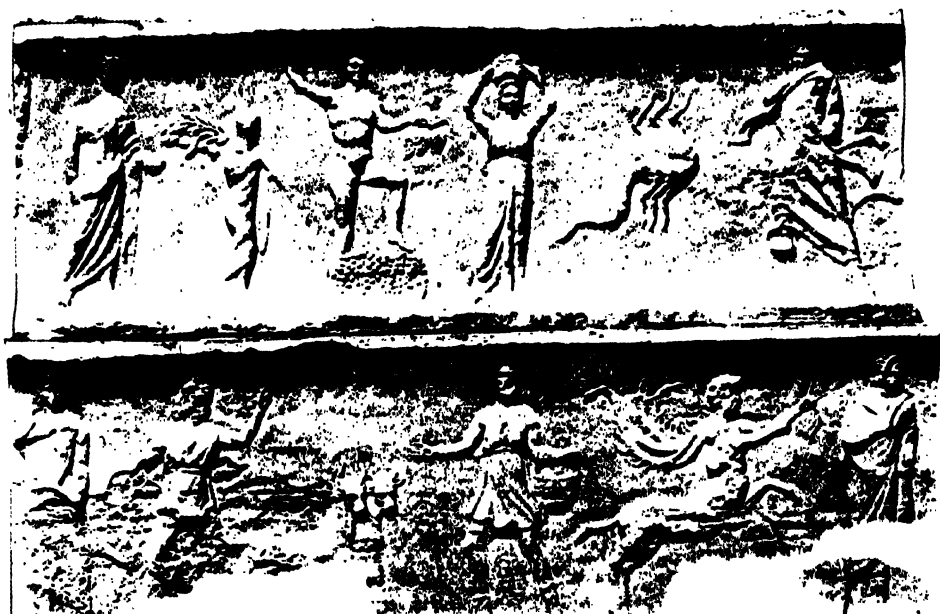


FIG. 16. Tunis, Bardo Museum: Mosaic Fragments from Sbeitlan, The Seasons



FIG. 17. Cherchel, Museum: Mosaic Fragment, Vintage Scene



baskets, or cages for birds;



FIG. 18. Athens, Little N Church: Detail of Faade Relief, Liturgical Calendar, Second to First Century B.C.



FIG. 19. Mosaic from House of Dominus Julius, Carthage: Genre Scenes, Fourth Century A.D.

FIG. 20. Tunisia, Musée Alaoui: Mosaic from Chebba, Poseidon and the Seasons



FIG. 21. Venice, Bib. Marciana: MS Gr. D XL, Gospels, Eleventh Century. The Months

We must remark above all that our allegories of the months seem in some cases to find direct forerunners in the illustrations of the events of the months on the Attic calendar. This relationship is immediately evident in the images of the seasons which we have already described: the winged running woman with a plate of fruit for Autumn recalls to mind many other images of Autumn we have mentioned before, especially the Pompeian frescoes of Seasons and Bacchantes we have spoken of when dealing with June; Winter has often appeared to us as a cloaked personage, more usually a woman but occasionally also a man, with or without other attributes; men or putti with sickle and ears of corn are the most usual representation of Summer. Moreover, the figure with grapes who alludes to the feasts of *Oschophoria* in the month of Pyanopsion (October–November), is the same we often find later on representing September. In Attica, however, vintage takes place generally in October, when grapes, as is the tradition also of the ancient geonists, give better wine.⁶¹ The same personage is busy at the same time pressing grapes to make wine, an activity mentioned in the poetic descriptions of the months. The sower near the Bouzyges in the month of Maimakterion (November–December), holding his basket of seeds under his arm and sowing with his outstretched right hand, is the identical figure which we have found as late as the mosaic of Beisan. The cock-fight in the Poseideon, that is in December–January, strangely enough recalls the cock we have found between December and January on another monument, where it has been interpreted as a symbol of the beginning of the year. The man, perhaps representing a winning actor, who is dragging a kid to sacrifice in the feasts of the *Dionysia* of the City taking place in the month of Elaphebolion (March–April), reminds us of the shepherd carrying or supporting a newborn kid in various figurations of March and April.

On the Athenian calendar all representations refer to religious ceremonies; but we have seen that intrinsically they contain elements depicting the conditions of nature in each month, that indirectly they illustrate agricultural or other human activities. It is obvious that, even if we can confirm a direct contact between the Greek representations and the Roman calendars, the latter were bound to abandon all details referring to Hellenic religious ceremonies which were foreign to Roman life. Moreover, the naturalistic element was bound to find an impulse to impose itself increasingly on the very tendencies of Roman art which, in the path of Hellenistic art, accentuates and cherishes more and more idyllic and realistic elements. How can there be a question of a reluctance of Roman art to represent agricultural and rural activities when, besides the representations of single episodes of life besides the introduction of works of the fields even into the official Roman coinage as early as Mark Antony's coins, we also find at a very early date real cycles of human activities for the whole course of the year? Much earlier than the interesting cycle we have already mentioned in the mosaic of S. Romain-en-Gal, another series of nine scenes of rural activities is partially preserved to us in one of the earliest and best mosaics of Roman Africa, which cannot be dated later than the beginning of the second century A.D., and which comes from the luxurious Roman villa of Zliten in Tripolitania.⁶² From another cycle, also of a very good period and composition, found at Caesarea-Cherchel in Algeria, admirable scenes of

already mentioned, of generic "conceptions" of months, without any individual content, in which a human figure of any kind is identified with a month merely by its name; they would have no relationship to the representations of months in the Roman monuments we have examined above.

61. See Svoronos, *Journ. internat. d'archéol. numismatique*, 11, 1899, 50, n. 2.

62. Aurigemma, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff., figs. 45 ff. Much earlier, scenes of vintage, of wine-making and olive-gathering, are frequent on the Campanian slabs of the best period; here, however, the figures replace real farmers. See von Koenen and Schmidt, *Die antiken Terrakotten*, I, 1911, 60 ff.

ploughing, sowing, and labors in the vineyard are preserved.⁶³ From among numberless single scenes of nature, we have mentioned above the effective representation of vintage in another mosaic from the same town. In another fine African mosaic of the early second century A.D., from Shebba, scenes of human activities and signs of the Zodiac are used almost as a commentary to the allegories of the seasons (Fig. 20).⁶⁴ When we come to the fourth century A.D., in the admirable mosaic of Carthage we have already mentioned, we find a still more characteristic example of how the realistic scenes, stylized into allegories of the months, are again introduced as naturalistic episodes in a unified composition, depicting in all its aspects life in *dominus Iulius'* rich farm (Fig. 19).⁶⁵ On the other hand, the fragmentary mosaic of Catania, which we have cited at the beginning of our study, shows us how at about the same time the realistic content of the representations of the months could be subtracted from them, leaving only general and meaningless abstractions which can be identified merely by the inscribed names of each month. Here indeed a bust without attributes or individual characteristics represented each month in its panel; but in another panel beneath the bust, it seems that an attribute or a larger picture preserved a reminiscence of the realistic scene which originally depicted the same month.⁶⁶

Our considerations regarding the Athenian calendar also offer by themselves the reasons for the variations in the representations of the months we have noticed in Roman calendars. These variations can be explained by criteria, so to speak, a) of a logical character; b) of an aesthetic character; c) geographical; d) historical-antiquarian. First of all, in fact, certain

63. Gsell, *Promenades archéologiques aux environs d'Algers*, p. 40 f., pl. 4; *Arch. Anz.*, XLVI, 1931, col. 463 ff., figs. 1-2.

64. *Inv. des mosaïques*, Tunisie, no. 86, color-plate; Gauckler, *Mus. Alaoui*, Suppl., p. 24, no. 292, pl. xvi, 2 (Fig. 20). The Seasons are placed, among vegetable garlands, at the corners of a square containing in the center a circular panel with Poseidon's triumph: Spring is a half-nude, crowned girl, within a garland of roses, on a blooming meadow, holding a basket of roses and with a rose in her right hand; at her sides are a dog on a leash and a boy also carrying a basket of flowers. Summer is a nude woman within a garland of ears of corn, with ears of corn on her hair and bearing sheaves of corn in her arms, between the lion of the Zodiac and the vintager bent over his basket of grapes lying on the ground. Autumn indeed recalls vintage, but through the myth: she is a Maenad crowned with vine-leaves, within a garland of tendrils, her mantle across her sides, holding a thyrsus and pouring wine from a kantharos with her right hand; on her left is the Dionysiac panther, on her right the hunter carrying two baskets with game hanging from a pole which rests on his shoulder. Winter is the cloaked woman carrying two ducks, also hanging from a pole on her shoulder, her hair adorned with reeds, and surrounded by a garland of reeds; on her left is a boar, on her right a man reclining while gathering olives.

65. Merlin, *Bull. du Com.*, 1921, pp. 95 ff., pl. xii; *Arch. Anz.*, XLVI, 1931, col. 497, fig. 14. In the central panel, at the sides of a picture of the villa itself, we see the proprietor's favorite sport, hunting. In the upper panel the lady of the house sits in the park, fanning herself with a *flabellum* of the type we have already met with on our calendars, while fruit lies within range of her hand. Two episodes of life in winter and in summer are represented on the two sides. On the left, a servant, all wrapped in his garments, returns from hunting in the marshes bringing two live ducks to his mistress; on his head are reeds, with which he had covered himself in order to deceive the creatures. Farther away are two boys beating the branches of a big olive-tree and gathering olives, while a woman

carries a basket full of them to her lady. On the right is a seated shepherd watching his flock while playing his horn, in front of his hut; a woman carrying to her mistress a newborn lamb recalls to mind another episode appearing in the allegories of the months.

The activities belonging to spring and autumn are in the third panel of the mosaic, below. On the left is again the *domina* of the farm with a maid, engaged upon her toilette; she leans on a pillar, her legs crossed, in an attitude immediately recalling the image representing March in the calendar from Carthage in the British Museum. A maid bringing her a basket of roses, between rose-bushes, is the symbol of Spring; but a boy lays down fish at her feet, such as we have found in the panel of June in the Hermitage. At the right, *dominus Iulius* sits in the orchard between trees full of fruit, and a neighbor's slave brings him a letter and a present of two cranes; in the corner a vintager returns from the vineyard with a basket full of grapes on his shoulder and a captured hare in his left hand. Briefly, in this effective picture, which tries to link together in a single view the activities of the four seasons and to let us forget their temporal separation, no less than eleven or twelve episodes of life can be noticed which are elsewhere used to symbolize the activities of the months of the year, but without any attempt to define each single month more precisely.

So large was the diffusion of genre representations in Roman art, that some were introduced even into the decorations of tombs: such are, e.g., some paintings of the African necropolis of Hadrumetum, one of which represents a scene in the tavern, or *caupona*, and another perhaps illustrates an agricultural activity we have often met with, namely, the unloading of a cart returning from the gathering of olives: see S. Reinach, *Bull. du Com.*, 1892, pls. xxix-xxx1.

66. A cock was placed beneath January; a marine landscape beneath February; a bird on a paling remained from the picture of spring for April; some pods are mentioned beneath May, and a basket with flowers and cups beneath June.

human activities cannot be strictly limited to one month; they can embrace two or three months, while within one month there may be more than one important activity. In this case too—as generally—we must admit a greater freedom than is usually granted the artist in the choice of the subject which he likes better or suits him better.⁶⁷ Moreover, agricultural works are not simultaneous in all countries; they differ between Rome and Greece, between Greece and Syria, between Italy and Africa. If Greek religious ceremonies of the Athenian calendar had to be replaced by Roman ones on Roman calendars, certain feasts peculiar to Rome were likewise unknown in Syria, where others were more popular and understandable. The historical and realistic tendencies of the Roman spirit and art were bound indeed to produce, besides the agricultural episodes and scenes from nature we have stressed before, scenes of a religious and ritual character as well: for this category too we are in a position to adduce an example among the early Roman mosaics, in the *emblema* of the Villa Borghese.⁶⁸ Furthermore, feasts, of course, have also changed through history. Important in this last category of historical-antiquarian criteria, is the difference of calendars in the various countries. We have seen that the Athenian months do not correspond to the Roman ones, and each contains parts of two different Roman months; consequently if a certain allegory was transferred from the former to the latter, it could be used for two different months. Moreover, within the Roman Empire itself, the difference of calendars doubtless was important in the differentiation of their representations.⁶⁹

67. When the artist has liberty of choice, furthermore, the choice is primarily dictated by aesthetic criteria: if for example an artist had to choose for November between the figures representing ploughing and sowing of the Athenian Calendar, it is obvious why, for a cycle where the allegories had to be as much condensed as possible, he would have chosen, rather than the ploughman who requires also the presence of oxen and plough, the single figure of the sower suitable for a synthetic and immediately comprehensible image. We shall soon allude to other criteria of this category.

68. Herbig, *Röm. Mitt.*, xl, 1925, 289 ff., Beilage xii. This represents a peculiar sacred ceremony of the Collegium of the Salii in honor of Mars Ultor, explained to us by Servius' commentary to the Aeneid (vii. 188), during which the priest used to strike an animal's skin with rods (*pellēm feriunt ad artis similitudinem*). It is obvious, however, that such a ceremony would not have been characteristic and important enough to be adopted even by the Roman calendar itself.

69. In this order of ideas a rôle is also played by the distribution of the months among the different seasons, especially in the circular illustrated calendars. For a better understanding of the following observations we present on page 281 a graphic scheme of the preserved monuments of this group.

Among the five preserved calendars with a radial scheme, three are surrounded by a square and have the figures of the seasons in the spaces between the circle and the square, so that three months are attributed to each season. Out of the five the oldest, that of Antioch, turns clockwise, and all the others in the contrary sense. Months could be attributed to the seasons either according to astronomical rules, or according to criteria of convenience, which means starting the seasons with the beginning of the year. So, e.g., the fragmentary calendar of Carthage begins from the bottom with January; in the Vatican Ptolemy, January begins the cycle from the upper semicircle on the right, suggesting a similar division of the seasons. In the fully preserved calendar of Carthage the assignment of the months to the seasons is not so exact, because if we draw a vertical diameter of the circle it cuts the figure of January

below; this, however, is turned toward February, and we may suppose that the dividing line of the two halves of the circle was imagined between the two figures, attributing January to winter. Thus spring would begin with February, May is assigned to summer, and so on. Here, more than anywhere else, the criterion of distribution seems to be directed by convenience and aesthetic reasons: in this way indeed in the center of each season is represented the month which has the most perspicuous characteristics of the season itself; December, in the hunter's garments, is in the center of the sector of winter, March carries the kid in the center of spring, September, possibly with the basket of grapes, is in the center of autumn. But in the two last mosaics, the influence of the Macedonian calendar on the distribution of the months is clear: a calendar, originally consisting of lunar months, which, incidentally, also influenced the composition of the Athenian frieze, causing its beginning with Pyanopsion (October–November) rather than with the beginning of the Attic calendar in Hekatombaion (July–August). Δῖος, corresponding to October–November, is in fact the first month of the Macedonian year. The calendar of Antioch, while adopting the names of the Macedonian calendar, caused the duration of the months to coincide with the dates of the months on the Julian calendar: so that Δῖος corresponds to November, and Τρεππεραῖος to October, with which the Antiochene year begins. Other calendars of Syria and Palestine, on the contrary, continued to consider Δῖος the beginning of the year, following the Macedonian tradition: this is the case of the Syrian year according to Kubitschek (*"Kalenderstudien,"* in *Öst. Jahresh.*, viii, 1905, 98 ff.), who bases his statement especially on the analysis of the mosaic from Kabr-I-hiram we have often mentioned; he has even drawn the scheme of a supposed original round composition, from which the distribution of the panels in the rectangular mosaic would derive. We have thought it might be instructive to include this imaginary scheme in our table. (On a change in the calendar of Antioch at the end of the fifth century A.D., when the beginning of the year was transferred from October 1 to September 1, see G. Downey, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the Am. Philolog. Association*, lxi, 1938, xxxiv.) But Δῖος lasts in this calendar from November 18

We have noticed conspicuous differences between the monuments of the eastern and those of the western provinces of the Empire, as to the calendars, the beginning of the seasons, and the choice of the subjects. If we examine the distribution of the subjects on our Table B, we notice a frequent concordance between the monuments of Antioch, Beisan, and the manuscript of Ptolemy, in opposition to the monuments of Rome, Greece, and Africa.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, can we really divide our calendars—as has been done—into two distinct groups, an eastern and a western one? Let us sum up the affinities and the differences of the subjects.

For January, the eastern and the western groups agree in the ritual representation; two monuments, an eastern and a western, form exceptions, showing a scene from nature, sowing, which in one or two eastern monuments is used also for December.⁷¹ The agreement is complete for February, always represented as the cloaked personage symbolizing Winter, mostly holding the ducks or the harrow, while only in a mosaic of the eastern group has the month a girt-up peasant's garment and a harrow. For March, from the monuments examined thus far, we should admit a clear division: a religious scene in the eastern group, a scene of nature, and especially the episode of the shepherd with the kid, in the western; this last subject is adopted, on the contrary, for April in the East, while this month is represented in the western group by the ceremony of the cult of Venus. There is again absolute concordance between the two groups for the image of May, where we find perhaps the most popular motive, the figure with a basket of flowers; only the Antioch mosaic departs from the general type, depicting a religious scene. The motive of fruit for June is not so well determined as that of flowers for May, and is dealt with in quite dissimilar episodes. Only in one eastern mosaic, at Antioch, do we have the motive of the ears of corn, which is more common, both in the eastern as in the western group, for July. The motive of fruit, or of some special kinds of fruit, in its turn is carried on in some representations of this last month. In August, the one main idea of burning heat is dealt with in quite different themes in all monuments. Grapes are the evident motive of September in two eastern monuments, but vintage is suggested by the image of Bacchus with the lizard in the Calendar of Filocalus. Hunting and the capture of hares and birds, which are the dominating motives for October in the western monuments, are again belated in the eastern group, where they appear in November; for this month the western group has again a religious subject, the feasts of Isis. If it is correct that in the earliest oriental monuments, such as the Antioch mosaic, Isis was celebrated in other months, it is understandable why this representation of Isiac feasts in November had to be dropped in these monuments. December has various subjects, in which either the theme of cold weather and of the sport of hunting, or agricultural works are

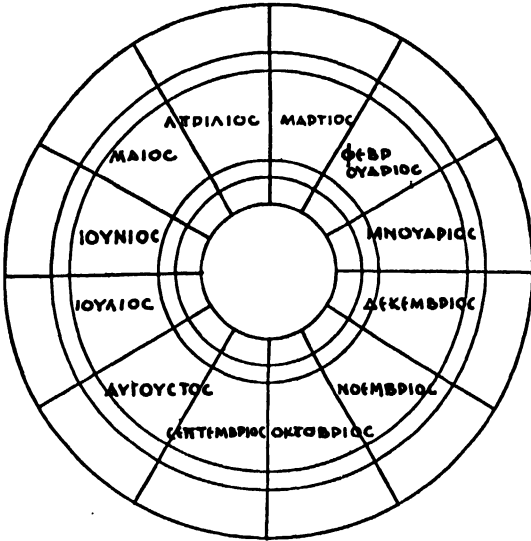
to December 17; so that, starting for convenience the winter-season with the beginning of the year, to winter are attributed November-January, and so on: the same distribution of the months which we have already met in the complete calendar of Carthage. Which criterion, finally, has the mosaicist of Antioch followed? The year cannot begin in this mosaic either with *Ἐπεμβεραῖος*, the beginning of the Antiochene calendar, or with *Δῖος*, the beginning of the Macedonian year in various other Syrian calendars, because these occupy respectively the second and third places of a quadrant. If the year begins with autumn, according to the Macedonian custom, the cycle starts with *Γορπιαῖος*—September, if with winter, according to the Roman custom, with *Ἀρελλαῖος*—December. Here consequently the criterion is an astronomical one, i.e., the seasons begin with their first month according to the official Roman calendar, although the months maintain their

Macedonian names. It is here that aesthetic, and partly also traditional, conceptions may have influenced the choice of the subjects differing from their positions in other calendars; I mean that, e.g., the shepherd with the kid, the peculiar image of Spring, had here to represent April instead of March in order to be in the center of the section of spring; perhaps also the sacrifice by the consul had to be necessarily the most important ceremony in the center of winter.

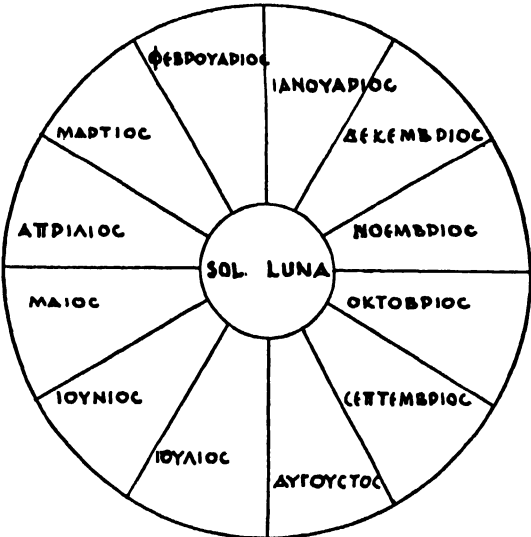
70. The manuscript of Ptolemy, one of the few from the beginning of the ninth century certainly deriving from Constantinople, may be considered an eastern product, although I cannot see any evidence for affirming its production at Alexandria.

71. In the mosaic of the Seasons in Ancona, it is in fact the figure of Spring which scatters seeds to the ground: see Blake, *Memoirs Am. Acad. in Rome*, xiii, 1936, pl. 44, 1.

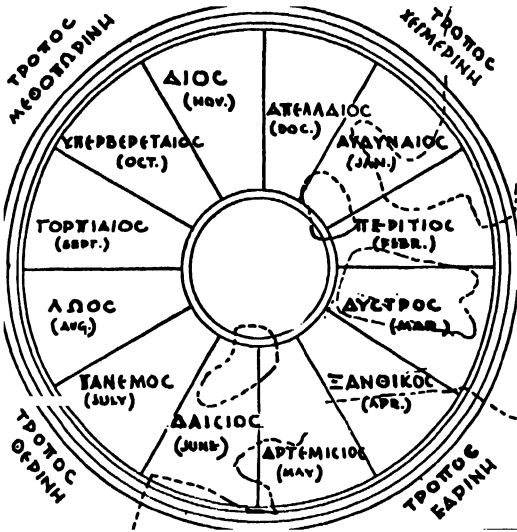
CALENDARS WITH RADIAL SCHEMES



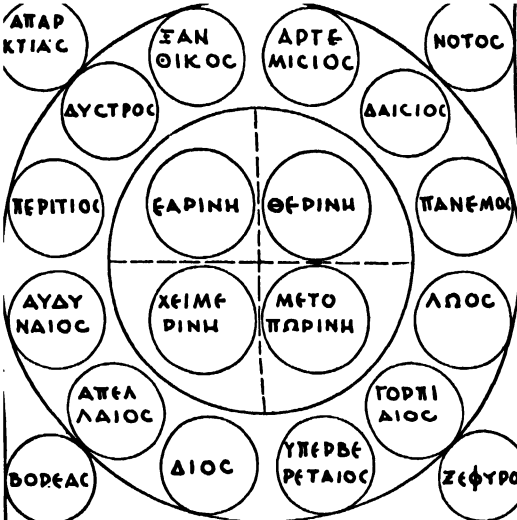
MANUSCRIPT OF PTOLEMY, VATICAN, NO. 3



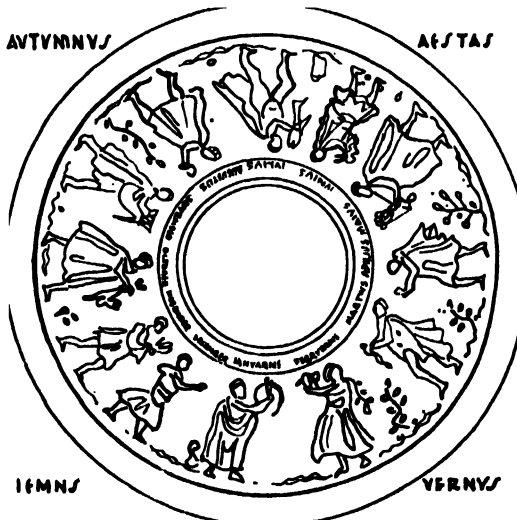
CALENDAR FROM BEISAN, NO. 13



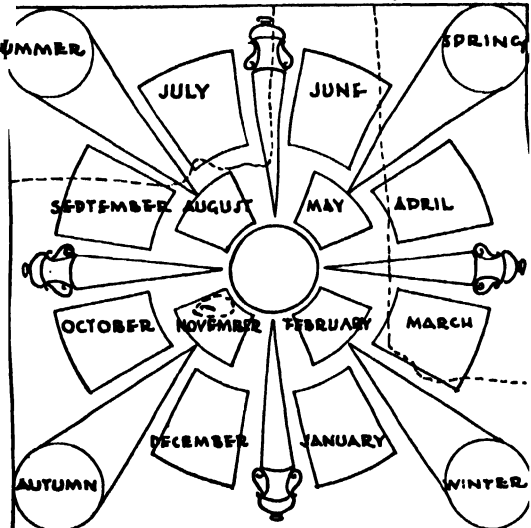
CALENDAR FROM ANTIOCH, NO. 2



SUPPOSED ORIGINAL RADIAL DISPOSITION OF CALENDAR FROM KABE-HIRAM (ACCORDING TO KUBIT'S CHECK)



CALENDAR FROM CARTHAGE, NO. 4



CALENDAR FROM CARTHAGE, NO. 6

illustrated. In a single monument, the Calendar of Filocalus, a hint at a religious celebration is introduced with the image of the slave, who is admitted to the games of his master during the feasts of *Saturnalia*.

Briefly, there is no distinct division of subjects into two groups; often the same motive appears in both, either for the same month or for different months. If we keep in mind the many reasons for divergencies which we have mentioned before, our table shows much more stress on the fundamental unity of conceptions in the different regions. As regards the divergencies, moreover, we must not forget the extremely fragmentary state of our evidence. For example, it would have appeared by itself as a fortuitous case that only in the eastern group was preserved the image of Mars for March, the tutelar god of the city of Rome, whose name would not recall anything for the month of the Macedonian calendar and for the cities of the East. But at this point we may utilize the single element offered us by the old description of the mosaic of the Basilica at Tegea, which we have only briefly mentioned in our list because of the scarcity of the information available: the bust representing this month is described indeed, in this monument belonging to the western group, as an image of Mars wearing a red helmet, cuirass, and spear.

Thus, the origin and the development of the figured calendars of Antiquity have become clear. The Athenian relief appears to us as the artistic interpretation of what we may call a liturgical calendar; the religious events of the single months are depicted in it instead of being listed, together with the signs of the Zodiac, which also represent in an artistic language the names of the months. Only indirectly can we obtain from it, through the religious ceremonies, some allusions to the different seasons and the agricultural events of the months. The Roman calendar assumes rather the character of a civil calendar, since it includes both the principal religious and civil events of the months, the latter introduced without the mediation of ceremonies of the cult. For the Roman calendars we are fortunately in a position to show, even for a relatively early period, the literary counterparts of the artistic representations: these are the often-mentioned *Menologia rustica*, of which two intact and similar specimens are preserved to us, the *Colotianum* or *Farnesianum*,⁷² and the *Vallense*. In the latter the months are distributed four by four on three sides of a marble parallelepipedon, in the former three by three on all four sides. They contain, like the Athenian frieze, a physical-astronomical part and a rural-religious one. For each month, under the figured image of a sign of the Zodiac, are given in letters the name of the month and the number of its days, the *nonae*, the hours of day and night, the name of the sign of the Zodiac. Besides there are the equinoxes and the solstices, the beginnings of the seasons, and finally the principal agricultural works and religious feasts.⁷³

72. Already studied by Fulvio Orsini: see *Museo Borbonico*, II, pl. 44. It is now in the National Museum at Naples.

73. The disposition of the text around a solid monument was the most practical one for the consultation of events returning in periodical cycles; this form was also the most convenient for the monuments showing the recurring of seasons, winds, hours: it suffices to mention, among the great architectural monuments preserved to us in Greece, the octagonal "Tower of the Winds" at Athens. But, moreover, the radial disposition of the circle of the year is based upon an old astronomical tradition, since it was suggested by the circle of the Zodiac itself in the sphere of the sky. Although it is known to us that the signs of the Zodiac are certainly an old Babylonian discovery, and although cuneiform tablets have demonstrated that the division of the sky into 360 degrees and into the twelve signs was in

use at least as early as the sixth century B.C., the first radial representations of the Zodiac do not go so far back; in any case, however, the famous circular Zodiac represented on the walls of the Hathor temple at Denderah, which cannot be later than the age of Augustus and Cleopatra, was certainly not the first of the whole series. In Egypt the tradition of the radial scheme in representations of the Zodiac carries on in several monuments, some of which have an astrological value, and among which we may mention the curious issues of coins of Antoninus Pius (see Cumont, in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Zodiacus"). The round shape soon was used also for sundials, especially for the type of sundial called *discus in planitie*. On these portable solar quadrants, Vitruvius' *viatoria pensilia* (ix. ix), of which several bronze specimens are preserved to us (see Ardaillon, in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Horologium"), some lines representing the months (*menstruae lineae*) trace sectors, each

The earliest Roman figured calendars are indeed nothing else but the artistic equivalents of the literary *Menologia rustica*. On them sometimes remain the signs of the Zodiac, and the written names of the months; in some cases the number of the days of each month is given in figures. A significant episode, chosen either among the religious feasts or among the civil activities, represents the month itself. When indigenous feasts had to replace unintelligible foreign ceremonies, classical types of the principal divinities could offer the models both for the representations of the gods presiding over the feasts and for allegories of the cult. The comprehensive cycles of realistic and idyllic illustrations of rural life would offer a wide choice for the portrayals of the months with scenes of nature. Artistic criteria, excluding the too-wide subjects of these cycles, such as the episodes of threshing and ploughing, and possibly also ancient tradition such as that of the Athenian calendar, would suggest among the scenes of nature the choice of a concise and perspicuous one. Because of the wide local differences in cults and feasts, it is obvious that the religious elements were bound to give place more and more to naturalistic elements.⁷⁴ Another plausible and often repeated explanation for the gradual disappearance of religious subjects in the calendars of late Antiquity is the early division of Christian calendars into civil and religious ones, when the whole cycle of Christian feasts was reserved for special calendars, the *Martyrologia*. It may be that here and there the symbolic sign of the Zodiac, which we have found from the beginning beside or above the representation of the month, surreptitiously crept into a scene of nature; the symbol may even have modified sometimes or have suggested some naturalistic elements: the fish of February may have been the stimulus which suggested the figure of the fisher, whom we have found for the first time in the late Golcnisheff sculpture. But already for the panel of June in the Hermitage, it has been suggested that the basket full of crabs held by the boy, strangely introduced near the fruit which are much more characteristic of this month, may be nothing else than the inclusion in the figured scene of the zodiacal sign of the Crab. Here is another link in the chain: the crab, one among the usual elements of marine still-life, may have brought with itself other related elements, such as the fishes and cuttle-fish in the field, foreign both to the naturalistic scene and to the zodiacal signs, which on the contrary are associated with crabs in the *emblemata* of mosaics and in paintings of still-life. In the same way may be explained the intrusion of cuttle-fish, octopus, nautili, besides fish in the allegory of February in the Calendar of Filocalus.⁷⁵ Finally, for the development of the allegories, the eternal reciprocal influence of poetry and art enters to play its rôle. We have quoted verses by the great classical poets of Rome—Horace, Ovid, Vergil—who in describing seasons or activities of certain seasons seem to be inspired by artistic

one with the name of a country and a number for its latitude. From all these precedents the round shape could be suggested from the very beginning for the representation of the cycle of the months. On the other hand, a circular shape had been adopted very early for the mosaic decoration of central rooms; for example, it was obviously the most suitable for the decoration of the wide central hall of thermal buildings. We may mention one of the earliest and most interesting Roman mosaics of this class, the Cologne mosaic with the representation called "of the Gladiators," attributed to the age of Trajan (see *Inu. mosaïques*, Gaule, no. 1661, plate; Krüger, *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 661, fig. 3).

74. But sometimes we are not even in a position to decide with certainty whether some figures are simple naturalistic or idyllic images, or whether they have rather a religious content: for example, the figure crowned with flowers generally representing May, might be the disguised repre-

sentation of an original divinity, of *Deus Maius*, or *Jupiter Maius*, whose cult is attested at Tusculum (Macrob. i. 12, 17), and whose image has been recognized in the statue of a youthful Jupiter found in Italy (see Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. "Maius").

75. We have suggested before, however, the possibility that the introduction of fish into the panel of the Hermitage occurred in another way, that is as a hint at fishing which is specially active and abundant in June, to which marine activity the verses by Dracontius may have alluded also. We remark that on June 7 in Rome, under the presidency of the urban prefect, the *ludi piscatorii* were celebrated, namely the ceremonies, accompanied by feasts and games, sacred to the god of the Tiber and dedicated to the fishermen of the Tiber on the Campus Martius. Anyhow, the reason which inspired the panel of the Hermitage does not change the origin of the artistic motive from the pictures of still-life we have mentioned before.

monuments; and artistic monuments in their turn seem to draw new motives and new details from celebrated poetical descriptions which passed into common parlance.

The cycle of the tetrastichs in the Calendar of Filocalus is no doubt a poetical work directly inspired by a cycle of artistic illustrations of the months. Here we find for the first time the personifications of the months, but as poetic—either unconscious or intentional—interpretations of the original artistic allegories.⁷⁶ The tetrastichs, once attributed to Ausonius, have since the time of Baehrens been generally accepted as a work of the age of Augustus. As a matter of fact they do not seem to me, as they did to Baehrens, the limpid and crystalline poetry peculiar to the Augustan age; they sound indeed rather like a flowery description of a series of artistic figurations, containing rather vague terms and reminiscences of classical poetry, very much like the descriptions of celebrated monuments such as we find in the anthologies and which generally belong to a much later period.⁷⁷ Because of its evident non-monumental character the Calendar of Filocalus shows its origin as an illustration of the tetrastichs. But how has the miniature painter proceeded? The verses could not directly suggest to him images for his figurations: an artist of classical Antiquity would not freely compose from literary conceptions, as an artist of the following ages might have done. He, as well as the artists or craftsmen of mosaics, frescoes and so on, would in all probability draw his models from sketchbooks, which contained more than one representation for each subject. As a rule, he would choose from the sketchbook the subject more or less corresponding to the poetic image of the verses included in his manuscript; but in some cases, for reasons one cannot exactly determine—either because he could not find among the drawings of the sketchbook any satisfactory illustrations of the verses, or because another subject was more inspiring to him—he would choose a different motive, of which there is no trace in the tetrastichs: such is the image of Hermes *πλουτοδότης*, almost surreptitiously introduced as an illustration of the verses. Probably some of the current images were forced and transformed by the artist in order better to illustrate his poet. And what in the verses was mere poetic and abstract addition, and consequently was not to be found in the repertory of artistic models, was added by the miniature painter in the field, without attempting to produce any connection with the main motive.

Various elements and attributes, moreover, entered his portrayals from the models of the sketchbook, even if there was no mention of them in the verses.⁷⁸ The miniature painter

76. I mean that perhaps the poet, when reading the names of the months above their figurations, took them as the names of the figures themselves; or he intentionally, on the contrary, attributed the name of the month to the principal personage of the allegorical scene illustrating it. In the same way, e.g., I have recently suggested that in all probability the poet of the *Anthologia Palatina*, Nilus Scholasticus, when describing a mosaic of Antioch representing a satyr, included among the words of his text the apotropaic inscription *καὶ σὺ* from the mosaic itself (*Anthologia Palatina*, xvi, 247; see *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, 226).

77. They would belong to the very age of Ausonius, if we accept for the month of January the reading by Vollgraff (*op. cit.*, p. 87, n. 1, and p. 91 f.) "*Purpureis fastis qui munerat proceres*": a historical argument would suggest this date, because only from the fourth century on is there evidence of the presentation of a copy of the *Fasti* bound in purple to the consuls taking up their charge; and a metrical one as well, because only in this late age in Roman poetry the word *munerat* can be used with a short *u*. Anyhow other elements, stylistic factors and considerations of content, confirm a late dating: for example the feasts of Isis probably assumed only after Caracalla such an importance in the official Roman religion as to replace other indigenous

festivals in the representations of the months. The tetrastichs are inspired by a cycle of illustrations of the months, but describe them only in some of their verses; the rest of them, according to the taste of a late age, are poetic interpretations or divagations, or even, as it seems, reminiscences from other similar cycles or from famous artistic monuments of the same kind.

A. Riese, *Anthol. Latina*, Leipzig, 1894, nos. 394, 395, 665, does not seem to accept the views of Baehrens. I am glad that my opinion is supported by the valuable judgment of Prof. E. K. Rand, which I am authorized to quote: "I agree with you with regard to the Tetrastichs of the Months from the Calendar of 354 that Baehrens has no right to regard these verses as Augustine. They might be, and yet there is nothing in their style, in my opinion, that would not comport with the characteristics of Ausonius."

78. How such elements and attributes could be accumulated in the manuscript is made clear, e.g., by its nearest artistic monument, the recently-discovered mosaic from Ostia. This mosaic was called indeed "of Spring," because around the illustrations of the two preserved months there is a series of allegories all referring to the season to which the months belong, with attributes and decorative motives included in a series of circles and ellipses surrounding the bust of the season.

could very easily be tempted to introduce into his work some of these attributes, which, because of the non-monumental character of his miniatures, he could scatter in disorder, anywhere in the field.⁷⁹ On the other hand—proceeding a step further—it seems evident and plausible that manuscript calendars may in their turn have influenced monumental art: so, for example, the panel of May in the Conservatori Palace has, as we have seen, some elements, such as the windows in the background, directly recalling the miniature illustrations. In any case neither the poetical interpretations nor the miniature illustrations of the cycles of the months succeeded, even at the end of classical Antiquity, in establishing a fixed iconography for each single month. Their personification in the descriptions of the tetrastichs remains exceptional. A late Byzantine writer of the twelfth century, Eumathius Makrembolites, when describing, in a passage of his saccharine novel, *Sosthenes'* garden containing a cycle of paintings with allegories of the months, does not even call these by their name; in his summary interpretation, which follows the long and fastidious description of the paintings, he speaks only of the times of the year suitable for the various actions of the allegories.⁸⁰

If we compare with this description the latest monument with which we have dealt, the mosaic from the Monastery of Beisan, we notice that the representations of March, April, May, July, September, and December correspond entirely. The literary description has already helped us in interpreting in the mosaic the ambiguous figure of June, who holds a sickle, probably for mowing hay. August is damaged in the mosaic, but the image of the heated drinking personage has appeared in several other monuments. The text again may support the interpretation of the figure of October as the fowler holding a stick and a snare for birds. The figure of the ploughman for November is new, as far as late Roman monuments are concerned, and becomes frequent in the medieval ones: but we may recall here a precedent in the oldest calendar of Antiquity, the Athenian frieze, where the ploughman wears the rough cloth and even the *pileus* described in our text. An intermediate monument may perhaps be adduced in the fine Alexandrian coin of Marcus Aurelius representing ploughing, where the ploughman also wears a similar hood on his head. This coin, as well as

79. Incidentally the discovery of the Ostia mosaic has confirmed, if it was necessary, that the territory of Rome is undoubtedly the place of origin of the manuscript. The figurations of the months in the mosaic, even if later than the Calendar, are more directly connected with the original representations, with all the attributes and elements suitable for a scene from nature and without disturbing intrusions.

80. *De Ismeniae et Ismenes amoribus libellus*, Δ 5 ff., ed. R. Hercher, *Erotici script. gr.*, II, Leipzig, 1859, 190 ff.; 196 f.

It may be interesting to include here a translation of his summary interpretation of the paintings, because the representations described by him form almost a link between the allegories of Antiquity we have examined above and those of the Middle Ages. His cycle, curiously enough, begins with March, the month when spring begins, recalling to mind the distribution of the months in the circular calendar of Antioch: "The first figure of a soldier shows the time of the year (March) in which all soldiers, covered with weapons, go to the military expeditions. The shepherd who follows him, the pregnant she-goat at his feet, the syrinx which seems to be playing a song, describe the season (April) when the shepherd takes his flock out of its winter-shelter, when she-goats give birth to their kids, and the syrinx plays. The meadow in the next painting, all blooming with roses and opening flowers, the man adorned with flowers among them, represents the season of spring (May).

The verdant plain, the peasant intent on mowing hay, clearly describe the time when the ripening hay demands cutting (June). The man holding the sickle and cutting the crops in the middle of the fields, represents to you the season of harvest (July). The heated man coming out of the bath and drinking, shows you the heat of the season, the glowing dog-days when our body becomes dry (August). The personage who gathers and who presses grapes, represents to you the season of vintage and of wine-pressing (September). The fowler who stands near him indicates to you the period of the year when the birds getting cold take flight toward warmer countries (October). Do you see the farmer intent on ploughing? This is the time which a wise man (Hesiod) from the rising of the Pleiads has already fixed for ploughing (November). The succeeding personage who scatters seeds of corn, is the sower, who shows in the picture the season of sowing (December). Do you see the adolescent amidst his dogs which he caresses, carrying a hare? He represents to you the season of hunting: after corn, and wine, and everything that must be put aside, has been stored in the store-rooms, and after one has also arranged everything necessary for the coming works in the fields, then one may give himself over to the recreation of hunting (January). This white-headed old man, all wrinkled, near the wide flame of the hearth, shows the rough winter-season, and at the same time the cold old age: winter is not represented indeed by a tender boy, but by a bent old man (February)."

the other one representing an agricultural work, harvest,⁸¹ is related to the coinage of Antoninus Pius containing signs of the Zodiac which we have already mentioned, and consequently to the representation of months. January in the Byzantine text is the hunter with the hare whom we have often found for October in our monuments, where other hunters represent December as well. Even the image of February as the old man warming himself at the fire can be pointed out in Antiquity, in the Winter on a ceiling of Hadrian's villa.⁸²

From about the same period as the novel, we possess also a Byzantine series of representations almost exactly corresponding with it: the Gospel in the Library of St. Mark at Venice (Fig. 21; Webster no. 22). Here each of the months is represented by a figure between a capital and an architrave; they derive consequently from figures in architectural function such as are actually found on the smaller door of St. Nicholas at Bari. March stands immobile in full armor; April corresponds even more closely to the ancient cycles, inasmuch as he is the shepherd carrying the lamb on his shoulders, in the attitude of the Good Shepherd; persons with flowers, hay, and ears of corn are following, while August again, drinking and holding near his shoulder the fan of osier, exactly recalls the ancient mosaics. The vintager carries grapes in a basket, and suggests to us a similar interpretation for the figure with a basket in the complete Carthage mosaic. October is the hunter with a catch of thrushes on his shoulders, whom we have found in ancient art but symbolizing another month; November setting out to hoe or to harrow the fields, may suggest this interpretation for the obscure image in the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan; December is the sower, as in this mosaic. On the contrary January, carrying on a dish the hog's head for the banquet, and February in the shape of the old man sitting near the fire, are new to us.

The iconography of the months in the Middle Ages is beyond the scope of the present paper. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that, thanks to the extension of our knowledge, the prevalent conceptions about the relations between Antiquity and the Middle Ages in this respect must be radically reconsidered. In the Middle Ages a clear split in the iconography of the months between eastern and western art has been pointed out. The contacts between Antiquity and Byzantine art, already admitted by Strzygowski, now appear much closer. Mars as the artistic image of March, already suggested by numerous poetical allusions, no longer seems to be a Byzantine innovation. This is also the case for all the other months which are represented in the Calendar of Filocalus by religious ceremonies: they appear in other antique calendars as genre scenes, which are the direct inspiration of Byzantine art. Such are the sower and the hunter for November and December, perhaps also the youth in the verdant fields for April, as the figure on the complete Carthage mosaic can likewise be interpreted. According to Strzygowski, the killing of hogs in January would have been suggested to Byzantine art by the iconography of the western branch.

Medieval Italian art, according to him, took in fact an entirely divergent road, deriving from a quite different origin, independent of Roman art and inspired by the German North and the French West. If we examine the earliest among the western medieval documents, a Salzburg manuscript of the ninth century (Webster no. 24), we find again the familiar themes for May, the figure with flowers, the mower and the harvester for July and August, September represented as the sower, and October as the vintager; April is the youth in the verdant field, and February a figure wrapped in his mantle with a big bird in his hand, recalling the hunter of water-birds in classical art; November and December are grouped in a single scene of hunting the boar. We descend for a moment to the twelfth century with the

81. See P. Brandt, *Schaffende Arbeit u. bildende Kunst*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 148, figs. 189-190.

82. See N. Ponce, *Arabesques antiques des Bains de Livie et de la Ville Adrienne*, Paris, 1789, pl. 10.

Chronicon in Stuttgart from the Benedictine Abbey of Zwiefalten (Webster no. 89), and we still notice the hunter of the hare in January, the man with a hoe or harrow in February—such as that in the mosaic of the Monastery of Beisan—the mower of hay and the harvester, the sower and the vintager. May has a nest of birds in front of a sprouting tree. The links with classical art are indeed more vague; antique models, however, are suggested by the radial scheme of the calendar, with two rings containing the signs of the Zodiac and the months around the figure of the year, as well as by the images of the seasons in the spaces between the outer ring and a surrounding square, and the heads of the winds. And have the other medieval subjects for which we do not find any correspondence on extant ancient calendars been entirely invented?

Already the very episode which curiously links together East and West, the killing of hogs in winter, for December or January—an operation which still nowadays is characteristic of the Christmas feasts on the Italian farms—is mentioned in the poetry of late Antiquity, in the *Officia XII mensium* which we have quoted above. And now we must return to those cycles of illustrations of agricultural activities peculiar to the various times of the year, which we have already suggested as one of the main sources of inspiration for the illustrations of the civil calendars: the episode we are speaking of is in fact represented in art on the preserved reliefs of the Arch of Reims (variously dated, but probably belonging to the Antonine age). Here vintage is represented by the pressing of wine together with the gathering of grapes, in the same way as on the old Attic frieze; together with harvest we see probably the mowing of hay, two activities which constantly follow each other in the medieval cycles. Ploughing, after the liturgical calendar of Athens, recurs on the mosaic of S. Romain-en-Gal; here we find also the preparation of the barrels for wine—prescribed already in the *Menologium*—as well as another rural activity which was prescribed in the same text, pruning and grafting trees. We have found precedents for the fisher of February not only in literary references and in the fish often introduced into the panels representing this month on ancient calendars, but also in the figure represented as holding a catch of fish on the Golenisheff relief. On this the ducks hang from a pole resting on February's shoulder; but the figure of October in the manuscript of the Library of St. Mark is even more vividly recalled by one of Commodus' coins, mentioned before, on which a catch of birds hangs from a pole held by the hunter. The figure dragging a boar on classical representations of the seasons may suggest the frequent boar-hunts of the Middle Ages: the actual scene of hunting could easily find a prototype in the numberless representations of hunting of late antique art, where the motive of the boar is almost never lacking. Finally, no artistic document of Antiquity is preserved with the double-faced Janus of western medieval calendars; but we must suppose its existence from the numerous literary descriptions which were certainly inspired by artistic models. Briefly, it appears to us that medieval art, which has its roots in Antiquity, gradually renews its repertory; but in order to renew it, it again draws its inspiration and finds its models in the same sources from which antique art itself had drawn its inspiration when first creating its calendars.

We have denied for the figured calendars of Antiquity a neat division of Roman art into two separate provinces, West and East; we now deny a radical split between Antiquity and the Middle Ages.⁸³ German scholars have determined this split in the transformation from the representative picture into the scene of action, in the transition from abstract to concrete, from allegory to the practical aspect of life.⁸⁴ But this process would be quite contrary

83. On this affirmation cf. already Riegl, *op. cit.*, p. 71 f. For other medieval motives, one may compare also A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in*

Medieval Art, London, 1939, p. 5 f., p. 27 f., etc.

84. Brandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ff.



to what we believe we have perceived. At the beginning there would be the personification; poetry would not have drawn inspiration from pictures of activities and ceremonies of the single months, while personifying, or identifying the acting figure with the name of the month itself; it would on the contrary have attributed to original abstract personifications the rural works and the religious ceremonies which the poets knew to be characteristic of the single months. Notwithstanding, because of the character of Latin poetry which was inclined to abstraction and to symbolism, we still would have empty allegories of the months almost deified and surrounded by a nimbus, without any effort toward a figured image. Thus, in any case, poetry would almost be the link between Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The allegorical picture indeed would have lost any meaning for the new realistic spirit of the Middle Ages; out of the poetical description of the past, only the part referring to human activities would have been maintained: out of a product of fancy, a peasant in rural garments would be born, setting out to his work throughout the centuries.

As a matter of fact, the illustrated calendar has appeared to us from its very beginning as the artistic interpretation of that part of the *Menologia rustica* which contains human, civil, and religious activities. Aesthetic criteria, necessities of space, a balance between the scenes and the signs of the Zodiac, and similar factors, probably caused the choice from cycles of representations of rural activities throughout the year, of a single figure—the most obvious one—for each month, but a figure always depicted in full activity and never as a symbol. As for the religious ceremonies, those at the head of all classical monuments in the Athenian calendar are already scenes of human activities, often even containing under the religious surface allusions to agricultural works. In the same way the new Roman and pagan ceremonies are scenes of cult. The only images which might be considered symbols are the divinities which sometimes replace the ceremonies, inasmuch as the tutelar divinities of the feasts with their mere effigies would recall to the spectators' mind the feasts themselves. These images, incidentally, might have penetrated into our figured calendars from the cycles of a different character, where each month was represented by the divinity to which it was sacred. But we are practically never sure that even these images in our calendars are really the divinities themselves, rather than priests or priestesses, and consequently figures in action. And, curiously enough, the only image of a Roman god who remains constant throughout late Antiquity, not displaying a real activity, the image of Mars in arms, is the one which we find again in the Middle Ages, as late as the Byzantine manuscript of the Library of St. Mark. And what else but an abstract symbol is another image, the double-faced Janus representing January, which in Antiquity we have met only in poetic descriptions, but which is so frequent in the West in the Middle Ages?

Against a classification into supposed clearly separated schools, we have only been able to reaffirm the substantial unity of Roman civilization, which carried on and diffused Hellenic tradition. Against criteria clearly distinguishing the various schools, we have only been able to show the freedom of choice and of attitude of artists and patrons before a repertory which could allow a large independence so far as the subjects and their disposition are concerned. We have been able again to perceive the closest ties between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and to demonstrate the dependence of the latter on the former in motives and in artistic formulas. Then finally the ancient unity was broken. In the various regions were developed, not without reciprocal influences but certainly through individual roads, the new conceptions and the new styles of the various medieval arts, which it is not our task further to investigate.

APPENDIX

We possess today more or less important remains of about one dozen illustrated calendars, the nucleus of which is offered by mosaic floors. We exclude from our examination on the one hand the cycles of representations illustrating the various human activities during the various seasons, and also the scenes in which the whole course of the year is envisaged and the activities can be more or less certainly distributed between the different times of the year, but in which no specific activity is clearly attributed to each single month: such, for example, is the series of agricultural activities in the very interesting mosaic from S. Romain-en-Gal at the Louvre, as well as the reliefs of the Roman Arch at Reims. On the other hand, it would not help us to take into consideration the cycles of personifications of the months where the months are represented by busts or heads of a generic type, without distinct attributes alluding to the special activities of each month; nor those of figures differentiated only by attributes or attitudes referring exclusively to the signs of the Zodiac; nor those where the months are represented by the divinities specially worshipped in them, which consequently approach the only type of calendar left us by Egyptian civilization. We may mention for the first category the famous mosaic of the sixth century A.D. from Kabr-Hiram near Tyre at the Louvre, as well as the fragments of the papyrus of the Golenishcheff collection; for the second, the glass Zodiac from Tanis at the British Museum; for the last, the altar from Gabii at the Louvre, and the other famous mosaic of Monnus in the Trier Museum. The fragments of the mosaic in Catania have busts crowned with fruit and flowers, each with its name in Latin; January, March, May, and July are preserved, partly in the Biscari Museum of Catania and partly by the Benedictines in that town: see A. Holm, *Catania antica*, trans. Libertini, p. 29, fig. 2; G. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari*, 1930, I, pp. 309 f., pl. cxxxiv. The mosaic can be dated probably in the fourth century.

1. The earliest monument in our collection is perhaps the single panel of a cycle preserved in the Hermitage at Leningrad and representing June (Fig. 5): a boy, in a short tunic, holds a plate of figs and a basket of crabs; a basket of fruit is on the ground, near one of the two pedestals rising at his sides; on the top of both pedestals and near the foot of one are fishes and

cuttle-fish (cf. the similar cuttle-fish in the panel of February in the Calendar of Filocalus). The panel is a real *emblema* in *opus vermiculatum*, laid within a metal case; it consists of very small cubes, at the most delicate places measuring only 2 to 3 mm. on each side. Korsunskaya compares its drawing with the paintings of the fourth Pompeian style, and dates the mosaic in this period. The strongly plastic rendering of the figure, the daring oblique views, as well as the character of the frame of dentils (see for this pattern M. E. Blake, in *Memoirs of the Am. Ac. in Rome*, XIII, 1936, 187), make me incline to accept rather a later date, in the second century A.D.; I do not see however the necessity of descending beyond the limits of the general fashion of real *emblemata*, which, except for a few belated products, does not seem to have survived after the time of Antoninus Pius. The size of the cubes cannot furnish us a definite criterion. On the Pompeian *emblemata* the size of cubes varies from 1 to 4 mm. on each side. If we figure an average size of 2.5 mm. on each side for the cubes in our panel, we should have sixteen cubes per square centimeter. That is about the average number of cubes of the gladiators mosaic in the Zliten villa, where the finest mosaic with birds and volutes reaches an average of thirty cubes per square centimeter (see S. Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten*, pp. 244 ff.). Miss Blake, *Memoirs of the Am. Ac. in Rome*, XVII, 1940, 105, suggests that the panel of Leningrad is a much later copy from a work of the fourth Pompeian style; but the stylistic arguments adduced by her are not very convincing.

2. We can undoubtedly date at least within the large limits of the second century A.D. the mosaic recently discovered in a large room of a villa of Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Figs. 2, 4). We find here, within a large border of geometric decoration, together with a wide rectangular panel representing Oceanus and Thetis on the background of the sea spread with fish, the first real "cycle" of the months, by which I mean a radial disposition of the months within a circle, which in turn is surrounded by a square. The months are identified, in Greek letters, by the names of the Macedonian calendar of Antioch. Unhappily, it is just this part of the mosaic which has reached us in the most fragmentary condition, preserving on one side the more or less mutilated figures of the months from March

to June, and on another side a few fragments of January. In the spaces between the circle and its surrounding square, four winged busts represent the seasons: Spring, crowned with flowers and with an amphora full of flowers in one hand, and Winter, with the head all wrapped in a mantle, are preserved. The person or persons who occupied the center of the circle have almost entirely disappeared.

3. The next document, the original of which can be dated exactly, is a miniature contained in an astronomical text of Ptolemy, in the manuscript of the Vatican Library gr. 1291 (Fig. 3). The miniature is again circular, and in the center Helios in his chariot is represented. There are three figured rings around him, the middle of which has the twelve months, called by their Greek names, in the shape of busts, differentiated however by garments, attitudes and specific attributes; these unfortunately are badly damaged and hardly distinguishable. The outer ring has the signs of the Zodiac, the inner one the personifications of the twelve hours. For each month there is indicated in all exactness, to the minute, the moment of the entry of the sun into the sign of the Zodiac; since this moment can be calculated for any year, we are in a position to determine the date of the original monument which was copied in our manuscript: about A.D. 250.

4. The year after the publication of the Calendar of Filocalus (5), Carthage yielded another very interesting and complete circular calendar in mosaic, which was exhibited in the Tunis pavilion of the World Exposition at Paris in 1889. After the Exposition the mosaic, divided into segments, was deposited in one of the storerooms of the Trocadéro, where supposedly it still lies, while we can study only a very mediocre drawing made of it by its discoverer Pradère (Fig. 6). In the center of the circle is a solemn seated figure with the Horn of Abundance, probably Mother Earth, or Abundance: she seems indeed to be a female figure, although Cagnat believes that he sees rather a male figure, which would be *Annus*, or a similar image. At her feet are the remains of a reclining figure extending its right arm toward her. Here too the circle is surrounded by a square, and in the corners of the square are four whole figures of the seasons, seated, and connected with each other by rinceaux and birds. The names of the months and the seasons are in Latin. An outer border all around the square contains animals, given in a normal profile view in the lower side of the square, but in a strange frontal view on the three other sides. It is difficult to determine

the date of this monument through the summary sketch accessible to us. We may remark, however, that there is no trace of Byzantine costumes, nor of objects and attributes, or geometric decorative elements characteristic of the Late Empire. The wreath of small schematic branches interrupted by flowers or by little stars, as well as the inner cable of spirals forming heart-shaped elements, can be pointed out in Carthage, especially in mosaics of the period which Gauckler calls Antonine, of the second and third century A.D. (see e.g. Hinks, *op. cit.*, p. 76 f., nos. 17-18). Consequently, in spite of the incertitude, we shall classify this mosaic at least between the earliest datable ones and those posterior to the Constantinian age and to the Calendar of Filocalus.

6 and 7. In much earlier times Carthage had yielded fragments of two more mosaics, one of which seems to have been entirely destroyed at the moment of its discovery, while the remains of the other soon reached the British Museum (Figs. 8-10). The latter belonged also to the circular type, but with a much more complicated arrangement, which can be reconstructed with fair exactness: eight large representations of months were alternated with four smaller ones, the latter disposed further inside the composition and surrounding the small central disc; four vases of flowers with high and stylized branches of leaves rose between the eight larger panels; in the corners of the surrounding square four busts of seasons were contained within four other discs, from which four more branches of similar leaves arose; a rich rinceau of thorny acanthus filled all the remaining space, while the frame around the square was formed by a ribbon containing calyxes of flowers. The style of the figures, the luxurious ornamentation and its stylization do not permit us to date the monument earlier than the fourth century (for different opinions see Hinks, *op. cit.*, p. 94). We do not know anything about the disposition of the other lost mosaic from Carthage, which we shall call the Beulé mosaic from the name of its discoverer (Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 21, note; *Inv. mosaïques*, Tunisie, no. 594). We hear only that the figures of the months were large, little smaller than life size, wearing Byzantine costumes and named by Latin inscriptions above the heads of the personages. The execution of the mosaic is described as "miserable." At the moment of its discovery only the panels of May and June were preserved.

8. The single panel with the month of May (Fig. 7), found within a house on the Esquiline

in the gardens of Maecenas near the so-called *Auditorium* and exhibited in the Conservatori Palace, can be dated in the fourth century both for its style and for archaeological elements. The figure, wearing a white tunic, holds a cup full of flowers; a basket of flowers lies on a shelf on the right, an elegant glass vase with two handles all adorned with flowers and leaves stands at the left, beneath one of the two windows with balustrades in the background. This last detail by itself brings this panel close to the Calendar of Filocalus—to, for example, the background of the month of March.

9. Still within the fourth century, and probably very near the age of Constantine, can be dated also the imposing mosaic recently discovered at Argos near the Cephissus. This consists of two large borders respectively 3 and 4.50 meters wide, which decorated the two sides of the courtyard at the entrance of a basilica. Each border contains a series of rectangular panels, all surrounded by wide acanthus-rinceaux forming medallions; within the medallions various motives such as domestic and wild animals, ornaments of vegetation, fruit and other objects, are depicted in lively colors with vivacity and naturalness. The wider border represents hunting scenes, the narrower one the months of the year, two by two within six panels, of which unfortunately only the first with January and February has been excavated, while the others are still concealed under a modern building. The first two months have been described and discussed at length, but not yet reproduced.

10. A mosaic (Fig. 14), discovered during the very last excavations at Ostia, and precisely in a thermal building at the periphery of the ancient town near the modern highway from Rome to Lido, has been attributed to the end of the fourth century for archaeological criteria which have not been sufficiently explained in the first short account of the excavations: see *Arch. Anz.*, LI, 1936, col. 461, fig. 11; Calza, *Bull. Comm.*, LXVI, 1938, 303 f. and fig. 40, p. 306. The section of the mosaic actually preserved in a fragmentary condition and exhibited in the Museum of Ostia, is 7×4 meters large and consists of fifteen compartments. The two central ones, with allegories of two months, are square; the others, round or elliptical, were surrounded half by a guilloche and half by a wreath of flowers; a wider guilloche and a meander form the outer frame on two sides. The round and elliptical panels contain a bust of a woman, probably the image of a season,

birds on branches, a basket of fruit, and five pomegranates.

From Greece came another mosaic, possibly belonging to the first half of the fifth century, known for a long time but only recently brought completely to light: this is the mosaic of a basilica of Tegea, of which unfortunately only a very short and quite insufficient description has been published (*Bull. Corr. Bell.*, xvii, 1893, 13 f.; and *Arch. Anz.*, xlix, 1934, col. 156), and we consequently mention it briefly in its proper place. In the principal hall of the basilica a wide mosaic was divided into sixteen panels, four of them representing the rivers of Paradise and twelve the months, in the shape of human busts, concerning which, however, we do not know whether they were only crowned with different flowers according to the different seasons, as appears from the last account of the discovery, or whether they also had other important attributes, as in the manuscript of Ptolemy. Each month had its Latin name but in Greek letters. A fragment of a sarcophagus found in Egypt (11), of which we speak in the text, seems to belong to the fifth century also.

12 and 13. The last two mosaics we have to catalogue bring us again to the eastern provinces of the Empire (Palestine), and to the Early Christian age. Both have been found at Beisan, or Beth-Shan, ancient Scythopolis; they belonged to two Christian buildings of the sixth century. The first (Fig. 11) decorated the narthex of the so-called Hammām of Beisan, and was a wide rectangular panel surrounded by a meander-like twisted ribbon. The months, separated by branches, were disposed in two rows but vertically divided into two groups; besides a fragment of April, only the six last months, excepting October, are preserved to us. The second mosaic (Fig. 12), later than the first according to all the evidence, adorned the central hall of a monastery, the building of which seems to have been accomplished either 553/4 or 568/9 A.D. With this last monument of Antiquity we return to the radial disposition of the calendar, which occupied the center of the hall in the middle of a wide rectangular decorative mosaic containing animals within octagons, surrounded by stars of rhombs, squares, and lozenges with other animal, vegetal, and various smaller motives. The fragmentary busts of the Sun and the Moon occupy a central disc; the names of the months around them are the Latin ones but in Greek letters, and the numbers of days contained in each month are indicated with Greek letters and numerals, exactly as in the preceding mosaic.



FIG. 7. Hannover, Provincial Museum: Madonna from the Lüneburg "Goldene Tafel," ca. 1418



FIG. 8. Lübeck, Cathedral: Müllerknechte Altarpiece, ca. 1460 (Detail)



FIG. 9. Hildesheim Cathedral: Madonna, ca. 1418



FIG. 10. Munich, Graphische Sammlung: Maltz, ca. 1450-60



FIG. 11. Berlin, Deutsches Museum: Madonna from Marienborn bei Xanten, ca. 1415-25



FIG. 12. Leipzig, Weigel Collection (Formerly): Metal Cut by "Meister P.," 1451

Christ writes, but where neither the inkpot nor the motive of the mantle is present (Fig. 30). The group of seated Madonnas is likewise subdivisible, for some examples show the inkpot in conjunction with the writing Christ Child, while the remainder represent the Child nursing as He inscribes a banderole, and no inkpot is seen. In the discussion which follows, we shall consider first the standing image, and afterwards the seated type.

The earliest example of the standing *Madonna of the Writing Christ Child* with the inkpot is a stone statue from the Korbasse, Mainz, by the Master of the Carmelite Cloister Madonna, and generally dated about 1405-1410 (Fig. 1).⁷ The Virgin, wearing a heavy crown of roses, bears the Child on her left arm and in her right hand carries a crucifix. This has the form of a grapevine, surrounded by angels who collect the blood of Christ, and terminated on the top by a *Pelican in her Piety*, the whole symbolizing the Eucharist. The Child in this case has the motives which interest us, for as He writes on a banderole open across His lap, He balances an inkpot in His left hand. The statue is a variant of its pendant, the Madonna of the Carmelite Cloister, which is now in the Mainz Museum (Fig. 3). In this latter Madonna the inkpot is not represented, and the writing is only implicit in the banderole held by the Child. The characterizing feature here is the gesture of the Child as He pulls His mother's mantle across her breast. The statue embodies the earliest appearance of this mantle motive in combination with the writing Christ Child, and for this reason appears to be the model for similar later representations. Somewhat less mannerized than the Korbasse Madonna, this Carmelite statue is probably the earlier of the two, by a very little.

The Korbasse group is the earliest of a series of similar representations from northern Germany which commences with two literal and probably contemporary copies, a Madonna in stucco from Dieburg near Mainz,⁸ and one in stone on the southeast portal of the church of St. Martin at Amberg in the Oberpfalz.⁹ In the sequence of variant derivatives that succeeds these, we note an unusually consistent correlation of chronology and geographical dispersion from the center at Mainz. Northward and eastward from this city (see map, p. 294) we come upon an example at Heuchelheim, near Giessen in Hesse (Fig. 5). Here Christ dips His pen preparatory to writing, and does not actually write. This divergence, which does not alter the theme, we shall find repeated in other instances. This work reveals an artist of about 1420-30 whose style is rooted in the earlier Burgundian school, but at the same time is related to that of the Master of the Carmelite Cloister Madonna. This present also is a unique departure from the norm of inkpot Madonnas in that the Virgin stands on a lion. This is an iconographic intrusion from the *Virgin on the Animals*, ultimately derived from Ps. 16: 13, and severally treated in painting, sculpture and other media. The iconography as well as the style indicates a Burgundian connection, for the earliest known use of the image is at Neuilly-en-Donjon.¹⁰

7. It is difficult to fix the date of the Korbasse Madonna with exactitude. Peter Metz ("Die Mutter Gottes aus der Korbasse in Mainz," *Pantheon*, xiv, 1934, 334-36) places it ca. 1400, and F. Back (*Mittelrheinische Kunst*, Frankfurt a.-M., 1910, p. 231) "zu Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts." The more detailed study of Eva Zimmermann-Deissler ("Vier Meister mittelrheinischen Plastik um 1400," *Städel-Jahrbuch*, III, 1924, 7-48) dates the Carmelite statue ca. 1405 and the Korbasse Madonna slightly thereafter by implication. The original of the Korbasse Madonna is, according to her (p. 22), in Wiesbaden.

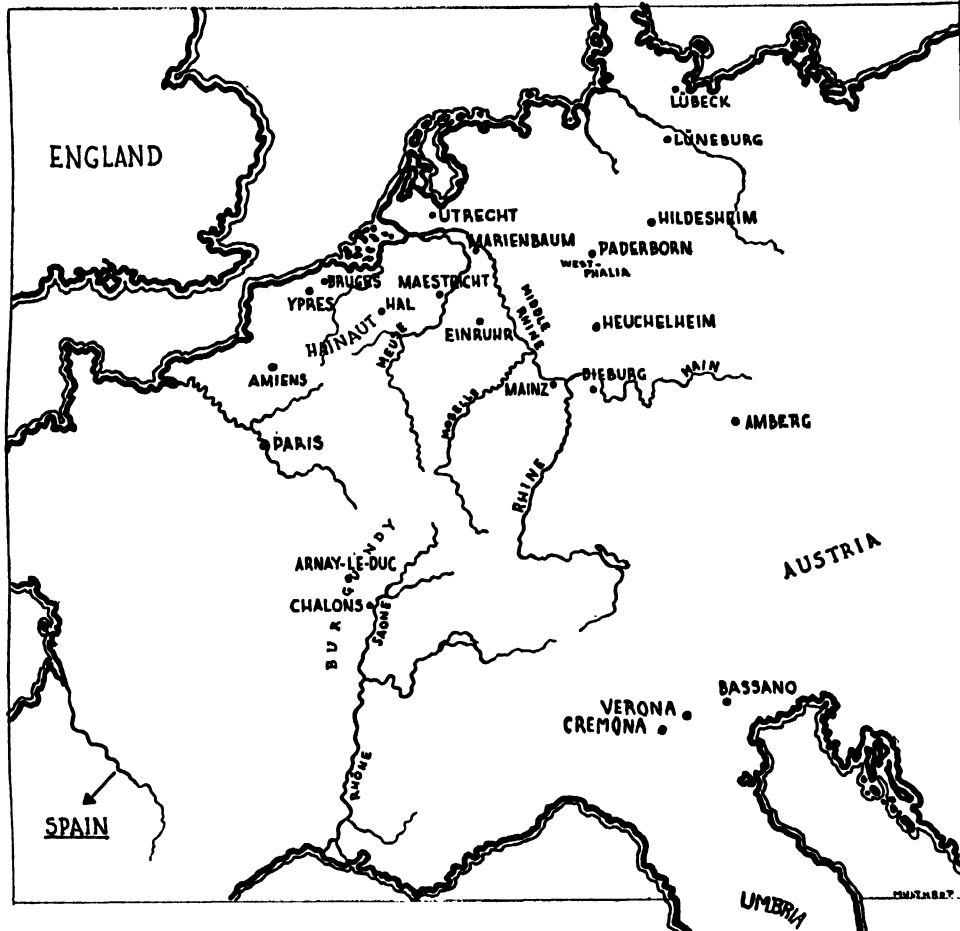
8. F. Back, *op. cit.*, p. 23. This may be the same statue

which Zimmermann-Deissler (*loc. cit.*, p. 22, note 1) calls "eine aussehend moderne Steingusswiederholung der Korbassennadonna."

9. Philipp Maria Halm, "Die Madonna mit dem Rosenstrauch im bayerischen Nationalmuseum," *Münchner Jahrb.*, xi, 1921, 12. Cf. Zimmermann-Deissler, *loc. cit.*, p. 22, note 1.

10. For the publication of the Heuchelheim statue see A. Feigel in *Cicerone*, v, 1913, 46. The statue is now in the Darmstadt Museum. For the *Virgin on the Animals*, see E. Panofsky, *Deutsche Plastik*, Munich, 1924, text-vol. pp. 170-41.

Still farther from Mainz in this same direction lies Westphalia, a territory belonging at this date to Cologne. In this region the painter Conrad von Soest was active, and it is evident that he painted at some time around 1420 a Madonna and Child of our type. The



proof resides in two derivative panel paintings of a half-length Madonna and Child. The first of these is now in Berlin (Fig. 4), the second in Budapest (Fig. 6). It is reasonable to believe that they were copied from some outstanding picture of the day, and such a contention is amply supported by even a summary comparison of their similarities.¹¹ Certain features are common to our two pictures and to known works of Conrad von Soest, notably the Dortmund Altar of about 1420, so that we may tentatively assign the same date to these two panels.¹² The Child actually does not write in either case but is shown as though He had finished writing, and was engaged in pulling the robe of His mother toward Him across her breast, while she holds the inkpot, pen, and pencease. This is a variation which we have already noted in the Carmelite Cloister Madonna of Mainz, and it probably is dependent upon that earlier model, as we have suggested.

11. Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, Berlin, III, 1938, pp. 33, 34, points out this debt to Conrad.

12. Max Geisberg, *Meister Konrad von Soest (Westfälische Kunsthefte, II)*, Dortmund, 1934, p. 12 and figs. 46 ff. The elements for specific comparison are the brocade patterns, the lettering on the inscribed nimbi, the figure con-

struction and poses, the drawing and proportions of the Christ Child figures, the angel types, the rendition of curly hair, and the predilection for pseudo-Hebraic (?) inscriptions. In each case the original (nude?) figure of Christ appears to have been subsequently overpainted with a garment.

In the same vicinity, at Paderborn Cathedral, is a monument erected in 1450 to the memory of Bishop Rotho (eleventh century) by a married couple from the Netherlandish branch of his family.¹³ Above the sarcophagus and between the two donor figures (one is now missing) stands a statue of the Virgin and Child (Fig. 2) flanked by censing angels. The Child writes, and it seems probable that originally there was an inkpot in the right hand of the Virgin which is now incorrectly restored in a clumsy fashion.¹⁴ Somewhat more distant from the Mainz focus in the same direction, in the province of Hannover, are two statues of this type which are stylistically related to one another. The first, in Hildesheim Cathedral (Fig. 9), can be dated with reference to the other, which was made for the famous *Goldene Tafel* shrine in Lüneburg (Fig. 7), probably erected about 1418 or shortly thereafter.¹⁵ Our northeasterly progress from Mainz carries us finally to the coast at Lübeck. There in the Cathedral is a similar representation on the altarpiece of the *Müllerknechte* (Fig. 8), datable around 1460.

There is a similarly wide dispersion of the icon in the valley of the Rhine. Only four specimens from this territory are known to me, and this limited number is insufficient to furnish such chronological-geographical correlations as we have observed heretofore. The first of the examples, a small wooden statuette from a cloister in Marienbaum-bei-Xanten on the Lower Rhine (Fig. 11) is now in the Deutsches Museum at Berlin. Its style indicates a date between 1415 and 1425. The Madonna holds the writing Christ Child on her left arm and the inkpot in her left hand. Both the right hand and the bunch of grapes it holds are restored.¹⁶ If the restoration is correct the figure is directly related to the Korbasse Madonna, since both display this symbol of the Eucharist. Our second and third examples are a very instructive pair of metal cuts from the Middle Rhine. One is signed and dated P. MCCCCLI (Fig. 12). It seems to be based on a more illustrious prototype by the Playing-card Master. The other (Fig. 10), unsigned and undated, is an inferior derivative of the same model and dates about 1450-60.¹⁷ The reversal of the images, which are otherwise analogous, illustrates graphically the results of copying by metal cutting: in this instance one work must be an even number of copies removed from the archetype, the other (being reversed) an odd number. The fourth Rhenish Virgin is in Einruhr, not far from Aachen (Fig. 15).¹⁸ This polychromed wooden statue is in the style of about 1500 and is the latest of our German examples.

We see that, when limited to German examples, we must recognize a fan-like dispersion with Mainz at the apex (see map, p. 294). Our last example brought us to Einruhr, which is on the western slope of the Rhine valley. Hence it is only in line with normal expectations to find the iconographic type appearing to the westward over the divide, in the Mosan valley. As evidence of this there is a polychromed wooden statue in Notre Dame at Maastricht (Fig. 14) of about 1520-30. It is possible that we may identify the influence of this region in a second statue, the unique stone Madonna and Child from the Cloisters of

13. Alois Fuchs, *Der Dom zu Paderborn*, Paderborn, 1936, p. 44.

14. H. von Einem, *loc. cit.*, p. 16, pointed out this probability.

15. F. Stuttmann, *Der Reliquienschatz der Goldenen Tafel des St. Michaelisklosters in Lüneburg*, Berlin, 1937, p. 13 and note 22.

16. Wilhelm Vöge, *Die deutschen Bildwerke und die der anderen cisalpinen Länder (Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen*, 2nd ed., IV) Berlin, 1910, no. 75.

17. For the engraving by "Meister P." see Th. Kutschmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Illustration*, Goslar and

Berlin, 1899, pp. 22-23. This example was formerly in the Weigel collection at Leipzig; see T. O. Weigel and Ad. Zestermann, *Die Anfänge der Druckkunst in Bild und Schrift . . . in der Weigel'schen Sammlung*, Leipzig, 1866, II, 335-36, no. 406. For the other engravings see Paul Heitz, *Einblattdrucke des Fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, LXII, Strassburg, 1926, no. 127. This example is in the Graphische Sammlung, Munich.

18. Ernst Wackenroder, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Schleiden (Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, ed. Paul Clemen, XI, II) Düsseldorf, 1932, p. 131.

the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 16) executed in the style prevalent about 1480. Its resemblance to the Maastricht statue is most clearly shown with respect to the distribution of the drapery folds of both the bodice and the mantle, the figure proportions, and the treatment of the hair of the Child as bolls built up in concentric circles. But even so the connection is not strong. The work appears more French than Flemish, particularly in the rendition of the face and in the heavy woolen quality of the drapery. Both of these elements find their closest analogies in Burgundian sculpture of the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁹ Under the circumstances, the work is best described as Burgundian under the influence of Mosan art, or vice versa.

These last monuments indicate that just as Mainz was a focus for the dissemination of the icon in northwestern Germany, so this whole German region in turn became the focus for the general spread of the motive into other parts of Europe. That this remarkable process commenced about 1450 is suggested by the Mosan and Burgundian examples of which we have made note. In fact, the image is found several times in Burgundy in the second half of the fifteenth century. The earliest such statue to my knowledge is a stone Madonna in the Chapel of the Hospital at Chalons-sur-Saône (Fig. 13).²⁰ Another monument showing the persistence of the theme in this region at a later date is the Madonna from Arnay-le-Duc (now lost), of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.²¹

From elsewhere in North Europe come two more Madonnas to evince the growing popularity of the group. The first is a marble statuette, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 18), which betrays an archaizing tendency in its heavy drapery, but because of the facial type, the folds at the base of the garment, and other features we must conclude that it was carved in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, probably in North France or the Channel region.²² The second work is a painted panel executed in the city of Bruges about 1500 (Fig. 17) by the Master of the André Madonna, who reflects the influence of the Antwerp school of painting, but at the same time recalls the earlier van Eyck figure-painting tradition.²³ This reminiscence of a period about a hundred years previous is in harmony with the atavism of the iconography. In point of fact, the use of the image in question at the end of the fifteenth century indicates an interest in a motive which was developed nearly a hundred years earlier, and this likewise accords with the general tendency of this later period to seek inspiration in the works of the early fifteenth century.

The final stage in the international dissemination of the image is its entry into Spanish painting. A picture of the Madonna and Child attributed to Luis Morales, formerly in the hands of a London art dealer, represents the Child writing in a book (Fig. 19).²⁴ In view of the recognized northern character of Morales' technique, it is probable that our theme

19. For example, compare the drapery with the Madonna at Saulieu (Henri David, *De Slater à Bonbin. La renaissance*, Paris, 1922, fig. 1) or with one at Chalons-sur-Saône (our Fig. 13). The facial type is also found in a number of Burgundian statues, as in this one from Chalon, the one from Fixin (David, *op. cit.*, *La sculpture moyen âge*, fig. 20) and another at Beaumont-sur-Vingeanne (*Ibid.*, fig. 73), etc.

20. David, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30 and fig. 56. I cannot say with certainty that the inkpot is represented, having seen the statue only in this very poor reproduction.

22. A. Pératé and G. Brière, *Collection Georges Hoentzel*, Paris, 1908, I, pl. ix and notice.

23. Cf. Musée Jacquemart-André, *Catalogue illustré*, 7th ed., Paris, n.d., entry no. 1018. W. H. James Weale,

"The Early Painters of the Netherlands as Illustrated by the Bruges Exhibition of 1902," *Burlington Magazine*, I, 1902, 205-206, erroneously speaks of Mosan influence in this panel. He also includes in his list of Inkpot Madonnas the statue at the entrance of the Butchers' Hall in Ghent, but this group as I saw it in 1938 is of the *unguentarium* type which we have already eliminated from this discussion. For the Master of the André Madonna and works other than this one executed by him, vide Max J. Friedlaender, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, IX, Berlin, 1931, nos. 187-89.

24. R. R. Tatlock, "Two Pictures by Morales," *Burlington Magazine*, XLII, 1922, 133-34. The attribution to Morales certainly may be questioned. This picture was called to my notice by Mr. John R. Martin.



FIG. 13. Chalons-sur-Saône, Hospital Chapel: Madonna, Second Half of Fifteenth Century



FIG. 14. Maastricht, Notre Dame: Madonna, *ca.* 1520-30



FIG. 15. Einruhr, Parish Church: Madonna, *ca.* 1500



FIG. 16. New York, The Cloisters: Mosan Burgundian Madonna, *ca.* 1480



FIG. 17. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André: Master of the André Madonna, Panel, *ca.* 1500



FIG. 18. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Madonna, 1475-1500



FIG. 19. London, Art Market: Luis Morales (?), Madonna, *ca.* 1550



FIG. 20. Carpentras, Municipal Library: MS 56, Book of Hours, 15th cent., ca. 1400-1405, fol. 55v



FIG. 21. Brussels, Poullier-Ketelle Collection: Formerly: Flemish Manuscript, ca. 1400-1405



FIG. 22. British Museum: Add. MS 38527, Spiegel der Maeghden, ca. 1410, fol. 90r



FIG. 23. Vienna, Museum: Embroidered Antependium, ca. 1430-35 (Detail)

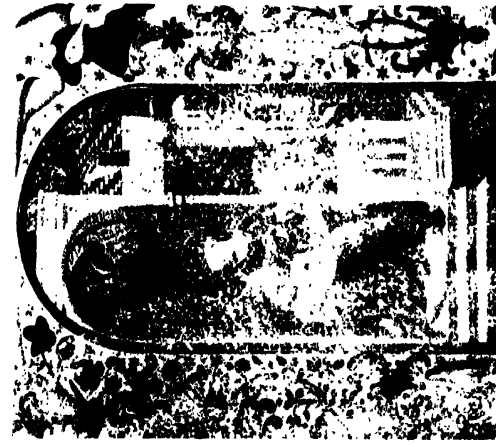


FIG. 24. Vienna, National Library: MS 1855, Book of Hours, French, ca. 1422, fol. 202



FIG. 25. Paris, Louvre: Panel, Austrian School, ca. 1420

came to him directly from the Rhineland or Flanders; and in coming such a distance, at such a relatively late date, it lost much of its original significance and eliminated the motive of the inkpot. The work is undated, but the iconography would indicate a date around the middle of the sixteenth century rather than at the end. Our earlier observation of a connection between the chronology of the examples and their geographical dispersion from the Middle Rhine to an international distribution is sustained by reference to the map.

In addition to all these monuments, there exists another category of images analogous to this one, differing only in the pose of the Virgin, who is seated; this subdivision we have already mentioned above. In the examples of this type which possess the inkpot attribute, we may trace exactly the same history of the icon, beginning about the same moment and continuing over the same period, but in another northern region than Germany. The variant of this type, the seated Madonna *nursing* the writing Child, we shall discuss subsequently.

The beginnings of the seated type are fixed about 1400-1405 by a Book of Hours now in the Municipal Library of Carpentras, France (MS 57; Fig. 20). This, and a manuscript page from the Pouillier-Ketele library, Brussels (Fig. 21), with a similar representation and probably of the same date,²⁵ can be assigned to the school which developed out of the art of Melchior Broederlam and had its center at Ypres in the county of Flanders.²⁶ Both pages exhibit the three motives which persist throughout this series: (1) the seated Madonna, (2) the inkpot, and (3) the writing Christ Child.

A work related to these is a picture from a manuscript book preserved in the British Museum entitled *De Spieghel der Maeghden*. It comes from a convent near Utrecht and seems to have been composed around 1410 (Fig. 22).²⁷ The peculiar gesture of the Madonna can only be understood in the light of the two Ypres miniatures: they have the same pinching position of the fingers of the right hand which holds the inkpot, and the same arrangement of the fingers of the left hand, which formerly supported the Child but which now merely lies on the open book. These details persist in spite of the provincial mutations through which the Child has come down from Mary's lap to stand on the base of the throne, extending a pen (i) toward her with His left hand and holding a strip of vellum in His right. This style recalls, as Byvanck has rightly remarked, certain works in the style of Jacquemart de Hesdin executed by artists working for the Duc de Berry. The iconographic derivation alone is sufficient, however, to establish the antecedents of the Utrecht page in Flanders.

Next in order chronologically is a panel painting in the Louvre (Fig. 25), much abused by historians with respect to its nationality but which now has found proper allocation in the Austrian school.²⁸ The style of the panel is very close to that of the Master of the Presentation.²⁹ As Professor Millard Meiss has shown, this master's early works were

25. This miniature is known to me only through a reproduction clipped from a sales catalog. On the back is the longhand notation, "Bibliothèque Pouillier-Ketele, Bruxelles, Le Roy. May 1924, no. 8." The miniature was called to my attention through the kindness of Dr. Hanns Swarzenski of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. The Carpentras manuscript is not published, so far as I know.

26. I obtained this information from the seminar of the International Style conducted by Dr. Erwin Panofsky, Princeton University, 1939, where it was shown that these manuscripts derived from Broederlam's workshop at

of the Chartreuse de Champmol now in the museum at Dijon. Dr. Panofsky hopes to publish this valuable material in the near future.

27. Add. MS 38527, fol. 90^v. A. W. Byvanck, *La miniature dans les Pays-Bas septentrionaux* (tr. A. Haye), Paris, 1937, p. 23.

28. Charles Sterling, *La peinture française. Les primitifs*, Paris, 1938, note 30. Previously P. A. Le noisne (*Gothic Painting in France*, Florence, 1937, tr. A. Boothroyd, p. 62) had assigned it to southwest France.

29. See H. Otttinger, *Hans von Tübingen und seine Schule*, Berlin, 1938, pp. 50-52 and pls. 41-57.

created at the beginning of the 'twenties, if not earlier, and they contributed much to the formation of the style of Hans von Tübingen.³⁰ It is significant, therefore, that the painting by Hans von Tübingen which is nearest the Louvre panel in style is his *Agony in the Garden* of about 1425, and is his earliest known work.³¹ As a link between the Master of the Presentation and the early work of Hans, our Madonna leads us to the same conclusion as that reached by Meiss, that the work of the former must antedate that of the latter.³² This relationship affords us a date for the Louvre panel certainly not later than 1425 and probably earlier. We cannot go further than this, although we must admit the possibility that the Madonna could even antedate the Presentation Master.³³

About 1422 or shortly thereafter a Book of Hours for the Use of Paris was executed in the style of the Master of the Duke of Bedford. The manuscript is now in Vienna.³⁴ On folio 202 (Fig. 24) is a *Madonna of the Writing Christ Child* with the same curious departure from the normal iconography which we have seen elsewhere about this date, wherein the Child has finished the inscription, placed the pen in the inkpot, and is pulling His mother's cloak across her breast (cf. Figs. 4, 6). Likewise in Vienna, at the Museum of Art History, is an embroidered antependium, a part of the treasure of the Order of the Golden Fleece of Charles the Bold, which was transferred from Brussels to Vienna after the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797. Here the central design (Fig. 23) portrays the Madonna and Child.³⁵ The theme is essentially the same as usual, varied to the extent that the Child neglects his writing in order to turn and perform the mystic marriage rite with St. Catherine. It is difficult to fix the place of manufacture of this cloth. Schlosser says it is French, and suggests that it may be a part of the work done by Thierry du Chastel of Paris for Philip the Good of Burgundy.³⁶ However that may be, the style belongs within the sphere of the Master of the Grandes Heures de Rohan and is to be compared particularly with the masterful Rohan Hours and the so-called Anjou Hours.³⁷ This atelier drew heavily upon the Parisian (?) "Bedford" workshop, and therefore may itself have been located in Paris about 1430-35. In point of style it owes much to the Jacquemart de Hesdin tradition, as filtered through the master who executed the Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut, and so we must fall back upon the loose epithet "Franco-Flemish."³⁸

The type is found in one more manuscript, a Book of Hours with a North French calendar, probably of Amiens (Fig. 26), datable about 1445.³⁹ The artist clearly knew the Boucicaut tradition. The date and the provenance of the book are very instructive, especially in the light of what we know about the Rhenish series of standing Madonnas, for just

30. "An Austrian Panel in the Huntington Library," *Art in America*, xxviii, 1940, 30-43.

31. Oettinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25 and pl. 1.

32. *Loc. cit.*, p. 43.

33. A similar case and date can be made out for the master who did the "Throne of Mercy" panel in the National Gallery, London, which might be of the same atelier as the Louvre Madonna in question. Oettinger has already pointed out that the painter of the London panel is related to the Master of the Presentation (*op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff.).

34. Nationalbibliothek, MS 1855. Hermann J. Hermann, *Die westeuropäischen Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Gotik und der Renaissance (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften Oesterreich, N.S., VIII, 7)*, Leipzig, 1938, III, 142-85, pl. LII, 2, with bibliographical notes.

35. Julius von Schlosser, *Der Burgundische Paramentenschatz des Ordens vom Goldenen Vliese*, Vienna, 1912, pls. 1, 4, 5.

36. *Op. cit.*, pp. 16-17. For Thierry see Léon La Borde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1849, pt. 2, vol. 1, entries

694, 972-81.

37. Paris, Bib. Nat. MSS fr. 1971 and 1156 A, respectively. On this master and this workshop see Adelheid Heimann, "Der Meister der 'Grandes Heures de Rohan' und seine Werkstatt," *Städte-Jahrb.*, VII-VIII, 1932, 1-61, with bibliographical footnotes. For the more recent attributions to this atelier see E. Panofsky, "Reintegration of a Book of Hours Executed in the Workshop of the 'Maître des Grandes Heures de Rohan,'" *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, Cambridge, 1939, II, 479 ff.

38. For these relationships see Miss Heimann's excellent discussion, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30-37.

39. Brussels, Bib. Roy., MS 9875, fol. 134. For the facts given here I am indebted to Dr. Frederick Lyna of the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, who has studied this manuscript preparatory to its publication. Cf. Joseph van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, Brussels, 1901, 1. Miss Hope Wickersham called this miniature to my attention.

as the latter persisted within the general region of its origin, so too the seated type carried the tradition onward within its native territory for the same half-century.

The origin of this seated version in illuminated manuscripts is certainly established by these examples and their dates. The next work, a large woodcut broadsheet (Fig. 27) formerly affixed to the door of a house in Bassano, Italy, reflects that bookish status, but with a significant change in medium.⁴⁰ It is believed to be possibly Veronese in origin. Its technique dates it not earlier than 1450 and perhaps considerably later, although the work might be much earlier if judged by its style. Not only has a northern icon invaded Italy but the style also reflects northern influence. The parallelism of the history of this seated type with that of the Rhenish standing series continues in two respects: (1) the entrance of the image into the field of the graphic arts in the mid-fifteenth century (cf. Figs. 10 and 12), and (2) the international use of the theme from about this same time.

Although the iconography of the woodcut is uncertain because of its poor state of preservation, we are probably correct in including it here because there exists a painting in a private collection in Rome (Fig. 28) with a nearly identical group of the Madonna and Child, and here the writing theme is perfectly manifest. Furthermore, this picture is the work of an artist who is under the direct influence of Stefano da Verona, whose stylistic debt to northern art and particularly to that of Cologne is well known. In view of the dates of Stefano (ca. 1374-ca. 1438), and of the style of this picture, it seems likely that it dates about the middle of the century. As further evidence of the use of the image in Italy there is a painting in the Louvre of about 1500 attributed to Pintorricchio (Fig. 29). It may not be the work of the master himself, but it furnishes sufficient evidence for the presence of the writing theme and the inkpot in his circle.⁴¹

The latest example of the type is again from Spain, and the work this time is undeniably by Morales himself, with whom we have already associated the standing type. The picture in question is in the Sacristy of the Parish Church of Rocamador at Valencia de Alcántara. It is undated, but probably was painted around 1551.⁴² The iconography has been altered to omit the inkpot and to give the Madonna a pen instead. Once more we must ascribe the variations to processes of change that work the more easily for the remoteness of this picture from its archetype. The introduction of a pen into the hand of the Madonna here immediately calls to mind the subject of the *Magnificat*, which is traditionally ascribed to her.

These monuments verify through parallelism our analysis of the series of standing Madonnas. As in the case of the latter, the sequence runs from about 1400 to the middle of the sixteenth century, and from a single point in the north to many points throughout the continent. Now we may ask what this second genealogy has contributed toward our search for the artistic sources of the image. As yet we have learned nothing definite in this respect, but we have acquired two important facts with which to work: (1) that there are

40. Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, London, 1935, I, 160-61. This sheet is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

41. For the painting in the style of Stefano da Verona see R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, VII, The Hague, 1926, p. 310. Mr. William Forsyth, who has been keenly interested in this problem and has given me advice in the matter, brought this picture to my attention. For the Umbrian painting, see *ibid.*, XIV, The Hague, 1933, pp. 280-81; van Marle believes that this work is 'too mediocre to ascribe to the master himself.'

There is still further evidence of the presence of the image in Italy. Dr. Hanns Swarzenski has kindly informed me of a painting of the Madonna and Child enthroned in the Museo Civico, Cremona, where Christ writes A, B, C on a tablet. The panel is inscribed: *Hoc opus fieri fecit morina uxor Benedicti de puno 1448 die xv novembre*. I have never seen this painting, nor have I been able to locate a reproduction of it.

42. Cf. Daniel Berjano Escobar, *El pintor Luis de Morales (el Divino)*, Madrid, n.d., fig. on p. 84.

two recensions which have many points in common, suggesting the possibility that they may derive from one archetype, and (2) that this second group of works is definitely derived from book illustration. This last observation permits us to delimit the field in which we may search for origins, and so facilitates the finding of the ultimate sources of inspiration.

From the *terminus post quem* of about 1400 which we have established for all the monuments thus far examined, we may carry our investigations one step farther in the expectation of finding a single source of inspiration for the image of the writing Christ Child. The path of this investigation is suggested by the fact that we have entered the stylistic circle dominated by Jacquemart de Hesdin, and of which Jean Bondol de Bruges and André Beauneveu were the first prominent exponents.

It is well known that the partial or full designs of the principal illustrations for manuscript books were frequently transmitted by means of pattern-books.⁴³ One such book is now in The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.⁴⁴ Its four leaves of thin boxwood and the two covers carry silverpoint sketches designed to be traced or copied into manuscripts. On the inside of the front cover is a carefully executed *Madonna of the Writing Christ Child*, but with no inkpot (Fig. 33). Examination reveals the curious fact, that the artist has attempted to constitute a design with motives suggestive of several icons already familiar to us, principally that of the writing Child. Most noticeable is the curious position of the Child, who is forced to fill several capacities at once—to write on a scroll laid across his lap and at the same time to give his attention to what transpires behind his back. Perhaps he is extending a welcome to the Magi, or a wedding-ring to St. Catherine (cf. Fig. 23). This sketch may have served as a model for either of these subjects. The style is identifiable immediately as very close to the tradition of André Beauneveu and Jacquemart de Hesdin, and is characteristic of about 1390 or so. It so happens that this silverpoint is related in style to another Madonna, a simple *Vierge allaitant*, one of the most beautifully drawn and colored miniatures of the period (Fig. 32). It is on a page which has been bound in with a Prayer Book which once belonged to Philippe le Hardi, and is now in the Royal Library at Brussels.⁴⁵ This Virgin has been attributed by Dr. Lyna to the Limbourgs. Its significance for us lies in noting the close relationship of this picture to the second miniature in the Brussels Hours, the Madonna and Child (Fig. 31). The first miniature in the Brussels Hours is a pendant to the second and is by the same hand; it represents the Duc de Berry with his patron saints Andrew and John the Baptist. The old attribution of this whole manuscript was to Beauneveu. Later, an inventory entry was discovered on the basis of which the same work was given to Jacquemart de Hesdin. This attribution persisted until it was discovered by Dr. Panofsky that these first two pages do not belong in their present context. Consequently they are now attributed to Beauneveu, Bondol, or someone close to them.⁴⁶ The history of their style, which stems from the art of Jean Pucelle, may be traced first in any one of a number of manuscripts of the early 1370's: for example, in the Brussels Library, manuscripts of Aristotle's *Ethics*⁴⁷ and Thomas de Cantimpré's

43. For bibliography see A. Heimann, *Städels-Jahrbuch*, VII-VIII, 1932, 35, note 83.

44. Roger Fry, "On a Fourteenth Century Sketch-book," *Burlington Magazine*, x, 1906-1907, 31-38. Louis Dimier attempts to prove that this pattern-book is a nineteenth-century work in "D'un album supposé du XIV siècle," *Mém. de la Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France*, LXXVIII, 1928-33, 12-2. Alfred Frankfurter, "Master

Drawings of the Renaissance," *Art News*, xxxvii, 1939, 182.

45. MS. 11035-37, fol. 6v. Camille Gaspard and F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, Paris, 1937, I, 419-23, with bibliographical notes. No black and white reproduction does justice to this exquisite picture.

46. Bibliography cited by *ibid.*, pp. 407-409.

47. MS 9505-06; *ibid.*, pp. 354 ff., and pl. LXXVIII.

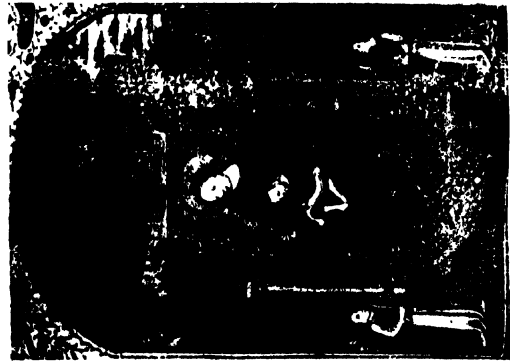


FIG. 26. Brussels, Bibl. Royale: MS 9875, Book of Hours, North French, ca. 1455; fol. 134



FIG. 28. Rome, Private Collection: Followers of Stefano da Zevio, Panel, ca. 1450



FIG. 27. London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Woodcut, North Italian, ca. 1450 (?)



FIG. 29. Paris, Louvre: Pintoricchio?, Madonna and Saints, ca. 1500



FIG. 30. Hal, Norte Dame: Madonna from Southwest Portugal, ca. 1400



FIG. 31. Brussels, Bibl. Royale: MS 11060-61, Hours of Jean, Duc de Berry, Franco-Flemish, *ca.* 1380, fol. 6



FIG. 32. Brussels, Bibl. Royale: MS 11035-37, Hours of Philippe le Hardi, Franco-Flemish, *ca.* 1390, fol. 11



FIG. 33. New York, Morgan Library: Sketchbook, Silverpoint on Boxwood, Franco-Flemish, *ca.* 1390



FIG. 34. Hildesheim, St. Andrew's: Relief, *ca.* 1410-15



FIG. 35. Paris, Bibl. Nationale: Relief, 975, dated 1406, fol. 2



FIG. 36. Paris, Louvre: Ivory Statuette, Franco-Flemish, 1380-1390

Le Rien Universel,⁴⁸ both dated 1372; in The Hague, the Bible of Charles V, illuminated by Jean Bondol de Bruges, dated 1371.⁴⁹ In the matter of style, all these works are connected with the name of the Maître aux Boquetaux,⁵⁰ in whose atelier Jean Bondol played an important part.⁵¹ As a group they anticipate the style of the first two miniatures of the Brussels Hours.

This style development continues from the 1370's onward. The change to heavier and more self-sufficient figures and the increased attention given to perspective in the enlarging of the ground space around the figures, however slight, brings us still closer to the Brussels pages. Two manuscripts of 1376 illustrate this point: a copy of Aristotle's *Ethics* in The Hague⁵² and of St. Augustine's *Cité de Dieu* in Paris.⁵³ The same general treatment is found likewise in the *Petites Heures* executed by Jacquemart de Hesdin.⁵⁴ While it would be untrue to say that the first two miniatures of the Brussels Hours are by the same hand as any of the last three manuscripts, it is obvious that the former are, nevertheless, approximately stylistic contemporaries of the latter, and postdate them by very little. It seems highly probable that they were executed within a decade of those manuscripts dated in 1376, or, in other words, about 1380.⁵⁵

We may now return to our more specific concern, the relationship of the Morgan Library silverpoint sketch (Fig. 33), the *Vierge allaitant* from Philippe le Hardi's Prayer Book (Fig. 32) and the Madonna in the second Brussels miniature (Fig. 31). The first can be equated with the second in style, pose, and the Madonna's moody air of detachment. On the other hand, in the second, the head of the Christ Child is seen to be virtually line for line the same as His head in the third, although the one is a mirror reversal of the other. A comparison of the first with the third example sustains the relationships thus demonstrated, for in the silverpoint the Virgin's right hand has been adapted from the same hand of the Brussels Madonna, with this difference: the two bent fingers which hold the scroll in the Brussels figure have been straightened in the silverpoint (there being no scroll for the hand to grasp). This adjustment has resulted in an awkward articulation of the hand, which therefore has been partially concealed by the designer under folds of drapery. It would be less convincing to explain these similarities and differences in any other way. Since both the Morgan Library silverpoint and the Virgin from the Prayer Book are thus demonstrably derived from the Brussels Madonna, they could not antedate that model, and it seems more likely that they would postdate it, and belong after *ca.* 1380. On the other hand, we are reasonably safe in assuming that they come before the turn of the century, which is marked by the advent of the inkpot motive. Corroborating this is the observation that while the style of the Morgan silverpoint is still reminiscent of the manuscripts of 1376, it clearly shows an

48. MS 9507; *ibid.*, pp. 352 ff., pl. LXXVII.

49. Mus. Meermannno-Westreenianum, MS 10 A. 23; A. W. Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale des Pays-Bas et du Musée Meermannno-Westreenianum à La Haye*, Paris, 1924, pp. 104 ff., pls. XLVIII ff.

50. First employed by Henry Martin in *La miniature française du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, Paris and Brussels, pp. 44 ff.

51. A. W. Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale des Pays-Bas et du Musée Meermannno-Westreenianum à La Haye*, Paris, 1924, pp. 104 ff., pls. XLVIII ff.

52. Mus. Meermannno-Westreenianum, MS 10 D. 1; *ibid.*, 110 ff., pls. LII-LIII.

53. Bib. Nat., MS fr. 22912; Martin, *op. cit.*, pls. 8-60.

54. Paris, Bib. Nat., MS lat. 18014; *ibid.*, pl. 70; cf. also V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Biblio-*

thèque Nationale, Paris, 1927, pl. 217 ff.

55. The establishment of this date for the two Brussels pages is of great interest in another respect, since it affords a terminus *post quem non* of *ca.* 1380 for another ancestor of the second miniature. I refer to the prophet figures in the new's Psalter of the Duc de Berry, from which the Brussels page obviously stems. This Psalter has been dated loosely as "end of the fourteenth century" (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS fr. 13091; Henry Martin, *Les joyaux de l'enluminure à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris and Brussels, 1928, pls. 61-63; Camille Couderc, *Les enluminures des manuscrits du moyen âge à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1927, pl. XLII; H. Martin, *La miniature française*, pls. 67-68; bibliographies cited by these authors).

advance over them in the conception of the form and the placing of the figures, and yet on the other hand it is not yet in the style of that portion of the Brussels Hours executed by Jacquemart de Hesdin probably in the last decade of the century. Thus we may limit the time of the production of the silverpoint and its companion, the Virgin from the Prayer Book, to a space of about twenty years. I am inclined to believe that the style of these two is closer to 1390 than to 1380.

It is hypothetical to state that one image intended for manuscripts gave birth to a theme which subsequently achieved international recognition, but there is additional evidence which we may introduce here to support such a contention. The picture of the writing Christ Child, first found to our knowledge in the Brussels Hours, was repeated in several media: ivory, tempera on vellum, stone, and perhaps embroidery. These copies, which certify the popularity of the model, are the following: (1) a reproduction of the miniature in ivory, which is faithful to the picture to a surprising degree considering the limitations of the medium (Fig. 36);⁵⁶ in view of its style it does not seem likely that this statuette, which is now in the Louvre, could postdate the model by more than ten years, and is probably from the years 1380-1390; (2) a manuscript in Paris, inscribed 1406, which repeats the image on folio 2, with certain slight variations (Fig. 35);⁵⁷ (3) a copy in stone in the form of a votive or funerary plaque from Hildesheim, Germany, of about 1410-1415, which testifies at once to the errant nature of some pattern-book and to the international appeal of this image (Fig. 34).⁵⁸

A close examination of the first two miniatures of the Brussels Hours affords interesting evidence concerning the beginnings of the icon. It has been pointed out that there is considerable difference in the handling of the perspective problem in the two pictures. On the donor page is converging-line perspective of the sort first used by Bondol and known to us from his Bible of Charles V (1376), cited above. The miniature of the Madonna on the other page, to the contrary, employs the more archaic "herring-bone" perspective. Since both are undoubtedly the work of the same hand, it is possible that the Virgin icon was copied from an existing model in the older style, and the adjoining page then adapted to it in the new style. The total effect is bipartite and not unified. This disunity is rectified by Jacquemart de Hesdin on page 14 in the body of the manuscript, where he brings the two groups into sympathetic human relationship in one picture. He chose to discard the more symbolic and hieratic form of the Madonna with the writing and nursing motive, and to revise the old style to harmonize with the new.⁵⁹

It is apparent that this writing Christ Child image was at first perpetuated as a nursing type. Then, around 1400, in the tide of the new realism, the Madonna acquired the picturesque attribute of the inkpot. That the nursing-writing nexus was indeed prerequisite for all the groups of the inkpot-writing type we have demonstrated partially within the

56. Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques françaises*, Paris, 1924, pl. cxiv, no. 706. He says that the banderole is restored (II, pp. 254-55). The relationship of this piece to the Brussels Hours miniature was pointed out by Miss Heimann in *Städ.-Jahrbuch*, VII-VIII, 1932, 22, n. 47. Its Flemish character was noted sometime ago by E. Lütgen in *Die niederrheinische Plastik*, Strassburg, 1917, p. 227.

57. Bib. Nat., MS fr. 926. This picture is also noted by Miss Heimann, *loc. cit.*

58. V. Curt Habicht, *Die mittelalterliche Plastik Hildesheims* (*Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, 195), Strassburg, 1917, pl. xx, fig. 47.

It is probable that the image was copied in embroidery also: A. de Champeaux and P. Gauchery (*Les travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France Duc de Berry*, Paris, 1894, p. 28 and n. 1) cite the following inventory item from Ste.-Chapelle at Chambéry: "Item duo tabulle de brodatura in quarum une in ymago beate Marie cum filio in brachiis, in altera vero ymagines beati Johannis Baptiste et sancti Andree et in media dictarum duarum ymaginum dux Byturie; que sunt incluse in nemore."

59. For these considerations on perspective *vide* E. Panofsky, "Die Perspektive als 'symbolische' Form," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, IV, 1924-25, n. 50 and fig. 27.

Beauneveu-Jacquemart de Hesdin tradition. Several additional circumstances lend such strong support to this theory that it becomes a probability. In the first place it is apparent that in the standing or sculptural form of our icon, we have in effect a superimposition of the writing and inkpot motives on preëxistent Madonna and Child types—the *Vierge allaitant* and the type with the Child pulling the mantle over the Virgin's breast. The proof lies in the actual occurrence of this phenomenon of superimposition elsewhere. I refer to the exceptional example of the writing Child from the Church of Notre Dame at Hal, Belgium, mentioned earlier (Fig. 30).⁶⁰ There we have the combination of the writing Christ with the simplest standing Mother and Child group. There are several pertinent facts to observe concerning the Hal statue. Dated generally at the turn of the century, it is the earliest standing statue of this iconography known. In addition, and just as we would expect, it is transitional in the same sense as the Morgan silverpoint sketch, for there is no longer any nursing motive and as yet the inkpot has not appeared. Thus Hal shows the adaptation of the writing motive from the seated nursing type to the normal monumental sculptural type, the standing figure. Furthermore, the statue is from the southern tip of the duchy of Brabant, at the point where it borders on the Franco-Flemish county of Hainaut, which in turn is the specific milieu of André Beauneveu of Valenciennes. We therefore are not surprised that the statue recalls the style of the illustrious carved stone figure of St. Catherine at Courtrai, which is often ascribed to Beauneveu or his school.⁶¹ This significant work at Hal thus enables us to witness the transition from the seated-nursing antecedents to the standing type *within the tradition of the source itself*.

A final retrospective consideration of the Korbasse Madonna at Mainz (Fig. 1), with which we opened our discussion, confirms our proposed derivation of the inkpot type from the nursing type in the following manner: the pendant to this statue, the Carmelite Cloister Madonna (Fig. 3) utilizes the gesture we have noted before (Figs. 4, 6, 24) of the Child who has finished writing, and is depicted as drawing the veil of His Mother's garment across her breast to indicate that He is through nursing. The representation of the one motive beside the other, in pendant statues, explicitly demonstrates the transition from the nursing to the inkpot type. It also furnishes the explanation for the presence of this garment motive in combination with the inkpot in the three later pictures which we have examined, and reveals their true nature as throwbacks to the transitional type. The skeletal stemma of the icon appears on page 304.

We may now inquire if the originating artist embodied in this image any further elements beyond these merely perceptual ones, and ask, "Did the icon reside in a literary figure before the artist realized it in paint?" In effect, the change in the iconography which takes place about 1400 substitutes the inkpot for the breast of the Virgin. Remembering that the nursing Child writes, we see the validity of such a conception if we turn to medieval church literature. Honorius of Autun, for example, commenting on the *Cantica canticorum*, sees in the Bride of this epithalamion a personification of the Church.⁶² He says, "The material of this book concerns the bridegroom and the bride, that is, Christ and the Church."⁶³ After quoting the lines, "Better are your two breasts than wine," he says the breasts are the two Testaments from which comes the milk of doctrine.⁶⁴ Moreover, all this imagery is

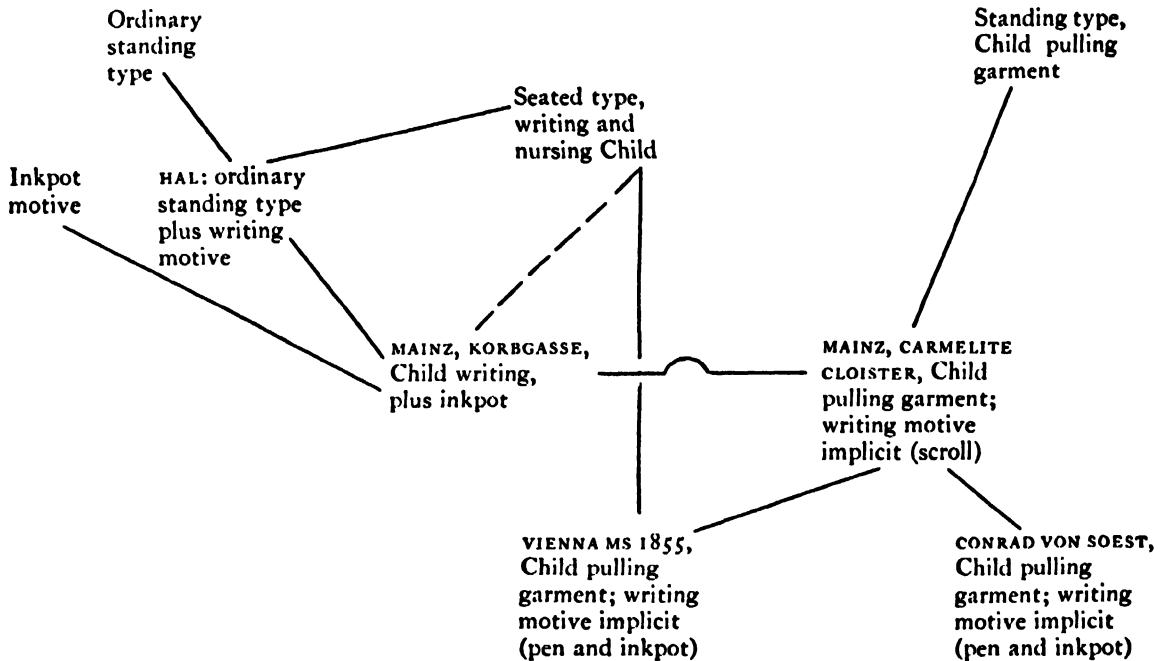
60. Richard Hamann, "Spätgotischen Skulpturen der Wallfahrtskirche in Hal" (*Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, ed. P. Clemen, chap. ix), Munich, 1923, pp. 224-26, and pl. 30.

61. H. Fierens-Gevaert, *La renaissance septentrionale et les premiers maîtres des Flandres*, Brussels, 1905, pl. opp. p. 16.

62. "Exposito super Cantica Canticorum," Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxii, cols. 347 ff.

63. *Loc. cit.*, col. 349.

64. "Dicit ergo: meliora sunt ubera tua vino, id est doctrina de duobus Testamentis tuis, videlicet operibus, prolata, qua filios tuos in fide parvulos lactas et nutris



applicable not only to the Church but likewise to Mary, who is regarded at once as the Mother of Christ, the Bride of the *Cantica canticorum*, and a personification of the Church.⁶⁵ But this explains only the motivating idea behind the hundreds of nursing Madonnas from which type our variety depends, and it fails to tell us anything about the writing Christ Child. That Honorius' words themselves might have been conducive to the idea of the writing Infant is suggested by certain passages, but the possibility is nullified by his comments elsewhere.

The important question is, "What does the Child actually write in these works which we are studying?" Although most of the original inscriptions have been obliterated, we can decipher five of them. Of this number, two are the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6: 9-13; Figs. 21, 35), the third reads *Ego sum lux mundi et via veritatis* (John 8: 12, plus the phrase *et via veritatis*; Fig. 28), the fourth gives a similar text in German, *Ich bin der Wech de Warrheit und Leven* (John 14: 6; Fig. 4), and the fifth is *Discite a me, quia mitis sum, et humilis corde . . .* (Matt. 9: 29; Fig. 19).⁶⁶ All are the words of Christ the Teacher. Concerning the exact source which inspired this conception of the Madonna with the Child writing words of which He Himself was the author, a number of diverse theories have been proffered.

melior est" (*loc. cit.*, col. 361); "memores uberum tuum, hoc est in memoria habentes memoriam utriusque legis, quae sunt ubera tua, etc." (col. 367); "Ubera Ecclesiae sunt docti in utraque lege, qui parvulis in Christo infundunt lac doctrinae mulsam de utraque lege" (col. 414); "ubera vero Ecclesiae sunt magistri, in utraque lege docti" (col. 422); "ubera Ecclesiae sunt duo Testamenta, de quibus augunt praedicatorum lac mysticae intelligentiae" (col. 466).

65. "Hic libro ideo ligatur de festo S. Mariae, quia ipsa gessit typum Ecclesiae, quae virgo est et mater . . . Et ideo omnia quae de Ecclesia dicta sunt, possunt etiam de ipsa Virgine, sponsa et Matre Sponsi intelligi," etc. (*ibid.*, col. 494).

66. A sixth, which I have never seen, is reported by von Einem (*Alt-Hildesheim*, x, 1930, p. 16). It must be discarded as unsuitable evidence, for it is *painted* on the carved

stone statue from Hildesheim Cathedral (our Fig. 9). It reads "Magnificat anima mea dominum . . ." and has misled von Einem into adducing Botticelli as a parallel. The practice of representing the Infant displaying an inscribed scroll to the observer is a fourteenth-century development which is characteristically Siennese. It may stem from Simone Martini's *Maestà* of 1315. The basis of this practice is the tendency of that time to allow to the Christ Child the same attributes previously identified only with the adult historical Christ. The departure from a strict adherence to the Gospel text in our third example is paralleled elsewhere in Italian painting. Compare, for example, a panel attributed to Simone Martini now in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome (R. van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, II, The Hague, 1924, fig. 124) where the apocryphal phrase "ego sum flos floris" is added.

Friederich Back has suggested an Upper Hesse folk-song as a source for the writing or painting Christ Child.⁶⁷ In view of what we now know of this iconography it is impossible to follow him in this localization. The song would be, rather, a minor literary echo of an established conception, and in this connection we may note that one of our images (Fig. 5) is from Hesse. W. H. James Weale, discussing the Bruges panel (Fig. 17), relates it at once to two conflicting sources, neither of which satisfies our requirements.⁶⁸ This picture, he says, is probably in honor of Our Lady of Aardenburg near Bruges. There are two versions of her miracles there, but in each instance the legend and the miraculous statue have to do only with saving criminals who have been sentenced to hang, and there can be no connection with our images. Weale also says that the pen and vellum in Christ's hand commemorate the popular legend of the clerk Theophilus, but there Mary and not Christ plays the important rôle, and the writing is done by Theophilus.⁶⁹ Manuals made to guide the limners of medieval Psalters show that Psalm 44, an integral part of the Offices of the Virgin, was generally regarded as a definite reference to her, and this passage was frequently adorned with one kind or another of mariological picture, often with the Christ Child.⁷⁰ In this Psalm we read, "My tongue is like the pen of a scribe writing swiftly." Aside from the obvious discrepancies between this simile and our image, we must face the fact that none of our writing Christs is depicted in this context. For a similar reason we cannot accept another often proposed source, namely the *Magnificat* (Luke 1: 46-56), for these words are attributed to Mary and even Elizabeth, but never to Christ.⁷¹ In this connection Botticelli's *Madonna of the Magnificat* is always cited, but here Mary writes, not Christ. Helbig, without stating his reasons, says that the theme of the writing Child was derived from Italy. Such a contention loses credibility in view of the evidence we have examined. Likewise, any contention that the theme arose from a genre-like interpretation of the education of Christ must be discarded for the reason that no representation of the writing Christ Child appears in that connection until the middle of the fifteenth century, and then there are only two examples to my knowledge: (1) a woodcut *Anna Selbdritt* in St. Gall, and (2) an enthroned *Madonna of the Writing Christ Child* in Cremona (*vide supra*, note 41).⁷² The former is iconographically unique and does not properly belong in the series we are examining. Finally, Feigel traces the writing motive to a specific Mainz devotion still in use today, which addresses a separate prayer to each of Christ's five wounds.⁷³ The one for the right hand reads: "Lasset uns beten. O Herr Jesu Christe, durch das heilige Sakrament, durch Deinen allerheiligsten, darin verborgenen Fronleichnam, durch die heilige Wunde Deiner rechten Hand und durch das Blut, das daraus geflossen ist, erbarme Dich unser. Gib uns mit dieser Deiner edlen Hand Deinen Segen und Deine Gnade, schreibe mit dem blutigen Nagel, wie mit einer Feder, uns hier ein in die Versammlung Deiner Diener und Dienerinnen, und dort in die Zahl Deiner zu Deiner rechten stehenden Auserwählten in der ewigen Glorie." No date is adduced by Feigel for these prayers. Furthermore, Christ here writes with His own Blood and not with ink; the resemblance of the pen of the Korbasse statue

67. *Mittelrheinische Kunst*, p. 24. The poem is worth quoting:

"Herr Jesus schreib ein Breifelcin
Nicht mehr als zwei, drei Wort:
Mein Vater wohnt im Himmel,
An einem schönen, schönen Ort."

68. *Burlington Magazine*, 1, 1903, 205-206.

69. Franz von Sales Doyé, *Heilige und Selige der römisch-katholischen Kirche*, Leipzig, 1929, II, 413.

70. Samuel Berger, *Les manuels pour l'illustration du*

Psautier au XIII^e siècle, Paris, 1897, with bibliographical footnotes.

71. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, x (1), Paris, 1931, cols. 1125 ff.

72. For Helbig's contention see his work, *La sculpture au pays de Liège*, 10th ed., Bruges, 1890, p. 118 and n. 1. For the St. Gall woodcut see P. Heitz, *Einblattdrucke des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, III, 1906, no. 4.

73. *Festschrift für H. Schrohe*, Mainz, 1934, pp. 79-82.

to a nail proves nothing. Like Back's Hesse folk-song, this prayer appears to be a reflection of the previously existing icon.

In our attempt to locate the proper source for the image, it is worth noting that the *Madonna of the Writing Christ Child* is a devotional image, which is to say, an image intended to assist a worshipper to achieve contemplative submersion in the subject which the icon represents.⁷⁴ It is part and parcel of a desire to make the intangible concrete, on the one hand, and on the other to sublimate reality. This is what we generally refer to by the term "mysticism." In seeking the source for this particular devotional image, we should examine the writings of the great mystics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Foremost among these were the Minorites, of whom St. Francis was the founder, and Bonaventura the leading voice. A distinction must be made between those references to God as *scribe* and those to God as *author*. In speaking of the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard, Bonaventura says God "hoc opus non scripsit digito suo."⁷⁵ The denial of God as the "writer," in the narrower sense of the word, in this particular instance, implies that Bonaventura could conceive of Him engaged in this activity. Elsewhere, Bonaventura uses the phrase, "solus Christus est doctor et auctor,"⁷⁶ and here the term *auctor* appears to mean "literary author." We are, however, unable to refer to any passage in the works of Bonaventura or of other Franciscans, in which the wielding of the pen is described, or to cite any phrase which would seem to suggest a source or analogy for the *Madonna of the Writing Christ Child*. A study of the Dominican mystics, whose thought was especially influential in the Rhine valley where our image flourished, likewise has thus far failed to reveal any literary origin for the motive. The popularity of the type, nevertheless, proves that it embodied in an expressive way sentiments current in the culture of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Summary: The image under discussion is a variation of the simplest Madonna and Child icon. Conceived about 1380, probably in the Hainaut, it achieved considerable popularity in northern Europe within the Bondol-Beauneveu-Jacquemart de Hesdin tradition. Subsequently it underwent two phases of geographical dispersion. In the first, about 1400, it assumed two forms which gave rise to two separate iconographical recensions—a seated type which can be traced to Ypres, and a standing type disseminated from Mainz. In the second phase, an international one, the spread began about 1450 and continued for approximately a century, then suddenly expired.

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74. E. Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedlaender*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 264 ff.

75. *Opera omnia*, Florence, Quaracchi, 1882-1902, I, 14b.

76. *Ibid.*, 15a.



FIG. 1. Embroidered Border Drawn by Georges Poissinet, 1812

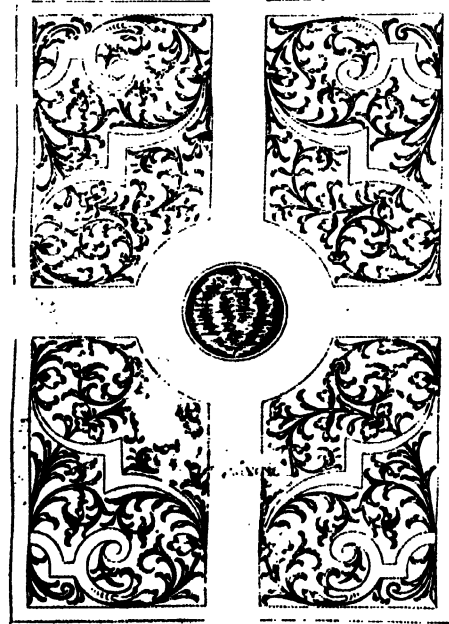


FIG. 2. Parterre en Broderie by Jacques Boyceau, before 1638



FIG. 3. Arabesque Design by Charles Le Brun



FIG. 4. Vaux-le-Vicomte: Arabesques from Designs by Le Brun, ca. 1660

SOURCES AND EVOLUTION OF THE ARABESQUE OF BERAIN

BY FISKE KIMBALL

APPRECIATION that it was the arabesque of Berain which gave the initial stimulus to the creation of rococo ornament,¹ through its transference by Pierre Lepautre from painted field to moulded and carved frame,² has led us to inquire further as to its own sources, which have remained obscure.

R. A. Weigert, in his recent and otherwise comprehensive study of Berain,³ gives little attention either to the genesis or to the internal development of Berain's style. Certainly there is nothing we know of the work of Henry de Gissey—his predecessor in his official charge, who is named in a document produced by Weigert as the "maistre de M. Berain," and who may well have inducted him into pageantry—which would explain the character of his arabesques.

Rudolph Berliner speaks of Berain's ornament as the fruit of a "sudden and complete turning away from the style of his immediate forerunners, which had been essentially determined by Italy, and the resumption of the development in the North broken off a century before."⁴ He adds, among other observations, some of them very just, to which we shall recur, that we must exclude the view that Berain's style was an imaginative development of that represented by such immediate predecessors as Charmeton. We need not doubt that, as Berliner says, Berain was widely familiar with the works of ornamentalists a century earlier,⁵ but we shall see that there were sources much closer at hand.

The failure to recognize that Berain's arabesque, while given by him such a genial and creative development, did indeed have immediate sources in French decoration of his time, has been due to a malady characteristic of students of engraved ornament—failure to look outside the cycle of engraved plates to executed works in other media, often by artists of greater stature than the diffusers of engraved models. We shall here attempt to show that Berain's stimulus came directly from the work of the great decorator after whose designs his own first plates of arabesques were executed, Charles Le Brun, behind whom lay already a long development of distinctive elements, characteristically French.

To avoid any imputation of subjectivity in the analysis of Berain's arabesque, I quote two of the leading characterizations:

Sein Bereich ist die Fläche. Linienzüge und Plünder vollen Schwunges und anmutigen Wechsels macht er zum Gerüst . . . die Kurve unterwirft sich den Akzenten . . . Über alles aber schüttet er versöhnend die unnachahmliche Grazie seines Wesens aus, das sieges sichere Flächengefühl und die fröhliche Fülle des Beiwerks, das ihm zumal seine Bühnenfähigkeit immer nun zu Verfügung stellte . . . an Tropfen, Tempelchen, Lattenwerk und Baldachinen, an Cariatiden, Satyrn und Äffchen.⁶

Das Bauwerk als Material des neu erwachenden Kurvendranges, den Kampf gegen das innere Gesetz des rechteckigen Rahmes mit gleichmässig gespannter Füllung und eine ganze Zahl immer

1. R. Sedlmaier, *Grundlagen der Rokoko-Ornamentik in Frankreich*, Strassburg, 1917.

2. Kimball, "The Creation of the Style Louis XV," *ART BULLETIN*, XXIII, 1941, 1-15.

3. *Jean I Berain*, Paris, 1937.

4. *Ornementale Vorlageblätter*, Leipzig, 1925-1926, p. 166.

5. He cites a copy by Berain, preserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum, from an Aldé, 1611 print, and mentions Cornelis Floris and Vredeman de Vries as particularly influential.

6. P. Jessen, *Der Ornamentstich*, Berlin, 1923, p. 229.

wiederkehrender Einzellösungen zur Sammlung, Verschließung, Ueberleitung und Trennung all der mannigfachen Kurvenrichtungen, die gewissermassen den leichter rhythmisierten Pulsschlag des ornamentalen Lebens verkörpern.⁷

Both well emphasize the basic importance in Berain's compositions of the bandwork, to which acanthus scrolls are subordinate—distinguishing Berain's arabesque from the classical arabesque of the Renaissance. It is, of course, not the mere presence of this element, itself with a long history, which characterizes Berain's work, but the particular manner of its employment. Scrolls of powerful inner swing, united by short straight bars, are paired symmetrically, with palmette-like radiations from their junctions, and garnished with a divergent, reverse-curved leaf of acanthus at their free terminations. In effect though not in genesis, it is as if the traditional system of spiral or undulating acanthus foliage were transformed by substituting for the continuous curving stems curved and broken bands,⁸ retaining the leaf as a vestigial accessory, and often accompanied by subordinate acanthus stems of conventional form. What is important for us is the precise way in which this manner of employment arose historically and entered into the arabesque of Berain.

We may, at this point, briefly recall his career. It is worth noting that this was achieved entirely in France, without study in Italy. Born in 1640 at Saint Mihiel, son of a master-gunsmith, he came in youth to Paris, where his uncle Claude was established in the same vocation. Jean Berain first appears in 1659 as engraver of a suite *Diverses pièces . . . pour les Arquebuzières*. It offers no hint of his later, developed style, does not differ substantially in type of forms from the plates engraved in 1660 by Jacquinet after works of Thuraime and Le Hollandais, *Arquebuziers Ordinaires de Sa Majesté*. These represented, as their title said, "models des plus nouvelles manières qui sont en usage en l'art d'arquebuzerie," still dominated by the tradition of the guilds, and backward in relation to the newer style already being formed at the hands of Vouet and Le Brun. But a single other work of Berain can surely be placed prior to 1670, the *Diverses Pièces de Serruriers inventées par Hugues Brisville et gravés par Jean Berain*, probably from 1663. It includes many scrolls of acanthus leafage, but very few scrolled bars comparable with bandwork. In the design for an iron baluster, Plate 5, to be sure, we find, very naturally, pairs of opposite scrolls with short connecting bars approximating the mouldings and fillets of the conventional baluster profile. At best we get little hint of the development to follow.

Berain, however, emerging from the circle of the guilds, was now to come under more advanced artistic influences, and to find a more stimulating environment at the court. He was paid from 1671 for certain plates of ornaments of the Galerie d'Apollon, engraved for the Bâtiments du Roi. By brevet of December 25, 1674 he was named *Dessinateur de la Chambre et du Cabinet du Roi*, a post in the Menus-Plaisirs which he held until his death in 1711. The duties of the position were to provide "toutes sortes de desseins, perspectives, Figures et habits qu'il conviendrait Faire pour les Comédies, Balets, Courses de bagues et Carrousels," and his activities in the early years were precisely in such fields.

Prior to the mid-seventeenth century, there had already been three chief successive phases in the evolution of grotesque—in France, by the end of the century, called arabesque,⁹ in spite of its classical origin—that playful, transitory, dream-like ornament which permitted the most fanciful union of varied elements, its very essence lying in its irreality.

7. Sedlmaier, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

8. Cf. W. Jähnecke, *Über die Entwicklung der Akanthus-ranke im französischen Rokoko*, Hanover, 1902, p. 13.

9. The Italians of the sixteenth century already used

"rabeschi" to describe the pilaster ornaments of acanthus foliage. In France we find in 1684 "Rabesques d'après Raphaël" used in the present sense.

Following classical suggestions, the early Renaissance, both in Italy and elsewhere, had used it as a carved ornament, in narrow vertical panels such as those of pilasters, basing its form primarily on a central stem or candelabra, with branching scrolls of light foliage. Raphael, in the Loggia of the Vatican, had taken a new initiative, stimulated more directly by the painted and modeled ornament of buried Roman buildings, the "grottoes," which gave the name of *grotteschi* or grotesques. Raphael's grotesques were chiefly painted, although they incorporated stucco medallions in relief; they preserved the character of narrow panels and bands. In the hands of the Roman mannerists, the painted arabesques were transformed by application to broad surfaces, sometimes with three-dimensional central scenes, light baldachinos framing mythological figures, with surrounding surface patterns often of the greatest attenuation. There was frequent employment of flat bars or bands, often disjointed, parallel to the borders or in step-like angles, reflected in France in Du Cerceau's grotesque suite of 1566. In stuccoes at the Villa di Papa Giulio we even find, by exception, such bands combined with opposite scrolls. In Rome also appeared the cartouche, at first modeled in relief, with a frame of rollwork, its scrolls curling forward. In the marble floors and incrustations, such as those of Bernini in the tomb of S. Francesca Romana at S. Maria Nuova, there was even a hint of the future French developments in the bandwork of C-scrolls, with scrolled crossettes set off by a leaf.

In northern Europe the carved arabesques of the early Renaissance had been followed immediately by the mannerist forms. In the School of Fontainebleau they acquired a distinctive character, with broad central fields, often painted, surrounded by borders of varied ornaments of plastic character including much rollwork, as well as interlaces of continuous flat bands in geometrical patterns. In the engraved designs of Flemings and Dutchmen such as Cornelis Floris and Vredeman de Vries (the activity of the latter extending into the seventeenth century) there was a great development of the rollwork as pierced strapwork, sometimes with C-scrolls united by short straight bands—characteristically, but not without exception, curling forward. None of the forms of bandwork so far mentioned, except that of Bernini, has a close analogy with that which we shall find in the later French arabesque.

Independent of all these were the continuous bands appearing in the veritable "moresques" of Islamic derivation, in interlace, lozenge, trefoil, and other patterns. The title *Passements de moresques*, of an anonymous work of 1563,¹⁰ suggests the adaptability of such patterns for the braids and galloons of embroiderers, who were in fact some of the chief users of such patterns, in the technique of appliqué. At the end of the sixteenth century, we find numerous actual embroideries with flat *passements*, fillets or braids in opposite C-scrolls, united by short straight bars.¹¹ While it is difficult to date these executed specimens exactly, we have manuscript designs and sketches by Georges Boissonet of Reims,¹² dated as early as 1610 (Fig. 1), of embroideries which include similar forms. This is fortunate, for it is at just this moment that the publication of model-books, which had propagated Renaissance designs of lace, basically Italian, comes to an end with the passage of the vogue of such designs,¹³ so that none of such model-books includes bandwork of the sort we are discussing. Moreover the chief engraved French designs of the century for embroideries and woven stuffs, those of Paul Androuet du Cerceau (1630–1710), while they contain such scrolled bands in connection with acanthus foliage, were published too late to bear on the date of

10. Reproduced by R. Berliner, *op. cit.*, pl. 95.

11. L. de Farcy, *La broderie du XI^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours, d'après des spécimens authentiques et les anciens inventaires*, Angers, 1890, e.g. II, pls. 83, 91.

12. *Ibid.*, II, pl. 100.

13. Cf. Arthur Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modellbücher . . . 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 1933, especially p. 29.

adoption of these forms. Clearly, however, the forms were in common use by French embroiderers early in the seventeenth century.

Such forms were adopted also in French garden design under Henry IV and Louis XIII, with a name which indicates their derivation from embroidery. From earlier times there had been occasional use in parterres of armorial bearings and of ciphers. Claude Mollet, *Premier Jardinier* under these kings, lays claim, very circumstantially, to the invention of "parterres et compartens en broderie," of which numerous designs, prepared by his sons during his lifetime, are included in his *Theatre des plans et Jardinages*,¹⁴ issued posthumously in 1652. Substantially identical in style with these are the parterres of Jacques Boyceau—who as *Intendant des Jardins* of Louis XIII, laid out the first gardens of Versailles—appearing in his posthumous *Traité de Jardinage*, 1638 (Fig. 2). Both include bandwork as well as foliage. Indeed it is in their garden designs, among all the engraved surface patterns of whatever sort known to me, that we first find bandwork combined with acanthus foliage in the general manner which was to be characteristic of the later French arabesque—that is to say, with flat C-scrolls connected by short straight bars, with palmettes of foliage radiating from the junction of opposite scrolls. A minor feature already found here was the leaf of acanthus diverging from the termination of the scroll—a feature which, in the sequel, was to become universally characteristic.¹⁵ We can scarcely doubt that these novel garden patterns, so conspicuously used and so much admired, were not without influence on the subsequent development of the French arabesque, in which these forms were later to appear.

A new vogue of painted arabesques in France was inaugurated by Vouet, under the influence of Italian mannerism to which he had been subjected. Vouet painted the panels of the Appartement des Bains de la Reine-Mère at the Palais Royal in 1643.¹⁶ The central medallions are of geometrical form—mostly oval and octagonal, rarely with rollwork—buttressed by pairs of supporting figures, with acanthus foliage and other motives. Similar compositions of large scale occur at the Arsenal.¹⁷ At the Hôtel Lambert minor arabesques abound in the rooms decorated by Lesueur, 1645–1649,¹⁸ and by Le Brun, after 1650, as also at the Hôtel Lauzun, after 1657, and elsewhere.¹⁹ In contrast with these, which follow mannerist tradition, were those of Errard, leader of the academic trend, which reverted more directly to the arabesque of Raphael. His decorations at the Louvre, from 1654 onward, have largely perished, but a series of panels from the Appartement de la Reine, 1657, were incorporated in 1817 in the Chambre du Livre d'Or at the Luxembourg.²⁰ Other fine

14. The relevant passages in the text are on pp. 191–192, 199, 201. They point to a date of writing about 1622–1632, or earlier. I cannot find authority for the statement that Mollet wrote "in 1613, towards the end of his life," made by M. L. Gothein, *History of Garden Art*, 1928, I, 420.

15. H. von Geymüller, in *Baukunst der Renaissance in Frankreich*, Darmstadt, 1901, called such a scroll a *bec-de-corbin* (bill-hook, or hawk's-bill), and German writers have followed him. Although Geymüller had the advice of Destailleur in matters of usage, I do not find in French parlance, either of the eighteenth century or today, just such a use of the term, which was applied to a somewhat different foliate element—a *feuille de refend* ending in a very delicate scroll turning backwards. Cf. the key *Pièce d'un Parterre de grande Broderie*, in an engraved suite issued by Nicolas Langlois (Print Department, Metropolitan Museum).

16. V. Charpiert and R. Sandoz, *Le Palais-Royal*, Paris, 1900, p. 114. Fourteen panels were engraved by Dorigny in 1647.

17. In the so-called "Cabinet de Sully," actually decorated for the Maréchal duc de la Meilleraye, Grand Maître de l'Artillerie, 1634–1648. His capture of Hesdin, June 29, 1639, which appears in one of the panels, gives a *terminus post quem*, later than usually assumed. The decorations may have been executed any time before 1648.

18. In the dado of the Cabinet des Muses, a few of these early panels remain in place; some from the Cabinet de l'Amour, including circular cartouches framed by palm, are preserved at the Château de la Grange in Berri. Cf. L. Dimier, *La peinture française . . . 1627–1690*, Paris, II, 1927, pls. 10, 11.

19. Both at the Hôtel Lambert (Cabinet des Muses) and the Hôtel Lauzun (Ancienne Salle à Manger) certain arabesques date from remodelings of the eighteenth century, and may readily be distinguished from those of the seventeenth.

20. Dimier, *op. cit.*, p. 16, pls. 14, 15 and *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1927, pp. 37–39, following A. de Champeaux, *L'art décoratif dans le vieux Paris*,

arabesques of Errard, closely similar, survive in the Chambre d'Anne d'Autriche at Fontainebleau, 1664. In none of the painted compositions so far mentioned do we find any of the bandwork which was afterwards to play such a significant part in the development of French arabesques.

The decorative repertory of Charles Le Brun was so vast that his arabesques have attracted little attention, yet they are of much importance. His personal concern with their design we know from his manuscript drawings at the Louvre (e.g. Fig. 3),²¹ although their execution was doubtless left to assistants. Rather than analyze these drawings, which cannot be dated, we shall discuss datable examples carried out under his direction, which in fact show a similar character.

In the interiors at Vaux, completed in 1661, Le Brun gave arabesques a large place. They decorate the woodwork in several rooms of the Grand Appartement. In general they continue the French tradition of Vouet, with central figural elements on a large scale, acanthus foliage, and oval medallions here placed against a background of drapery, hanging sometimes from a valanced baldaquin. This traditional Italian element, adopted by Du Cerceau, and already revived at the Arsenal, was a favorite in Le Brun's arabesques. What is specially characteristic and essentially novel in painted arabesques is Le Brun's occasional use of moulded straight bars, or scrolls of flat bandwork connected by short horizontal or vertical bars—contrasting with the smooth flow of the acanthus leafage in the same panels (Fig. 4). From the junctions of opposite band scrolls, as traditionally from the junction of acanthus scrolls, spring radiating leaf-motives, variations of the palmette. This is best illustrated at Vaux in certain painted friezes, where the intertwining of bands, from the scrolls of which diverge certain leaves of acanthus, foreshadows the treatment which was ultimately to be characteristic of plaster cove-cornices under Louis XV.

It was from such arabesques of Le Brun, obviously, that were derived the forms of many engraved models by such artists as Georges Charmeton (1619–1674), Nicolas Loir (1623/24–1679), and his brother Alexis (*ca.* 1630–1713).²² Indeed those of the two latter correspond almost exactly with the character of Le Brun's compositions at Vaux.

Similar forms appear in Le Brun's Galerie d'Apollon of the Louvre, where the wainscot which covered the walls was richly ornamented with painted arabesques, while arabesques in stucco figure in the minor panels of the ceilings. The accounts are not specific as to the several parts of the decoration painted between 1666 and 1677—by La Baronnière, who had already worked at Vaux, by Gontier, Gervaise, and the Lemoines—or for the precise date at which the arabesques of the walls were executed.²³ But the plates of ornaments of the gallery,²⁴ engraved by Jean Berain as his first work for the Crown, including six showing the piers, were paid for beginning in January, 1671, which gives a *terminus ante quem*. He was paid for nine plates by November, 1672.²⁵ Notable in them, as at Vaux, is again the

1898, pp. 74–77, an identification resting on the engraved suite *Ornements des Appartemens de la Reine au Vieux Louvre par le sieur Errard*.

21. Nos. 5912, 5914, 8253, 8254, 8443 in Jean Guiffrey and P. Marcel: *Inventaire général des dessins du Louvre*, Paris, vii, 1912, viii, 1913.

22. E.g., those reproduced by Berliner, *op. cit.*, 298 ff.

23. Hauteceur states (*Le Louvre et les Tuileries de Louis XIV*, 1927, 117): "de 1670 à 1677 les Lemoines décorèrent les trumeaux d'arabesques," but I do not find anything so definite in the accounts. Berain's engravings begin in the very year the Lemoines began to be employed at the Louvre, and would thus seem to be show work by the other

men.

24. Twelve plates engraved by him, of which the coppers are preserved by the Chalcographie du Louvre, were included with others in a series assembled in 1710 with the title: *Ornements de peinture et de sculpture qui sont dans la Galerie d'Apollon au Château du Louvre et dans le grand Appartement du Roy au Palais des Tuileries. Dessinez et gravez par les Srs. Berain, Chauveau, et le Moine*.

25. Jules Guiffrey, *Comptes des Bâtimens du Roi... sous Louis XIV*, Paris, 1881 ff., I, 478, 544, 642. The payments for further plates, extending to 1677, as cited by R. A. Weigert (*Jean I Berain*, Paris, 1937, II, 40), are not specifically stated to be of ornaments of the gallery.

presence of bandwork with scrolls from which diverge leaves of acanthus. While in the painted wall panels (Fig. 5) this bandwork is subordinate, in the ceiling panels, in relief, it is definitely characteristic. In some of these (Fig. 6) it forms an inner border, turning into the pattern, uniting in opposite scrolls. The engravings also show the strips of painted ornament of the window jambs, still surviving, chiefly of interlacing bandwork, again with palmettes at the junctions of the scrolls, many of which are garnished with an acanthus leaf.

An equally advanced stage of decoration under Le Brun's direction is shown by the arabesques of the Grand Appartement at the Tuileries, as they appear in engravings by Lemoine in the same series.²⁶ He and his brother had worked at the Tuileries from 1669 (*Comptes*, I, 334), and Germain Brice states that the Chambre du Roi had grotesque panels executed by them.²⁷ Here, in certain panels, the bandwork even dominates the acanthus. The essentials of the style which we call that of Berain are thus already present at a time before, or soon after, he first worked for the Crown as an engraver.

If painted arabesques do not appear in the rooms of the Château Neuf at Versailles which survive from this period, we must remember that none of the private rooms of the time are preserved unchanged. Errard's arabesques of 1662-1665 were in the Petit Château, of which the rooms remained undisturbed only until 1678. The apartment of Mme de Montespan, where the decorations of 1671 by La Barronière and the Lemoines (*Comptes*, I, 509) may have been similar, was swept away in 1685. Of the nature of painted decorations of the other rooms we know nothing. In the Escalier du Roi the four simulated tapestries with arabesques, surrounding military scenes executed in 1677-1678,²⁸ have inner borders of band work analogous to others we have seen in the work of Le Brun.

Arabesques also figure in the designs for tapestry by Le Brun. This was the case notably in the suite of *Festons et rinceaux à fond de mosaïque*, "manière arabesque," woven at the Gobelins in 1668 and destroyed during the Revolution. As described in the *Inventaire du mobilier de la Couronne*²⁹ it had "rinceaux, oyseaux, et festons de fleurs, et dans le milieu de chaque pièce une médaille ovale dans laquelle sont représentés les *Divertissements du Roy*, le tout sur un fond aurore de petits carrez d'or et de soye." It is our first mention of this characteristic background of *mosaïque*, which appears also in the over-door panels of the Galerie d'Apollon. In figural tapestries arabesques might appear, as initially in Raphael's tapestries, in the borders. Thus the borders of the suite of the *Histoire du Roi*, of which the first pieces were woven in 1668, have arabesques with rinceaux intertwined with horizontal bandwork, from the bars of which hang scalloped lambrequins, as in the friezes at Vaux.

Bandwork appeared likewise at Versailles in carved panel fillings, such as the surviving shutters of the Appartement des Bains, about 1672, and the doors executed for the Escalier des Ambassadeurs in 1678 by Philippe Caffieri, from Le Brun's designs. In each of these the band is merely an inner border of the panel field, uniting at the axial points in opposite scrolls adorned with a leaf of acanthus.

Under Louvois, who succeeded to the Surintendance on Colbert's death in 1683, the disfavor of Le Brun, who may have been regarded also as representing a survival of baroque influences, served to accentuate still more the academic reaction. On completion of the work actually in hand, Le Brun was no longer at the palaces.

26. Plates 26-29, *Lambris dans le grand Appartement des Tuileries*, of the collected series of 1710. The only plates for which he was paid were four in 1678 (*Comptes*, I, 1089), which may thus well be these.

27. *Description de Paris*, 1698 ed., I, 60.

28. "the Mus

29. F tapestries cited b
des Gobelins, II, 1.

no canvas, is preserved at 55.

Paris, 1885. No. 71 of the Penaille, *État général des tapisseries* T.

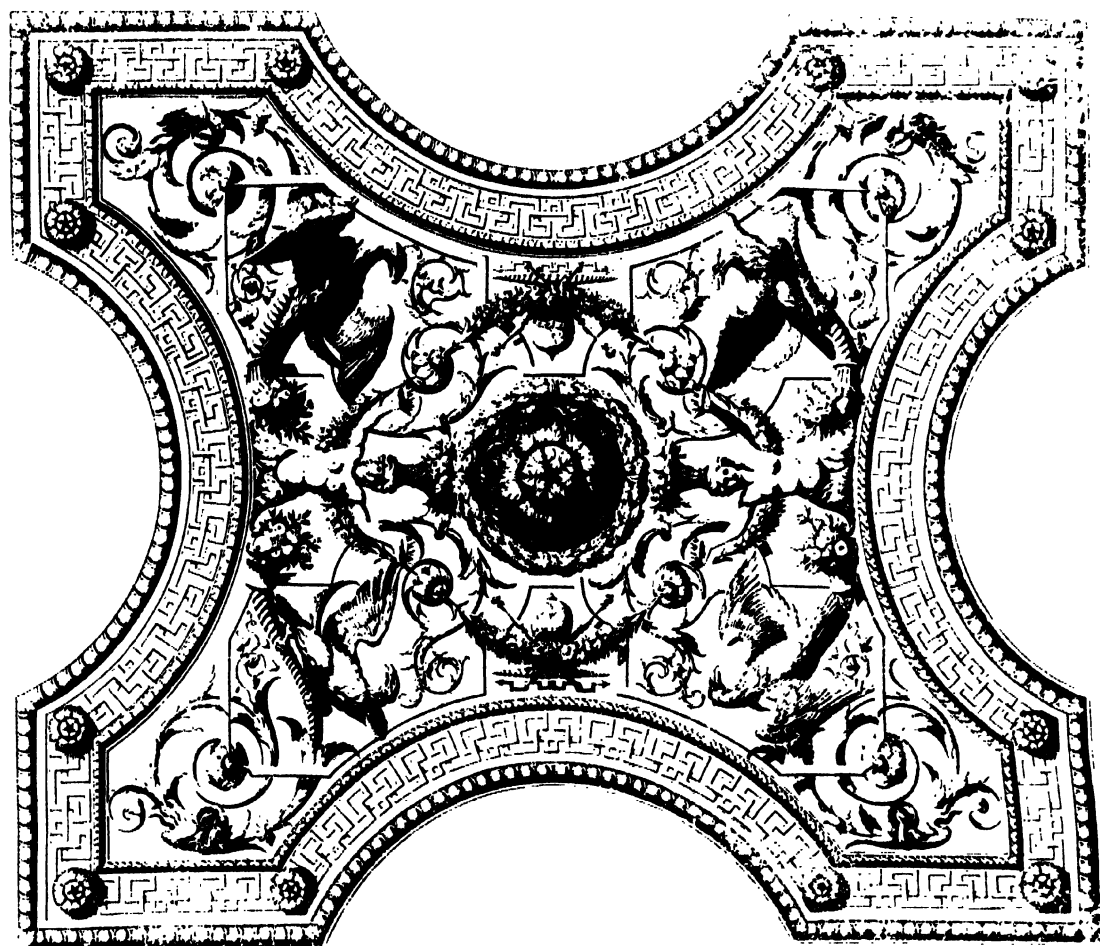


Fig. 6. Ceiling Panel for the Galerie d'Apollon, ca. 1670. Engraved by Pirain.



Fig. 7. Wall Panel from the Galerie d'Apollon, ca. 1670. Engraved by Pirain.

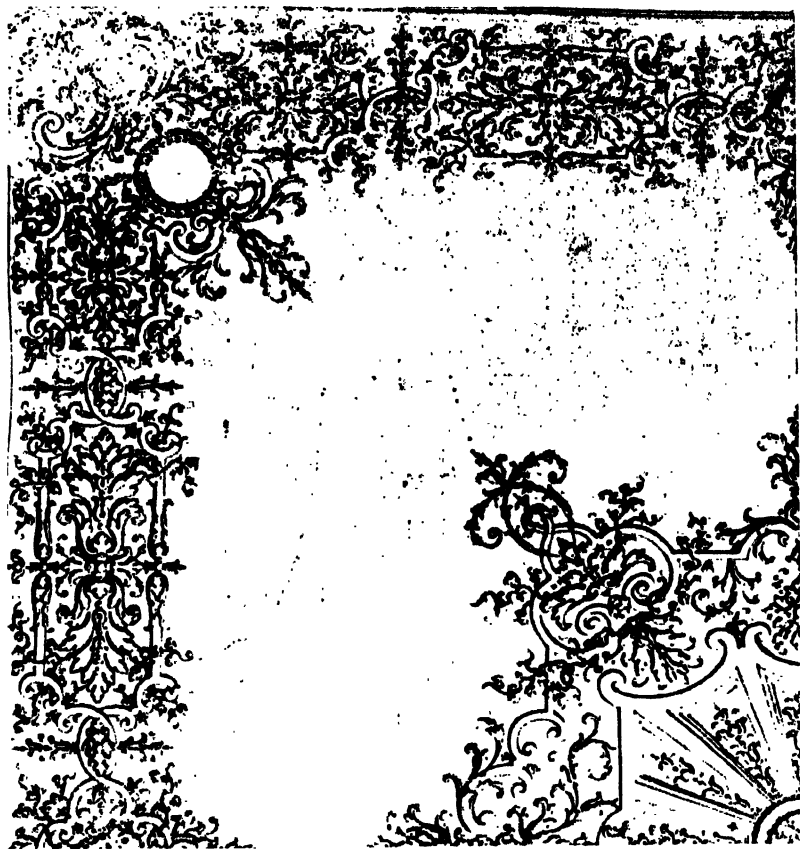


FIG. 7. Hôtel de Mailly: Ceiling Designed by Berain, 1687



FIG. 8. Hôtel de Mailly: Arabesque Designed by Berain, 1687



FIG. 9. Hôtel de Mailly: Ceiling Designed by Berain, 1687

From the advent of Mansart in 1678 to dominance in the royal works, the academic tendencies of Colbert, already victorious in exterior architecture, were triumphant also in interiors. The new gallery at Versailles had a monumental architectonic treatment throughout; marble in geometrical patterns was adopted for the walls of many principal rooms; the more formal and more important rooms at Marly and in the new Appartement du Roi at Versailles were adorned with an order. Only in the Cabinets, whether of the King or of the Dauphin, was a more playful handling admitted. It was precisely here that we find Beraï called in: the Cabinet des Curiosités at Versailles (1682-1684) "ordonné" or "indiqué" by him,³⁰ with its famous Bureau du Roi from his design (*Comptes*, II, 497, 541); the Petite Galerie, begun in 1685, with patterned marquetry again "indiqué" by him.³¹ These works are all destroyed, and the evidence we have from drawings and descriptions does not establish that they included any arabesques. Although Le Brun continued to hold the direction of the Gobelins until his death in 1690, he was not called on under Louvois for designs of any new tapestry suites. His preoccupation, until October 1686, with the immense task of the ceilings of the Grande Galerie and its salons at Versailles, might be regarded as a sufficient explanation, but his disfavor with the Surintendant was a further reason why the Gobelins turned at just this time to other sources of design. It was equally significant that these sources were within the admired academic canon; the compositions of Raphael's Stanze of the Vatican, as copied by the pensioners of the Academy at Rome, the *Sujets de la Fable*, of Giulio Romano and Raphael, the *Scipio* and the *Fructus Belli* of Giulio Romano, and two suites of arabesques from models supposedly Raphaellesque.

Noël Coypel (1628-1707), pupil of Vouet, assistant of Errard, and himself from 1672 to 1674 Director of the Academy at Rome, was commissioned in 1684 to paint for the Gobelins "les desseins de Rabesques d'après Raphael," which became known as the *Triumphes des Dieux*, adapted from a sixteenth-century Brussels set.³² Coypel's cartoons follow this older set very closely in composition, proportion, and motive, but transform the figures and details into academic elegance. The background in both is of light columnar structures much in the style of Roman wall-painting. They nowhere contain any bandwork, even in the borders.³³ This revival of arabesque tapestries may well have given Beraï a fresh stimulus to design his own arabesque patterns, which began to appear soon after this time.

By contrast with the prevailing trend to academism, stemming in French decoration from Errard and represented by Noël Coypel, Beraï took up the creative line of the arabesques of Le Brun, in which he now further developed also the element of bandwork, in the form given it by French tradition. It is significant that this work was not in commissions for the royal palaces—where in the Grande Galerie was

30. Tessin, "Séjour à Paris," cited below, p. 271, and "Visite à Versailles" in *Revue de l'histoire de Versailles*, 1926, p. 284.

31. "Séjour à Paris," pp. 240, 271.

32. Three of this set, woven by F. Scubel apparently from designs by a follower of Van Orley, are preserved in French national possession. Two of them are reproduced by E. Guichard, *Les tapisseries décoratives du Garde-Meuble*, Paris, n.d.

33. In 1687-1688 another Flemish grotesque set, "dessein de Jules Romain, représentant les Douze Mois de l'année avec crotosques et payons" was literally copied at the Gobelins, this time with new painted cartoons, except for two additional subjects by Coypel. The models then in French royal possession have been lost, but a set from the same designs, delivered in 1574-75 by Jost van

Herselle, "tapissier de Bruxelles," to the Duke of Lorraine, is preserved in the Viennese imperial collection, one being reproduced by H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, Erster Teil, Bd. 1, Leipzig, 1923, frontispiece, with text on page 668. Thus was produced what has become known as the *Mois Arabesques*, of which the first set was hung at Trianon, just built. The central motives, again of classic mythological figures, are framed in light structures of columns or lattice. In the fields of some of the set (August, or December) the lateral motives are mannerist cartouche-medallions. Along with herms and other related elements, we find not only motives of rollwork and pierced strapwork, but a number of flat bands of the step-like Roman type. In the French adaptations these bands become bars moulded as in Le Brun's arabesques.

not installed—or for the Gobelins, but in decorations for private clients and in models followed in tapestry at Beauvais.³⁴

In 1687–1688, Berain provided the designs for arabesque decorations painted by André Camot at the Hôtel de Mailly in Paris. Here for the first time we find arabesque invading a new field, the ceiling. These decorations are described by Nicodème Tessin at the time of his visit to Paris in 1687, naming the designer and the executant.³⁵ One of the ceilings of the Hôtel is preserved, along with certain paneling; in addition we have several manuscript drawings of the ceilings.

The arabesques of the paneling³⁶ are closely similar to those of Le Brun (Fig. 8). Again we find the broken opposite scrolls, with shells or palmettes radiating from their junctions, swirls of acanthus diverging from their volutes, with finials of interlacing bandwork. In many instances a figure occupies the incorporeal central tabernacle of bands and scrolls, a figure standing perhaps on a scrolled pedestal garnished with a lambrequin, and sheltered by a suspended valanced baldaquin. Such was the character and vocabulary of Berain's ornament in its beginnings, almost indistinguishable from what had gone immediately before.

It is in the ceilings, with their new problems, that we find Berain giving new developments to the established system. The different designs as shown in the drawings—alike in being composed symmetrically on the cardinal and diagonal axes—are not yet wholly homogeneous in style, although all of them display essential elements of Berain's patterns. The one for the "Salle ou premier Antichambre" (Fig. 7) is mainly vegetal, especially in a surrounding broad border—uniform in effect except for slight accents at the middle of the sides, and for others, made more emphatic by small wreaths, at the corners. Even in this border, however, there are traces of flat bandwork, formed of C-scrolls projecting at the corners in bill-hook form. Such bandwork is more conspicuous in the large central rosette, with radiating panels, not unlike Le Brun's rosettes of bat's-wing in the Galerie d'Apollon, but bounded outwardly by C-scrolls and bordered by lighter scrolls and tendrils. From their opposite pairs, here and throughout the series of designs, radiate palmettes of varying detail.

In the ceilings of other rooms the bandwork dominates the vegetal elements; pairs of parallel bands united by contrasts of color give a firmer basis to the major pattern. The scrolls are characteristically joined by short straight bars, and the terminal volutes are reënforced by a divergent swirl of acanthus, henceforth typical of all Berain's touches. It is these elements, of which we have traced the rise in France—not the herms, masks, and candelabra-like forms common to Italian and Flemish arabesques—which now became the essential and characteristic ones in Berain's surface ornament.

The ceiling of the Chambre du Lit, the only one still preserved (Fig. 9), is the most

34. Doubtless by Berain's designs, engraved or manuscript, were inspired "les Grotesques à petits personnages" executed in tapestry at Beauvais from 1689 onwards, from cartoons painted by Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer and others. Weigert, "Les grotesques de Beauvais," in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1933, pp. 7–21. We cannot be certain, however, that any of the surviving examples of these tapestries were of the earliest date, so that we do not take them into account in the chronological evolution of Berain's style.

35. His travel diary was first published by Oswald Sirén, *Nicodemus Tessin d. y. studieresor y Danmark, Tyskland, Holland, Frankrike och Italien*, Stockholm, 1914; the Parisian portion, in translation, by Weigert, "Notes de Nicodème Tessin le jeune relatives à son séjour à Paris en

1687," in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1932, pp. 220–279, the passage on the Hôtel de Mailly occurring in pages 238–239. Weigert also discussed these decorations in the same *Bulletin*, 1931, pp. 167–174 and in *L'architecture*, 15 janvier, 1932, pp. 31–36, where he published drawings of the ceilings secured for Tessin in 1696–1699 by Cronström, the Swedish Minister, and preserved in the National Museum at Stockholm.

36. Tessin describes it in place. It is now installed in the Château of Vernou-en-Sologne. It is clear that the arabesques were not modified in the eighteenth century when important decorative works at the Hôtel de Mailly were executed by Cauvet, whose style is of quite another character.

interesting of the four for its broad, embracing double band, so characteristically curved and broken, its elaborate diagonal standards of medallions (distantly derived from Pietro da Cortona and Le Brun) flanked by scrolls with profile masks having feathered headdresses, its interlaces of single bands, now substantially equivalent in importance with the acanthus. We note the employment, both in the broader bands and in the fields of the medallions, of *quadrillage* or *mosaïque* derived from the examples of Le Brun and henceforth commonly employed by Beraïn and others.

It is the engraved arabesque designs of Beraïn which have had the greatest attention, and which were doubtless most influential in diffusing his style. They come to us as collected by his son-in-law Thuret in 1711, the year of Beraïn's death. Their chronological evolution, important to establish, has hitherto been overlooked.

Fortunately we derive some fixed points from the lives of the engravers employed. The young Daniel Marot left France some time after the Edict of Nantes (October 23, 1685), and was in Holland certainly by the beginning of 1686.³⁷ It is perhaps significant that, while he engraved for Beraïn a frontispiece (1681) and three plates of court ceremonies which occurred in August 1682 and September 1683, he did none of Beraïn's arabesques, all of which we believe to be of later date.

We are able to date a number of them, engraved by Dolivar, as before 1693, through the fact that Dolivar's death occurred in that year. Several of these (e.g., Fig. 10) show Beraïn's characteristic style well developed in the framing of the traditional central figure and baldaquin; bandwork was now predominant, foliage subordinate. In the example illustrated, as in the ceiling of the *Chambre du Lit* of the Hôtel de Mailly, we find broad double bands of contrasting tone, themselves composed of interlacing fillets, their scrolls and bill-hooks garnished with acanthus.

It has not hitherto been observed that none of the arabesques engraved by Dolivar, any more than those at the Hôtel de Mailly, are of the more attenuated type we are accustomed to associate with Beraïn. These we find in his arabesques of the time around 1699, such as the panel executed in that year in the Cabinet of the Dauphin, long Beraïn's patron, at Meudon (Fig. 11),³⁸ and published with others in his *Desseins de cheminées dédiés à Monsieur Jules Hardouin Mansart . . . surintendant*. Here the forms are much more elongated; the double band disappears, although there are still contrasting areas, executed in gold, partly with *mosaïque*. This is true even where the surface is not, as here, a narrow panel.

While Beraïn continued to hold his post in the Menus-Plaisirs, he received no commissions from the Bâtiments after 1699, the year of the accession of Mansart to the Surintendance. Although Beraïn courted him at the beginning of his administration by dedicating to him the suite of *Desseins de cheminées*, the mannerist architecture of these designs was wholly outmoded before the end of the year by Pierre Lepautre's brilliant initiative at Marly. Even for arabesques it was henceforth Claude III Audran who was preferred, his ceilings at Meudon in 1699 being followed by a long list of official commissions at the Ménagerie, 1700-1701, and elsewhere.

At thirty-three, in 1692, Audran had been received *maître peintre, sculpteur, graveur et enjoliver à Paris*. The next year Cronström, the Swedish Minister, writing home to Tessin, spoke of Audran as "celluy qui après M. Beraïn a la plus grand réputation en ce genre

37. M. D. Ozings, *Daniel Marot*, Amsterdam, 1938, p. 17.

38. Kimball, "The Development of the 'Cheminée à la

Royale'," in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, v, 1936, 268-272.

[d'arabesques et de grotesques],” and added “il se trouve fort contre-carré icy par M. Berain, à qui il fait ombrage.”³⁹ In 1698, after Audran’s decorations for Anet, his relations with Berain had become worse, “Audran estant,” Cronström wrote, “le seul qu’il craint.”

His arabesque ceilings,⁴⁰ while following the basic schemes of Berain in their composition on the cardinal and diagonal axes, were of a lightness exceeding even Berain’s, with canopies still more ethereal, floating without any support, the few remaining double bands pierced and disconnected, fillets replaced by single lines, and foliate scrolls reduced almost to tendrils.

We are led to the assumption that the lightest of all Berain’s arabesques were designed after 1700, influenced to a degree by the victory of Audran, who had accentuated still further the tendency already visible in Berain’s work. As pronounced examples among many, we may instance Berain’s surviving engraved designs for ceilings (e.g. Fig. 12),⁴¹ which were drawn with single fillets only, though still, unlike those of Audran, with a firm organization. Without any change of fundamental scheme since the first ceilings of the Hôtel de Mailly, the pattern is lightened to the airiest of interlaces.

Thus was closed the cycle of Berain’s arabesque. Starting from that of Le Brun, in which had been absorbed the bandwork of the French embroiderers and gardeners, Berain genially developed and transformed it in the direction which was to be carried forward by Audran and Gillot, to reach its ultimate expression at the hands of Watteau. Meanwhile he gave the stimulus to Pierre Lepautre’s creation in another medium, which was to inaugurate the architecture of the rococo.

PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

39. This and the following quotation are given by Weigert, *Berain*, I, p. 222.

40. Pending publication of the drawings recently given to the National Museum in Stockholm, we know only those reproduced in the *Portefeuille des arts décoratifs*, pls. 110, 222; cf. Kimball, “Le décor du château de la Ménagerie,” in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vi^e pér., xvi, 1936, 252; and two sketches after ceilings at Meudon, Cabinet des Estampes, Va. 358.

41. Weigert, no. 70b; also 70a and 69, of the same character.

Weigert supposes these engravings to be among a dozen for ceilings mentioned by Cronström in a letter of 1693, in which however he says “il y a déjà quelque temps que cela est fait et le goût a un peu changé depuis.” Now the style of a few years before, since changed, would have been the heavier style of the Hôtel de Mailly. There are none of the lighter patterns among the plates engraved by Dolivier before 1693. We must accordingly suppose that the dozen mentioned by Cronström are now lost.

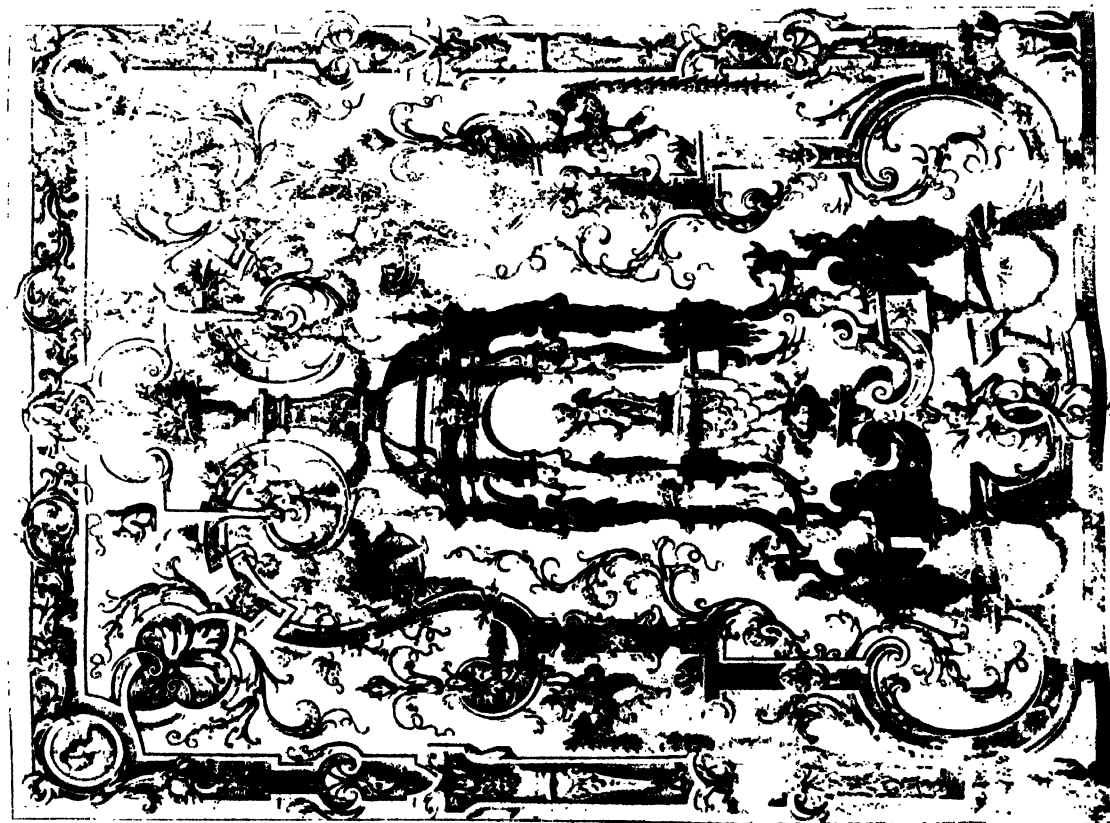


Fig. 10. Berain: Arabesque Engraved before 1693

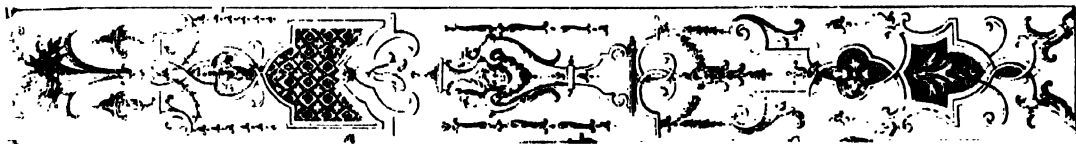


Fig. 11. Berain: Arabesque, 1694

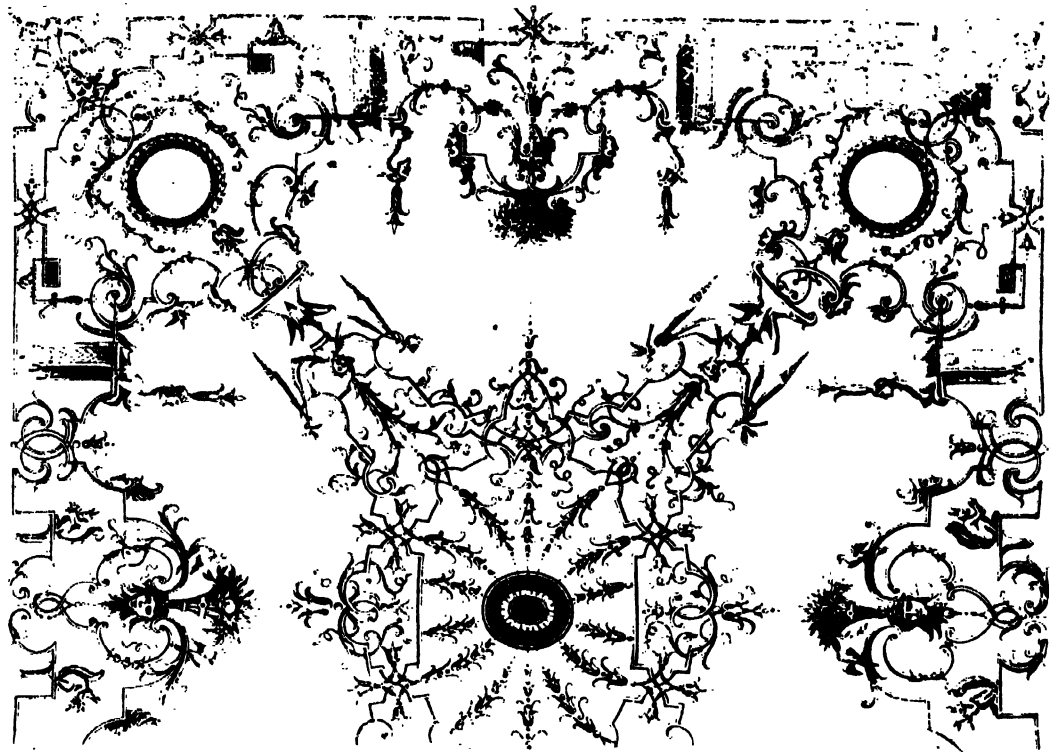


Fig. 12. Berain: Arabesque Ceiling of the Late 17th



FIG. 1. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology: Servant, Bronze, First Half of Fifth Century B.C.



FIG. 2. Back view of Fig. 1



FIG. 3. New York, Loo Collection: Servant, Bronze, First Half of Fifth Century B.C.



FIG. 4

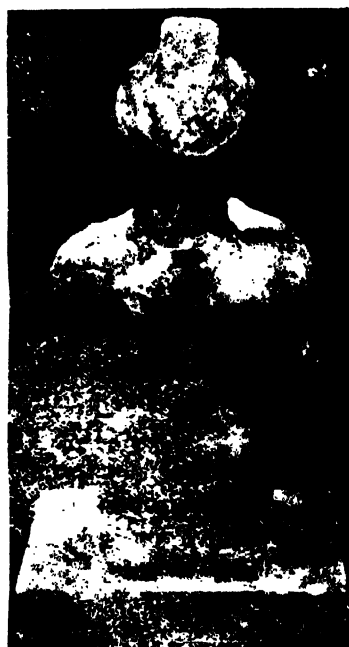


FIG. 5

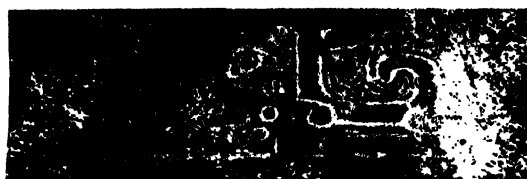


FIG. 6. Detail of Fig. 5

FIGS. 4-6. SPRINGFIELD, MASS., BIDWELL COLLECTION: SERVANT, BRONZE, SECOND HALF OF SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

BRONZE FIGURES OF THE LATE CHOU PERIOD

BY LUDWIG BACHHOFFER

ANYONE interested in the history of Chinese sculpture must make up his mind about a group of bronze statuettes, known now for a number of years and said to date from late Chou times. It is claimed that many of them come from graves at one site. This information, ostensibly given bona fide, is based solely on hearsay. He who is not of a gullible nature will find it advisable to look for circumstantial evidence. The search for this led me to a few general and special problems connected with the late history of Chinese bronzes; they are, I think, interesting enough to justify publication.

I

During the last decade some bronze statuettes, rather uncouth in form and more than simple in style, found their way into a few private and public collections (Figs. 1-6).¹ They obviously represent servants, kneeling on the ground and holding a short tube with outstretched arms. Sometimes a second tube is added to the slab which indicates the ground, between the knees and right under the tube above. All these servants wear the same costume: a cap which would end in a peak were it not bent down and forward by a strap running under the chin, and a tunic ending above the knees, closed on the right and fastened by a belt. The lower parts of the figures are plain; their legs appear to be covered with a skirt.

When mustering this row of figures, slight differences in form and arrangement can be observed. The statuettes with two tubes fall easily into one group. In their case the socle or slab extends well beyond the sides and the front of the figures. This is, however, of less importance than the extraordinary primitiveness of style. The human figure is presented in the most summary fashion, with the head almost as broad as the body, with the front of the oval skull pressed flat for the face, and with two stumps for the arms. The parts flow slowly and smoothly into one another, as if made of some viscous material; in fact, they count for very little in the total reckoning: it was rather the general and only dimly-sensed appearance of a kneeling man which impressed the artist, and which he represented.

Crude as these figures may be, they are true plastic works, relying upon, and aiming at, closed mass for effect. Details which might endanger this effect are reduced to a minimum, and then rendered in the least obtrusive way. The eyes are indicated by drop-like incisions, the mouth by a small groove; only the ribbons of the cap, the hems of the coat at the neck, the belt and perhaps a knife are depicted by slight elevations. The ears and the nose alone are well modeled, and it should be noted that the stubby nose is as broad as the mouth beneath.

It may be by chance that the two figures which form the second group hold only one tube in their hands, and that they kneel on very small and narrow slabs, so small, in fact, that the tips of their feet hang over and touch the ground (Figs. 1-2).² These things are negligible compared with the changes in form and style which have taken place. These are not radical

1. S. Umehara, *Rakuyō Kinzō kōbō shū* (Collection of the Best Specimens from the Ancient Treasury of Lo-yang), Kyōto, 1937, Pls. 35-38.

2. For the side views of Figs. 4-5 see S. Umehara, *op. cit.*, Pls. 33-34. My sincerest thanks to the Department of Ontario Mu-

seum of Archaeology in Toronto, especially to the Rev. Bishop White, and to Mr. C. T. Loo for the photographs, and permission to publish them. Height of Poron servant: 26.1 cm.; height of Loo servant: 29.3 cm.

changes: mass still rules with an iron hand. Its cohesion is a force with which the artist has entered upon an interesting, but only partially successful, struggle. Bodies and legs still appear as a closed block. The law of frontality which calls for strict symmetry, without even the slightest deviation from the central axis, is still obeyed. These two statuettes, whose heads furthermore are as broad as their trunks, seem to belong with the other four.

Yet they display some traits which demonstrate clearly that the artists had worked hard meanwhile: the head, almost round now, rests on a thin neck and is very effectively set off from the shoulders, which are now square and strong. The contour no longer flows lazily from the head over a thick neck into narrow and sloping shoulders; the arms are no longer two stumps emerging somewhere from between shoulder and waist, but appear in their proper place and are bent at the elbows. The eyes are spaced more widely, and lie in well-modeled sockets. In one case, they are still rendered with rather graphic means; in the second figure, however, a distinction is made between the lid and the eyeball, which is treated plastically. The same holds good for the cheeks and the mouth, broad now under a small nose; the mouth is sharply outlined, divided into an upper and lower lip, and even the groove running from nose to mouth is carefully fashioned. At the rear, the cap is now conceived as an object in its own right. The crossed feet are a rather unexpected attempt to break away from the rigid regularity of the frontal view. The backs of these figures are much straighter, and consequently flatter. There is little doubt that this was done deliberately, for it is remarkable how cleverly these artists discriminated between the several parts and the treatment they were to receive. This judicious differentiation in apperception and representation results in increased consideration given to proportion and to tectonics by working out the contrast between the horizontal and vertical direction. All this makes for greater and more impressive clarity of form.

The question whether the differences between the two groups must be interpreted in terms of quality or evolution is already properly answered by the analysis of their styles. In addition, one specimen of each group has a characteristic feature, and these features point to different epochs. This leads, of course, to the important problem of date.

II

The figures of kneeling servants, and a few other statuettes, are said to have come from the tombs near the village of Chin Ts'un, situated some two miles north of the river Lo and some seven miles to the northeast of Lo Yang, in Western Honan. The graves are also called "the tombs of Old Lo Yang," after the title of a book in which their contents were first published.³ The graves seem to have been dug and filled in the times when the locality belonged to the kingdom of Han 韓 whose capital, Huai Ch'ing, was in the close vicinity: the name of Han occurs twice in inscriptions on objects hailing from these tombs. Thus the connection of the graves with this principality seems rather plausible; this is important because Han was conquered and absorbed by Ch'in in 230 B.C.⁴

The tombs were not excavated scientifically; to speak plainly, they were plundered. The finds thus fall into the same category as those from Hsin Chêng in Honan, and Li Yü in Shansi.⁵ The implications are these: though robbers are by nature rather reticent about the

3. C. W. White, *The Tombs of Old Lo-yang*, Shanghai, 1934. It contains the most valuable information about the tombs and their contents, gathered under very difficult circumstances. The book by Umehara, cited in note 1, was intended to be a complement to White's work. For a criticism of it, see B. Karlgren, "Notes on a Kin-ts'un Album,"

in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (BMFEA)*, x, Stockholm, 1938, 65 ff.

4. Karlgren, *op. cit.*, p. 78. The kingdom of Han must not be confused with the two Han dynasties (205 B.C.-9 A.D. and 25-220 A.D.).

5. For Hsin Chêng, see Carl W. Bishop, "The Find at

source of their income, they are only too prone to speak when they see greater profit. This happens when a keen interest is shown in objects coming from a definite locality. The danger is then that the original stock may be inflated by objects from other sites. The unreliability of information and the possibility of such operations obscure the issue in a very annoying way.

There is no other method of arriving at some degree of probability than comparison of style. The simplest, and ideal, case would be that in which everything shows the same style. But the objects allegedly hailing from Hsin Chêng, Li Yü, and Chin Ts'un do not form such closed groups. They display a great variety of styles, though one is always predominant. A close scrutiny of form and décor reveals, however, that these various styles constitute a sequence; this means that the claim that such objects were found together must be considered well substantiated. Objects which do not fit into one of these contiguous groups must be eliminated; the inference is that they were smuggled in.

Since it was customary to bury family heirlooms with the dead, it is, of course, imaginable that a piece of great age might have been mixed with objects of more recent date.⁶ There is then no way to ascertain its affiliation with the main group, except by a chance inscription.⁷ If inscribed objects with an exact date are discovered in a tomb, they do not date the material in toto, but only the objects of their style. This would hold good also if the date of the interment were known.

Thus, the immediate and urgent problem which faces the historian of early Chinese art is to establish the correct sequence of the various styles displayed in the bronzes, not in a general way, but step by step. It will be necessary to break away from the habit of lumping together styles which have little or nothing in common. Hand in hand with this must go an attempt to determine the duration of these stylistic groups. This can be done by finding the proper place for them among the known dated, or datable, objects.

The Bidwell Figure.—The primary question about the figures dealt with here is not whether they came from Chin Ts'un, but the approximate date of their execution. Fortunately, there is one specimen amongst the first group which has its socle decorated with a pattern of interlaced dragons upon a background of volutes and triangles (Fig. 6).⁸ This very ornament occurs again on a vase of the type Hu which was excavated a few years ago in Rome, of all places. The Hu, now in the Hellström collection, Mölndal, Sweden, was described in detail by Birgit Vessberg (Figs. 9–10).⁹ The problem is to discover the time when this particular pattern was used.

Miss Vessberg called the style of the vase "Huai"; she took the term in the very broad, and necessarily vague, sense in which it is generally employed, designating the style which is found on the bulk of bronzes from Li Yü, and that which is characterized by a maze of tiny hooks and spirals. For the sake of historical as well as intellectual exactitude, it is imperative to make a clear distinction between the two. Although they share many elements, they

Hsin Chêng Hsien," *Artibus Asiae*, 1928/9, 100 ff. Kuan Po-i, *Hsin Chêng ku-chi t'u-lu*, Shanghai, 1929. For Li Yü, see G. Salles, "Les bronzes de Li-yu," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, VIII, 1934, 146 ff.

6. Such objects were meant to be kept in the ancestral temples; after the lapse of some time they were evidently placed in tombs. Cf. Karlgren on this subject, *op. cit.*, p. 80, and his "New Studies," *BMFEA*, IX, 1937, 8.

7. Though not of very great age when compared with the bulk of the material from Chin Ts'un, the Piao bells

fall in this category.

8. The figure is in the collection of Mr. Raymond H. Bidwell, Springfield, Mass. I want to thank Mr. Bidwell here again; he not only provided me with photos of the figure, but took great pains to bring out the décor of the socle. The base is 2.1 cm. high; total height of figure, 24.7 cm.

9. "Un bronze du style Houai decouvert à Rome," *BMFEA*, IX, 1937, 127 ff.

make a totally different use of them, and this is the decisive factor. For this reason, I shall apply the terms "style of Li Yü" and "Huai style" to these two phenomena.

Li Yü Style and Huai Style.—The Li Yü style divided the bodies of vessels into horizontal friezes and filled them with "dragons," interlaced or in single file. In each case, the device was produced with the help of stamps and is repeated at short intervals. The dragon was the basic element of the décor. It always has a very characteristic shape: flat like a ribbon with thin, smooth contours, and the interior filled with triangles, meanders, volutes, double spirals, and oblique hatches, all of them so shallow as to look incised. Little granules were also used. These ribboned dragons were invariably placed on an empty background, in very low relief (Figs. 7-8).

The most frequent patterns, triangles and volutes, occurred already, though slightly different in shape, upon one of the highly baroque vases in Hsin Chêng, and with the same function, i.e. as filling of interlaced ribboned dragons.¹⁰ But the Hsin Chêng Hu aimed at a radically different effect: atectonic to the verge of the flamboyant in form, its décor does not stress structure, but obscures it deliberately; it suggests an incessant upward movement which is taken up, and supported, by the four climbing felines which serve as handles, and finds its climax in the eccentric crown and the crane with outspread wings on the lid.

Compared with this flamboyance of form and décor, a Hu of the Li Yü style appears restrained and sober. The exuberant paraphernalia have vanished: the vase stands again on its own foot, and if there are beasts acting as handles, and a petaled crown, these elements no longer have the power to suggest a vivid upward movement. What is more important, they can be taken away, and not to the detriment of the whole; in fact, this was done by the artists themselves (Fig. 11). The effect aimed at was that of a closed plastic mass; the décor, neatly confined to horizontal friezes, and rendered as inconspicuous as possible, was not allowed to interfere with it. The Tings, or tripods, of Li Yü style which have come into many collections, prove this point as nicely as one could wish.

However, the décor did not bear this suppression long. It grew restless: the curved parts of the dragons, the jaws, noses, ears, wings, and tails became more prominent, in the truest sense of the word, because they were pushed into higher and higher relief. A subtle, yet important transformation ensued: where formerly the straight line predominated despite these curvilinear elements, the latter now take the lead; and where formerly a single layer of relief sufficed for all, two, three and more layers are needed now. It becomes increasingly difficult to discern any trace of zoöomorphic nature in this wriggling mass of hooks and spirals.

Of course, no strict line can be drawn between these two ideals of ornamentation: forms glide into one another, and in many instances it is not easy to decide whether it is a case of "still," "not yet," or "already." But in the end, the last pretence of a theriomorphous affinity is cast off. The new decorative scheme, which has reduced the old flat dragons to an inextricable maze of small plastic particles without any objective meaning, and which aims ostensibly at a rough, choppy effect, is so extraordinarily refined and sophisticated that it would be absurd to speak of degeneration. In form, subject-matter, and aim it is something new in the history of Chinese bronzes, and must, therefore, have a name of its own. I think it to be called "Huai"; the term is already known, but it should be used only for this *liar* phenomenon.

It is true that this style, too, sometimes felt an urge towards objective representation; but then the figures, real and fantastic animals, were a novelty in form and style, and had

10. O. Sirén, *Histoire des arts anciens de la Chine*, 1, Paris, 1929, Pl. 56A.

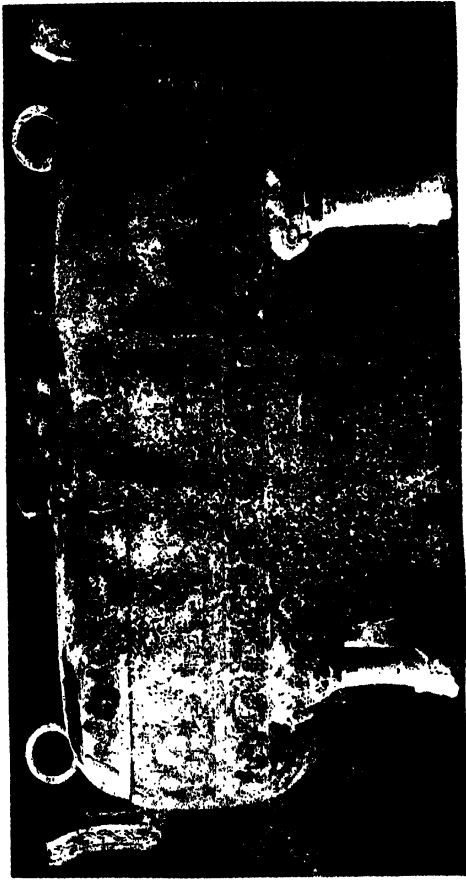


FIG. 7. Paris, Wannick Collection: Four-Legged Ting from Li Yü, Bronze, Second Half of Seventh Century B.C.



FIG. 8. Lid of Wannick Ting

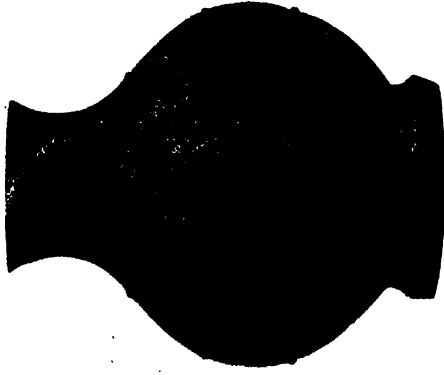


FIG. 9. Mölndal, Hellström Collection: Hu, Bronze, Second Half of Sixth Century B.C.

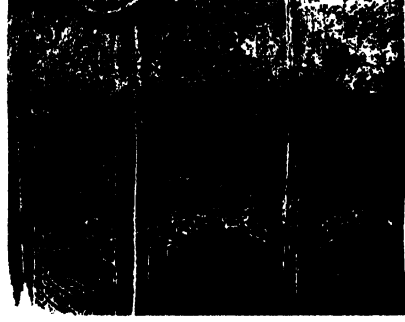


FIG. 10. Detail of Fig. 9

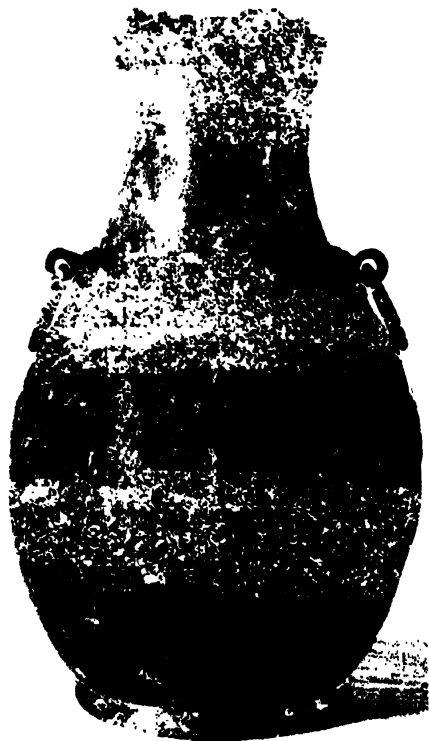


FIG. 11. Chicago, Art Institute: Hu, Bronze, Second Half of Seventh Century B.C.

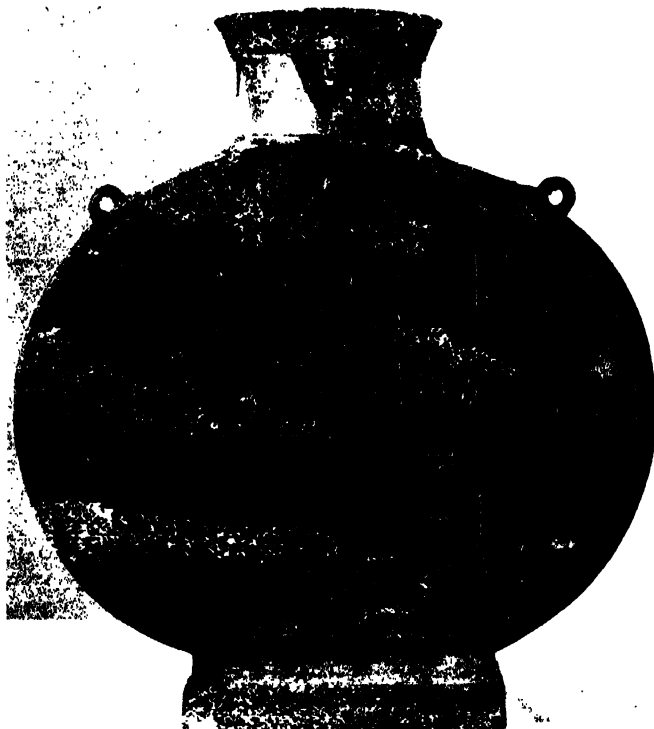


FIG. 12. Chicago, Art Institute: Pilgrim's Bottle, Bronze, First Half of Fifth Century B.C.



FIG. 13. Hu (Whereabouts Unknown), Bronze, Middle of Sixth Century B.C.



FIG. 14. Kyōto, Moriya Collection: Hu,⁴ Bronze, First Half of Sixth Century B.C.

nothing whatsoever in common with the dragons of the preceding phase. Moreover, they were placed upon a background of small amorphous elements, such as have just been described. A number of mirrors might be adduced to prove this point.

The Huai style is the only one about whose duration some definite dates are known. It was already well developed in 550 B.C. This year corresponds to the date given in the inscription upon a set of bells, allegedly discovered in the tombs of Chin Ts'un, and known as the Piao bells.¹¹ Karlgren, who has done more than any western scholar for the elucidation of the history of Chinese bronzes, had from the beginning advocated the year 550 B.C. I was formerly of the opinion that the date of the Piao bells was 380 B.C., a possible historical alternative.¹² What brought me over to Karlgren's side were not the historical discussions published in the meantime, but the fact that the Oeder basin, now in the Berlin Museum, was made, according to its inscription, under Fu Chai, King of Wu, who ruled from 495-473 B.C.¹³ The upper part of this vessel is covered with a very late redaction of the Huai pattern; this excludes a later date for the Piao bells, carrying, as they do, a decidedly earlier form of it.¹⁴

With the exception of the monster's head at the bottom, which must not be judged by the same standards, the décor of the Piao bells has already lost any objective significance and has become a restless, nervous filling. It is by no means an early phase of the metamorphosis described above. The beginnings of the Huai style certainly go back into the first half of the sixth century B.C. This time represents also the *terminus ante* for the Li Yü style and its products. In other words, such bronzes must be placed in the seventh century B.C.; they come very likely from the latter half of it.¹⁵

Amongst the bronzes said to have been part of the Li Yü hoard are a few pieces on which the relation between ground and ornament is reversed: the ground, and not the pattern, is covered with geometric elements; the ornament proper is left untouched, and flush with the incised background. The geometric elements are identical with those used on the interior of the dragons. A ladle, and at least three animals, apparently belonging to the species of rodents, were treated in this way.¹⁶ There can be no doubt that the principle of "negative ornament" was known to, and used by, the artist who cast the vessels from Li Yü: the lids of the tripod and the four-legged Ting are adorned in this manner (Fig. 8). With this décor appearing side by side with positive dragons on one and the same vessel, any question about their chronological relationship seems futile: they are plainly contemporaneous.

It would appear natural and correct to date the Hellström Hu and, along with it, the

11. So called after the name of a clan occurring in the inscriptions. Karlgren has dealt comprehensively with the Piao bells and their date: "On the Date of the Piao Bells," *BMFEA*, vi, 1934, 137 ff.; "New Studies in Chinese Bronzes," *ibid.*, ix, 1937, 104 ff., note; "Notes," p. 74.

12. *The Burlington Magazine*, LXVII, 1935, 258.

13. Karlgren, "Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes," *BMFEA*, viii, 1936, c 183, Pl. 52, p. 70; Sirén, *op. cit.*, i, Pl. 103A.

14. Cf. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, Pl. 1-2, and also Pl. 3. The above applies, of course, also to the date 404 B.C., proposed by Wen T'ing-ching, and supported by Jung K'eng. Another object of Huai style with a cast inscription, said to have come from the Chin Ts'un graves, is the so-called Ssü Tzu vase (*ibid.*, Pl. 4). It is later than the Piao bells, and can be placed securely between 550-380 B.C. Karlgren's dating ("Notes," p. 76), based on paleographic considerations, is too early.

15. It is interesting to recapitulate the chronological vicissitudes to which the typical Li Yü bronze has been ex-

posed during the last decade. A. J. Koop thought them to belong to the Ch'in dynasty, in his *Early Chinese Bronzes*, London, 1924, p. 3. O. Sirén (*op. cit.*, pp. 69, 79) ascribed them to the same dynasty, or the third century B.C. Otto Kummel put a mirror with a characteristic Li Yü décor into the second to first century B.C., and a bell which displays a much later phase of it, into the fourth to third century B.C. (Jörg Trübner zum Gedächtnis, Berlin, 1930, T. 46, 26 ff.). G. Salles, *op. cit.*, p. 149: "Pour ce qui est de bronzes de Li-yu je les classerai pourtant plutôt parmi les séries les plus récentes du group dit Ts'in, car elles me paraissent avoir plus que d'autres de multiples affinités avec les pièces de la dynastie Han." The *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Chinese Art, London, 1935-36*, placed such objects (e.g., no. 132-133) in the Period of the Warring States (ca. 481-221 B.C.). Umehara favors the same date (*Étude des bronzes des royaumes combattants*, Kyoto, 1936, p. 2). Karlgren ranges a typical Li Yü piece as Huai ("New Studies," p. 107).

16. Umehara, *op. cit.*, Pl. 202, 21, 262.

Bidwell servant at the end of the seventh century B.C. But there are a few things which are not compatible with so early a date. First, the shape of the Hellström vase must be considered: its stout and well-balanced body does not quite agree with the limp and rather sagging contours of a typical Li Yü vase. Another feature which is lacking there is the hanging triangles under the rim, originally inlaid in a metal sufficiently distinct in color to stand out vividly.

There exist a few such vases which can be assembled into a group; one is in the Moriya collection, Kyōto, which has the broad beam and the well-shaped mouth and foot-ring, but not the serrated border; another one has an identical décor in its friezes, plus the triangles under the rim (Figs. 13-14).¹⁷ In both cases, the décor consists of interlaced dragons which have fine feathered wings, and are interspersed with monsters' heads. The several elements are much richer and more variegated in form than those on the vessels from Li Yü, though they still keep to one layer of relief, and the two fundamental directions still prevail. Yet the trend towards the Huai ideal is unmistakable, and when the décor is compared with that on the bottoms of the Piao bells, it turns out very close to it. It is quite safe, therefore, to date these two Hu a short time before 550 B.C.

Each of the other vases in this group has a different décor, but every one of them is in some way connected with the Li Yü décor, or derived from it.¹⁸ The three striking features, the plastic band around the mouth, the inlaid triangles beneath, and the elegantly shaped foot with the concave contraction between it and the body, occur again on a particular variety of the Hu, generally called a "pilgrim's bottle." This shape appears to have stood in high favor with the artists during the latter half of the Huai period, i.e. in the first half of the fifth century B.C. (Fig. 12). It is not feasible to place the Hellström Hu before the Moriya vase, or after one of the pilgrim's bottles with a serrated border. This would imply that it was more or less contemporary with the beginnings of the Huai style. In fact, I think it must be regarded as an attempt to perpetuate the Li Yü style, by using old means in a new way.

It is a fallacy to think of any style as dying suddenly at a given time, and being replaced by another one. Two successive styles overlap, and there are always and everywhere artists who by inclination, education, or a certain lack of spirit, feel bound to the old decorative scheme. They uphold what they call a tradition. Their efforts run parallel to those of their fellow artists who have embarked upon new aims. It would be rash to assume that their work was doomed to fail. It was certainly not in this case, to judge from the evidence available: there exists, it seems, not a single Ting covered with the hooks and spiral pattern of Huai brand, but many tripods adorned with derivatives and paraphrases of the Li Yü décor. As far as I can see, no one has as yet called attention to this strange situation. With so many pre- and post-Huai Tings known, it is inevitable that those tripods be placed in the time when the Huai style flourished. One has, therefore, to reckon with the fact that the Huai style did not reign unchallenged; side by side with it lived a style which kept the old Li Yü elements alive. The Hellström vase, and the Hu in New York, mentioned in note 18, belong to this class.

As has been said above, this group of vases cannot be older than the Moriya Hu, which is somewhat earlier than 550 B.C., nor more recent than the pilgrim's bottles, which must be

17. Umehara, *Étude*, Pl. 72, 752.

18. Besides the Hellström Hu, one in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (*ibid.*, Pl. 77a); the subject-matter, leaping stags, birds, and felines with intertwined serpents, come ultimately from the West, probably the Caucasus; the principle of "negative ornament" and the elements for

filling the background are derived from Li Yü. A fragment of a vessel with the same décor was allegedly found in one of the tombs of Chin Ts'un (White, *op. cit.*, Pl. 106, no. 245). A pair of vases, of the same provenance, have their friezes filled with tiny hooks and studs: this is just another late redaction of the typical Huai décor (*ibid.*, Pl. 107).

regarded as slightly later than the Oeder basin, on the evidence of their décor. It is in this period, roughly spanning a century, that the Bidwell servant and his companions must be dated.

The Servant in Toronto.—The two figures in Toronto and in the Loo collection are of more recent date than the statuettes of the first group; so much can be gleaned from the analysis of form. They show a few interesting, though not fundamental changes; they are just one step forward toward a better understanding of the problems involved, and this step was certainly taken within a brief period of time. The servant in Toronto wears in the center of his belt an object which can be identified without difficulty as a hook. Besides settling the question of how and where such hooks were worn in ancient China, the representation provides a clue for an approximate dating, for this particular type of belt-hook was apparently made and worn for a comparatively short time. These spatula-shaped belt-hooks constitute a rather small group, the majority of which are decorated with geometric patterns inlaid in gold, silver, and semi-precious stones. In other words, their décor tallies with that of the most characteristic bronzes from the Chin Ts'un graves.

The Chin Ts'un Style.—As was the case with Hsin Chêng and Li Yü, the finds allegedly made at Chin Ts'un cover a wide range of styles. The objects in typical Huai style, such as the Piao bells, and a pair of Hu, have been mentioned already. The largest portion of the bronzes display another style, distinct from anything ever made before.

Its ornaments consist of purely geometric devices or highly geometrized animals, radically different from the devices used in previous times. Its technique is new: the patterns are inlaid in gold, silver, and colored stones.¹⁹ Its aim is new: the creation of an even surface, intricate in pattern, gorgeous in color, and dazzling in effect. The objects look as if covered with luxurious brocades in green, blue, gold, and silver. At the bottom of this lies a profound and complete change in the idea of what decoration ought to be: it is now conceived as a resplendent coat spread over the object; formerly it was of a piece with it.

Intellectual orderliness requires the designation of this style by a name of its own. The most appropriate one seems to be that of the site whence the bulk of the objects thus decorated came. This is scarcely the proper place to describe comprehensively the various alterations the new style underwent. What I want to give here is only a rapid sketch of its beginnings and a hint as to its development which may prove helpful to further inquiries.

Mustering the many works which have survived, one must be struck by the widely divergent shapes the new decorative system had assumed. But once the right viewpoint is found, they reveal themselves as following a sensible and logical evolution. The first indication that something new was impending was made on the excellent basin with hunting scenes in the Freer Gallery, Washington.²⁰ On it the separating bands carry an inlaid triangle and volute pattern, doubled by inversion. The basin, with its row of naturalistic swans in the interior, and with the plastic braid around its foot-ring, comes so close to the Li Yü bronzes that it must be ascribed to the same period. Interesting as its occurrence toward 600 B.C. may be, this ornament does not count for very much. Of far greater importance was the inlaid décor of the next stage, represented by the small dividing bands of the Moriya Hu. It is static, and rigidly symmetrical; its patterns consist of straight lines, usually bent at right angles, but with rounded corners and ending in short hooks. The most impressive features of

19. It is true that incrustations of malachite and turquoise were known to the Shang craftsmen, but with the end of that dynasty, about 1000 B.C., the technique had

disappeared completely. What happened here was not a revival of an old craft, but its re-introduction from outside.
20. Umehara, *op. cit.*, Pl. 55.

this décor are, as to subject-matter, the complete absence of any zoömorphous affinity; and as to form, the stress upon horizontality. That this latter phenomenon has nothing to do with the shape of the bands, is amply attested by later works. In form and technique this ornament is plainly the precursor of the typical Chin Ts'un décor. Such parts of lesser importance were treated in the same manner when the Huai style reigned supreme, as demonstrated by the Piao bells.²¹

It is one thing to use certain elements to decorate some rather negligible parts of an object, and another to make them the main theme of a decorative scheme. This was done shortly afterwards, when these rather heavy and clumsy forms became thin, slim, and elegant. At this stage, it seems, precious metals began to appear, supplanting the old alloys which differed only in color from the bronze ground. At the same time, intarsia in semi-precious stones were used, though only sparsely. A number of vessels belong to this stage: a Hu, formerly in the Eumorfopoulos collection, another in the Ōta collection, Kyōto, and a third in the possession of the Chinese government.²² The main elements of the décor on the Ōta vase are obviously the refined and cultured descendants of the robust elements on the Moriya vessel.

This very early stage of the new style can be dated with the help of the well-known square basin in Toronto, and a pilgrim's bottle in the Pilster collection, Berlin.²³ The inlaid devices of these vessels are so closely related to those of the three Hu that contemporaneity must be assumed. With the exception of the inlaid bordure under the rim, the Toronto basin is covered with a late redaction of the Huai pattern, coming near to that of the Oeder basin. The pilgrim's bottle is probably somewhat later. These vessels must be dated in the first half of the fifth century, and this is also roughly the date of the three Hu just mentioned.

The further development is easy to follow: diagonal lines, sparingly used at the beginning, gain more and more in importance. Rectangular combinations were finally tilted, and rest on a corner. The elaboration of this system led then to such very intricate configurations as are seen on the well-known Hu in Philadelphia and other vessels of similar magnificence, most of them in American collections.²⁴ The subsequent shift from essentially rectilinear to exclusively curvilinear elements, from a static, intrinsically tectonic to a dynamic, atectonic composition, can be traced almost step by step on hundreds of objects, small and large; but it has no immediate bearing on the subject of this article. I should, however, like to add that this new style was not a local affair, but to all appearances a *Reichsstil*, as the Huai style was: besides Chin Ts'un in Honan, Shou Chou in Anhui, and Ch'ang Sha in Hunan have yielded a great many works displaying it.²⁵

The majority of the spatula-shaped belt-hooks have their heads inlaid with a décor which is rectilinear in character, symmetric in composition, and prefers the oblique to the horizontal and vertical directions.²⁶ The latest specimens show the beginnings of the curvilinear

21. Shown by Andersson in his admirable paper on "The Goldsmith in Ancient China," *BMFEA*, VII, 1935, 30, fig. 5, Pl. 2-3.

22. Hu Eumorfopoulos: Koop, *op. cit.*, Pl. 101. Hu Ōta: *Rakuyō*, App. Pl. 4, a color plate in White, *op. cit.*, "special plate" (no. 262). Hu Chinese government: *Cat. London Exhib.*, no. 98.

23. Andersson, *op. cit.*, Pl. 2-3. *Cat. London Exhib.*, no. 142.

24. The year 279 B.C., given to the date in the incised inscription of the Philadelphia vase by Kuo Mo-jo, provides but a *terminus ante*; it looks as if the vessel were part

of a war booty. Karlgren is right in saying that the vase may very well be earlier than 279 B.C. (Andersson, *op. cit.*, p. 27).

25. Shou Chou: *ibid.*, pp. 12 ff. Ch'ang Sha: *An Exhibition of Chinese Antiquities from Ch'ang-sha. Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University*, 1939, fig. 1. The objects from this site are mostly of wood, with the décor painted. To the same category belongs the large group of cranes and serpents, also from Ch'ang Sha, now in the Cleveland Museum of Fine Arts.

26. Sirén, *op. cit.*, Pl. 88M-N; *Cat. Berlin Exhibition*, 1929, no. 102-103.

phase, with the thin and rich spirals typical of it.²⁷ At that time, this belt-hook seems to have gone out of fashion.

A few specimens which appear to be older than the rest were published by Sirén.²⁸ The décor of one, straight thin lines ending in small hooks, resembles in form and character the frieze of the Toronto basin; the other piece has a few plain double spirals, and at the base of the neck a triangle and volute pattern which comes very close to the same device on a Ko handle, in the Hellström collection.²⁹ It is of interest that the genuine double spiral occurs as an independent decorative element on a Ho in the Art Institute of Chicago. This vessel is chiefly covered with a dragon pattern, treated, however, in such a way that the effect is almost the same as the hooks and spirals of the Oeder basin; this is one of the cases where old elements had been kept alive unduly long, and finally had to give in.³⁰ At any rate, the objects which show the closest affinity to the two belt-hooks can be dated in the period when the Huai style was drawing to its end, i.e. between ca. 500 and 450 B.C.

It looks as if the spatula-shaped belt-hook came into use about 500 B.C. and was given up long before the mature works of the Chin Ts'un style, with their flowing and moving décor, were created. Within these limits the Toronto figure must have been made. Considering that the Bidwell servant and his companions are undoubtedly the ancestors of the figures in Toronto and the Loo collection, that the differences in style and form do not warrant a great interval between the two groups, that the ornament on the socle of the Bidwell servant is derived from the Li Yü décor and very likely contemporaneous with the Huai style, and that the Toronto statuette wears a belt-hook, which probably came into fashion about 500 B.C., it seems to be quite safe to place the two groups at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century, respectively. They were separated by hardly more than one or two generations.

The Figure in Kansas City.—There exist, of course, other bronze statuettes of the types dealt with, and it is not difficult to attribute them to the first or second group or to an intermediary stage, represented by such works as the servants in the collection of Baron von der Heydt, Ascona, and of Professor O. Sirén, Stockholm.³¹ Of a different kind, however, is the figure of a boy in the museum at Kansas City, though he is kneeling and holding a tube as do the others (Figs. 15–16). The pose is freer, variegated, bold in invention, and remarkably full of action. The most striking trait, however, is the loosening of the plastic mass, and the attempt to break away from strict symmetry: the legs are well separated, only the right knee touches the ground whilst the left is propped up. The tube is held in the right hand, which is extended sideways and upwards. A second tube is attached to the slab under the one in the right hand. This gives one side a definite preponderance, and emphasizes the asymmetric appearance of the whole; it also makes it clear that the left hand, now lost, did not grasp another tube.³² The shoulders are very broad for the small boyish head; the body leans forward. No less remarkable is the costume, a coat of about knee-length with half-sleeves

27. Sirén, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 17B, E.

28. *Ibid.*, I, Pl. 88K–L.

29. Andersson, *op. cit.*, Pl. 82.

30. *Handbook of the Department of Oriental Art, Art Institute, Chicago*, 1933, fig. 7.

31. For the von der Heydt servant see *Sale Catalogue, Dr. O. Burchard & Co.*, I. Teil, Berlin, 1935, no. 298, p. 32. Sirén servant: *Cat. London Exhib.*, no. 120.

32. Mr. L. Sickman, curator of oriental art in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, very

kindly informed me about some points of interest, in a letter written December 27, 1940. The discrepancy between our reproduction and that in Umehara, *Rakuyō*, Pl. 39, is due to the fact that the statuette, when acquired, suffered from bronze disease; in order to save it, it had to be cleaned. During this process the left arm was discovered to be a restoration, and was removed. The original patina was heavier than that of the servants allegedly coming from Chin Ts'un. Height: 10.8 cm.

THE ART BULLETIN

' a broad, square collar. A ribbon serves as belt, and holds a short sheathed knife at the
The boy seems to wear breeches; his calves and feet are bare. From under the coat a
bro horsetail emerges at the back. The boy is evidently not Chinese, but a native of
Central Asia.

Through the coarse, summary rendition of the face, the crude modeling of hands and feet, and the ham-like appearance of forearms and calves, this figure comes very near to the first group of servants described above. But all the other features strongly contradict such an attribution. It would nevertheless be rash to dismiss the piece as spurious. The rigid, soldierly pose of the oldest servant figures had met more than halfway the intentions and abilities of artists who had to represent man for the first time; once its solemn effect became apparent, it was very likely retained. Those figures were put into graves, according to the information available, and belong thus to the category of hieratic art. This would satisfactorily explain their "severe" character.

It might be objected that the boy in Kansas City had evidently the same function, as indicated by the two sockets; all of them were, I think, bearers of candlesticks or torches. But this does not imply that he was intended to serve in the same capacity, i.e. as a grave figure. It would be strange if such figures were not used in everyday life, too, and it is quite natural to think of them as conceived in, and giving expression to, a lighter spirit. The kneeling servants of the Bidwell type were certainly the first attempts to represent the human figure for its own sake. Their purpose was purely mortuary: to wait upon the dead. When the living put such figures into their service, they must have felt uneasy about them; less perhaps about their somber appearance than about their somber association: they were reminded too vividly of the grave. For this reason, profane art must have been driven to other subject-matter, and probably very early.

A *point d'appui* for placing the boy in Kansas City in the series of bronze statuettes is given by the ornament of his coat. It consists of triangles for the collar, alternately smooth and filled with thin lines. The coat itself has a scale pattern in the front; the rest is covered with thin lines, bent at right angles, but with rounded corners, crossing each other perpendicularly, and ending in spirals. Here and there a double spiral fills an empty space. It can be assumed that these shallow lines were originally filled with silver wire. The pattern itself is known from some bronze objects. One is a tube, coming probably from Shou Chou, on the Huai River.³³ It is related to the décor of a vessel, called Tou, inlaid in gold.³⁴ This décor is plainly a very late derivative of the dragons of Li Yü. All these objects belong to the period when the new style, which I called the Chin Ts'un style, was in the process of formation. It was culled from many quarters, and one can see how the animal décor of earlier times is transformed into a geometric pattern. The analysis of the ornament fits very well into the evidence of the analysis of form; this figure is somewhat later than the group to which the Bidwell servant belongs.

The Wrestlers.—All the statuettes dealt with so far share an irritating disregard for proportion. The kneeling servants have heads which are too large for their slim bodies, and the boy in Kansas City has a trunk which is grotesquely powerful for his small head. This is a common enough phenomenon in Chinese sculpture, from the beginning to the end of its history. It has nothing to do with the ideal of classical art, which changed from epoch to

33. Andersson, *op. cit.*, Pl. 184.

34. Cai
Loo, New

of an Exhibition of Chinese Bronzes, C. T.
1939, Pl. 18, no. 32.



FIG. 15



FIG. 16

FIGS. 15-16. KANSAS CITY, WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY: BOY, BRONZE, EARLY FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

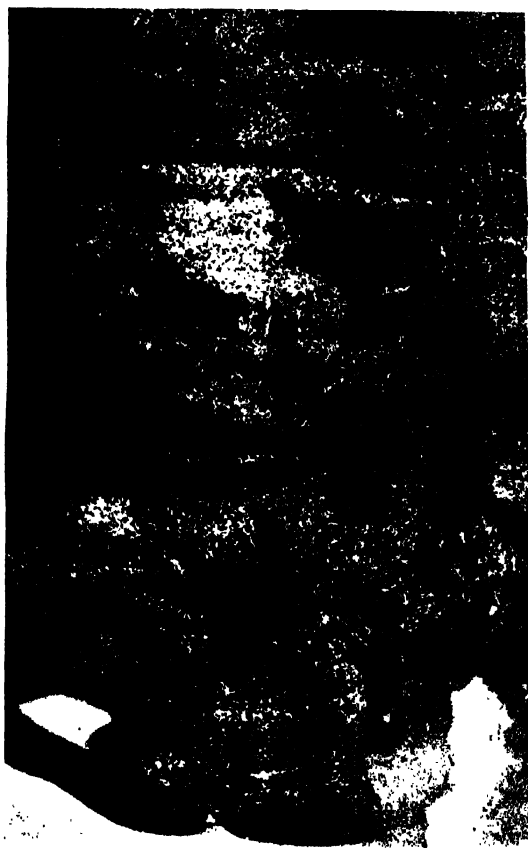


FIG. 17. Blockley, Spencer-Churchill Collection: Bronze Wrestlers, Fourth Century B.C.



FIG. 18. New York, Loo Collection: Boy Dancing on Toad, Bronze, Fourth to Third Century B.C.



FIG. 19. New York, Winthrop Collection:
Obese Child, Silver, Fourth to Third Century
B.C.

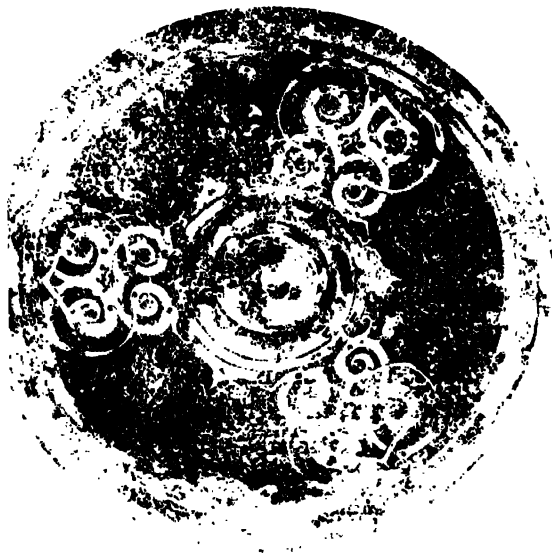


FIG. 20. Chicago Collection: Mirror, Bronze Inlaid
with Gold and Silver, Fourth to Third Century B.C.



FIG. 21. Chicago, Art Institute: P'an, Bronze, Middle Chou Period

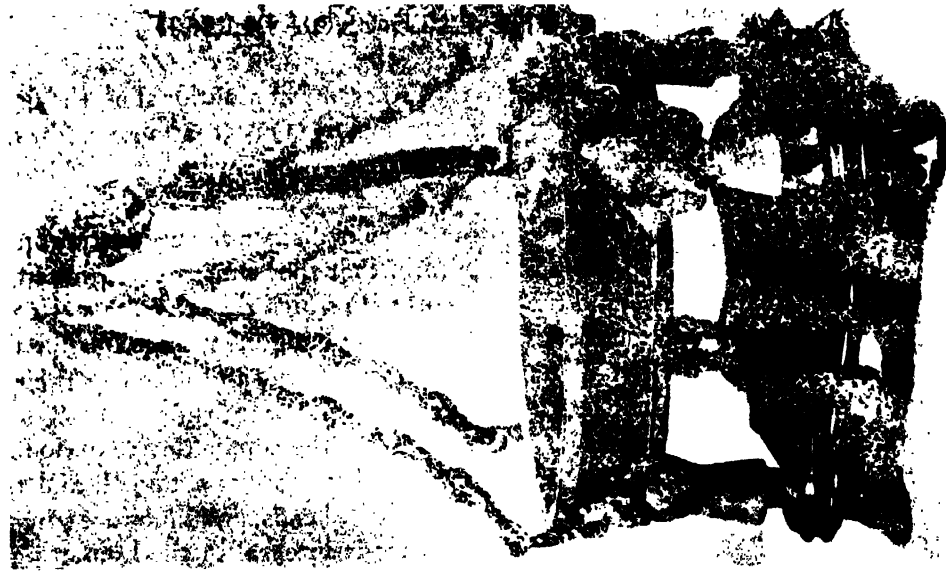


FIG. 22. Chicago, Art Institute: P'an, Bronze, Late Chou
Early Fifth Century B.C.

epoch, ranging from anemic delicacy to overflowing stoutness. But stout or slim, the figures are then consistent in the rendition of every part. An incongruous treatment is, in most cases, due to a lack of quality, easily forgiven and forgotten in the earliest stages of evolution, but decidedly indicative of mediocrity in more advanced times.

There are at least three works which show nothing of this disdain for proportion; moreover, they are so bold in conception and complex in form that they must be attributed to a time which had long solved and left behind the problems with which the other statuettes had to struggle. The first is a group of wrestlers (Fig. 17): two young men, nude but for their belts, face each other, clasping their right hand with elbows bent, and grasping their opponent's belt with the left hand. Their legs, well apart and with feet firmly planted on the ground, are also bent. Each head is turned to the left.³⁵ By the simple device of doubling one part, an extremely well-balanced group with two chief views was attained, and these principal views reveal the situation at a single glance. Bodies, heads, and limbs are summarily, but well modeled, with a clear judgment about what is integral in the human figure. Details, such as the nose, the mouth, the eyes, and the hair, are rendered in the slightly perfunctory manner familiar from the majority of these bronzes. The more elaborate rendering of the two figures in the Loo collection and in Toronto is exceptional.

Very little can be said about the meaning of this group. Perhaps the two wrestlers were to follow a dead dignitary into his grave lest he should miss any of the amenities he enjoyed in life: but then one would expect more representations of this kind to have survived. Whether they have any connection with what Rostovtzev called "sacred wrestling" is no more than a guess. The custom must have been one of the striking features of nomad life, and was depicted in the West and the East when the peoples of the steppes had come in contact with the higher cultures there.³⁶ It is not impossible that it was adopted by the Chinese, like so many other things and ideas, from the barbarians.³⁷ It may be equally possible that the group was a symbolic *bibilot* expressing the wish for healthy male offspring.

The Dancing Boy and the Obese Child.—The second piece is a boy dancing upon a toad, in the Loo collection (Fig. 18).³⁸ The subject-matter makes it impossible to regard the figure as a substitute for a living person, to be entombed. It puts the statuette rather into the class which I have just called symbolic *bibelots*. Such figures were not made solely to please the eye; above all they were auspicious symbols. Though it is always dangerous to interpret the practices and beliefs of early epochs in terms of evidence dating from much later times, it

35. Collection of F. G. Spencer-Churchill, Blockley, England. Height: 15.3 cm.

36. M. Rostovtzev, *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*, Princeton, 1929, Pl. 291. The plaque is now in the Art Institute of Chicago. "... One of the most familiar groups in the Greek art of Panticapaeum which endeavoured to portray the military and religious life of the Scythians" (p. 93).

37. The costumes and customs of the nomadic horsemen permeated the north of China from the sixth century onward. It is expressly recorded that in 453 B.C., Wu Hsiu of Chao had the skull of his slain enemy turned into a drinking cup (O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, 1, Berlin, 1930, p. 180; H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, Paris, 1927, p. 366). This barbaric custom seems to have had a fascinating attraction, for it was readily taken up by the tribes and peoples who had come into contact with the warlike inhabitants of the steppes, in the East as well as in the West: in 567 A.D. Alboin, King of the Lombards (561-571), likewise had the head of his adversary

Alboin made into a drinking cup. Though separated in space by the whole expanse of Eurasia, and in time by more than a millennium, the two events have a common source: the threat of the nomads into the world of settled cultures. Albeit it is only reported of Wu Ling of Chao who ruled during the last quarter of the fourth century in Northern Shensi that "he changed the customs, adopted the costume of the Huns (Hu), and practised archery while riding to adapt himself better to the nature of the country and the tactics of the Huns" (Franke, *op. cit.*, p. 195), the typical costume of the nomads, consisting of high boots, trousers, and a kaftan-like robe, was certainly taken over much earlier: a P'an in the University of Chicago, with its typical Hui decoration of hoofs and spirals, is supported by four little men in this outfit (Fig. 22). The P'an is a little earlier than 500 B.C.

38. Height: 10 cm.—The lesser height of all these figures which were, in my opinion, not meant to go into tombs, should be noted.

must be borne in mind that the Chinese used such symbols from the outset, and that there is no reason to assume that they ceased to do so in the meantime. In later representations the toad stands usually for the toad in the moon, and is then a symbol of longevity.³⁹ The boy can be easily understood as the visible wish for a son. These two ideas certainly ranked foremost in the mind of every Chinese then, as they do now.

Be that as it may, the statuette is a most surprising and very charming work of art. The boy balances on his right foot; the left leg is lifted, and so are both his arms. But this description scarcely does justice to this little masterpiece: the constantly changing directions of limbs and body, and the fluency of line convey the impression of swift and easy motion. This group is no longer composed in planes parallel to each other, as the two wrestlers were: it reckons decidedly with diagonal recession. It is very difficult to assign a date to it. That it belongs to the figures dealt with here is obvious from the treatment of form. That it is more recent is evident: the twisted axes, the atectonic composition, the impossibility of seeing toad and boy as clearly as one would wish from one and the same point, the selection of a fleeting moment for the representation, all this demonstrates its mature and late character.

These features provide at least a clue for determining the place of the dancing boy within the history of Chinese art, for the same phenomena are characteristic of some two-dimensional representations on mirrors. Such mirrors are commonly labeled "Huai," although they are definitely later; they are contemporaneous with the bronzes decorated in the typical Chin Ts'un style and technique. On them one can see fantastic animals of great vigor and expressiveness, with their bodies twisted around in quick, ferocious action. This must not be confused with the representation of such animals in a single plane; but when, for instance, a dragon is seen with its body bent side- and backward, and with its head hidden behind an upraised fore-limb, then the attitude towards form is the same as in the dancing boy.⁴⁰ Problem and solution are the same in either case. The same holds, of course, for the mirror in the collection of the Marquis Hosokawa, where a tiger defends himself in the same position against a warrior on horseback riding out obliquely from the background (Fig. 20). This mirror is said to hail from the tombs of Chin Ts'un, and the claim is well supported by its inlaid décor. The absence of rectangular patterns puts it among the later works of this style.

On the theory that the graves of Chin Ts'un were built and filled while the state of Han existed, the lower limit would be the year 230 B.C. Although very few *points d'appui* exist for the history of Chinese art during the last three centuries B.C., enough data are known to show that the typical works of the first Han dynasty are very different from those asserted to have come from Chin Ts'un.

There is another small sculpture which may be helpful in the problem of dating. It is the silver statuette of an obese child in the Winthrop collection, New York (Fig. 19). The figure is nude: it stands upright, with the right arm slightly bent and the left hanging down; the head is turned to the left. The dragging weight and deforming effect of excessive fat are extraordinarily well seen and realized. The motive invites comparison with the two wrestlers. The silver statuette is decidedly more mature in every respect; to point out only one important difference, the artist was concerned with the texture of things, and succeeded admirably in rendering the unctuous skin of a corpulent person. No such problem had entered the ken of the master who made the two wrestlers.

39. Cf. F. Lessing, "Über die Symbolsprache in der chinesischen Kunst," *Sinica*, 1x, Frankfurt a/M., 1934, 138.

40. Mirror in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm. Cf. Sirén, *op. cit.*, 1, Pl. 84b.

This statuette fortunately bears an incised inscription.⁴¹ From the standpoint of epigraphy, the script tallies with that on other objects allegedly from Chin Ts'un, and is therefore "decidedly anterior to the normalizing unification of the script carried through by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti and his famous minister Li Ssü."⁴²

It is quite safe to conclude that the obese child and the dancing boy stand at the end of a long series of human figures which started haltingly in the second half of the sixth, and reached its baroque climax before the Ch'in dynasty had come to power in the last quarter of the third century B.C.

III

Had these figures been brought to our knowledge some fifteen years ago, they would have been ascribed without hesitation to the Han or even later epochs. The Han period was then, and still is for many, the receptacle of all those more or less puzzling products of Chinese art which would fit neither into the later periods nor into the first millennium B.C. It was almost an article of faith that there existed no such thing as figural sculpture prior to the Han dynasties, notwithstanding the well-known, and often quoted, record upon the twelve barbarian giants in bronze which Shih Huang Ti (221-209) had set up in his A Fang palace at Hsien Yang. Even when a marble fragment of a squatting human figure was discovered at An Yang, it did not call for a revision of this belief. This figure was covered with a characteristic Shang décor of hooks all over, and had a deep groove on its back: it was certainly fitted into a beam, or pillar, and this determines it as a piece of architectural decoration. The "Royal Tombs" at Hou Chia Chuang near An Yang yielded a few human and animal figures, completely in the round and free from any architectural trammels.⁴³ Though the human figures were not published, it is fair to assume that in style they resembled the animals very much. These are rather uncouth in form, and overspun with the patterns so well known from Shang bronzes. In other words, human and animal figures were treated as a vessel or an implement was treated; to the artist they were merely surfaces of various shapes to be adorned. This puts them into a class of their own, and decidedly outside the category of sculpture which exists by right of form alone. This peculiar attitude was to be taken by the Chinese for many centuries to come: plastic art as conceived by the peoples of western Asia did not exist. Needless to say, this must not be understood in a deprecatory sense; it is merely a statement of fact.

As far as the available material goes, this attitude persisted until the time when the bronzes of Li Yü were cast; even then, and afterwards, the Chinese did not completely part with their old and long-cherished ideals. But in the second half of the seventh century B.C., "naturalistic" representations of animals make their first appearance in Chinese art, either in the round upon the lids of some legged vessels, or in relief upon the rims and the fonds of some dishes.⁴⁴ This was a matter of great moment, for it amounted to the replacement of symbols by the representation of things as they were actually seen. It was something new in principle. It is true that in the very early days of Shang art, a few animals were drawn immediately from nature; they were, however, quickly absorbed by the growing, and finally omnipotent, trend towards geometrization. The new representations go beyond their Shang predecessors, not only by rendering the animal in motion, but by depicting action which involved at least two creatures.

41. Karlgren, "Notes," p. 76; for the inscription, cf. Umehara, *Rakuyō*, p. 25, fig. 141.

42. Karlgren, "Notes," p. 77.

43. P. Pelliot, *The Royal Tombs of An-yang. Studies in Chinese Art and some Indian Influences*, London, n.d., p. 59.

44. Umehara, *Étude*, Pl. 1, 2, 7, 23; 13, 24.

It is scarcely a coincidence that this capital change occurred at a time when new motives appeared on Chinese bronzes: the braid, the plaited ribbon, the cord, the double spiral, the marking of the main joints of an animal by spirals; or new techniques: an imitation of granulation, and the reappearance of semi-precious stones inlaid in metal; a new implement: the mirror with a loop on the back.⁴⁵ It may be added that not until then did the Chinese become acquainted with the sword: they took over the Scythian *akinakes*.⁴⁶ Since all these things appear suddenly, without preparation, it must be inferred that they came from without. I need not enumerate the many treatises of scholars such as Patte, Janse, Umehara, and von Heine-Geldern who saw the problem of foreign affiliation, and pointed to the Caucasus and to Hallstadt as sources of inspiration, not to speak of the obvious influence of Central Asia.⁴⁷

The situation would be simple had Li Yü yielded a human figure, or if at least a figure with an unmistakable Li Yü décor existed. Granted that China did not know the isolated figure of man before this epoch which saw the invasion of foreign forms and ideas; but her artists had cast human figures long before that time. There is a large bronze dish, of the type called P'an, in the Art Institute of Chicago, which is supported by three small figures, all nude—one a woman, one a man, and the third of undetermined sex (Fig. 21). Their breasts are indicated by circles of a double ribbon, and this same double ribbon appears in flat relief in the frieze under the rim; it is a characteristic Middle Chou pattern. This period lasted, according to Karlgren, from ca. 950 to 771 B.C.⁴⁸

The use of human figures as caryatids is not very surprising, for at this time a number of vessels were made which were lifted from the ground by "animals." This had the effect of a certain lightness, and marks the beginning of a definite current towards a baroque ideal of form. Its apogee is reached in some vessels discovered in Hsin Chêng. Neither is the replacement of theriomorphous by human shapes out of order, since Chinese artists occasionally felt the whim of smuggling a solitary human being into the large herd of animals they kept for decoration. Such tiny figures, crudely kneaded as they are, were not an artistic heritage to draw on when it came to shaping man in statuesque isolation. This accounts for the rather primitive results when Chinese art first embarked on this unaccustomed enterprise.

The Bidwell servant is one of the first attempts to solve the new task; the décor of the socle fortunately enables one to date it and a series of similar works. It is clearly a derivative of the Li Yü pattern, and was probably more or less contemporaneous with the "Huai" décor of hooks and spirals. The T'ao-t'ieh masks holding the rings of the Hellström vase, which has an identical décor, also speak for this date. In other words, these statuettes must have been cast between ca. 550 and 450 B.C.

One may wonder why they are so crude and uncouth, with the excellent animals on the

45. Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 257. The change took place in the seventh century, not in the fifth to fourth, as I thought in 1935.

46. "... bronze swords do not occur in China until the middle Chou" (W. C. White, *Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China*, Toronto, 1939, p. 36). "But strange to say there were no swords, rapiers or two-edged daggers in the Shang Dynasty. They were not introduced until a much later day, about the time of Confucius" (J. M. Menzies, in *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ancient Chinese Ritual Bronzes*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1940, "The First Cultural Epoch."

47. I do not maintain that all these new elements arrived at the same time, though they probably arrived close to-

gether. It must be remembered that decorative elements do not wander on their own account; they are set in motion by man. In this case it was an upheaval of nomads in innermost Asia, unknown in its origin, but well known in its effects, which had sent these men to the West, the East, and the South. The time is known when the outer waves broke on historical ground in these three quarters: the seventh century B.C. Its indirect effects upon the fringes of the settled world were even greater; it affected Indochina, and reached out into the South Sea, and made the Celts leave their homes in Central Europe.

48. "Yin and Chou," p. 148.

lids of the Li Yü vessels preceding them. There are two reasons for this phenomenon. The first is that a continuous, though thin line of theriomorphous sculpture ran from the buffalo of Shang time, in the Sedgwick collection, to the buffalo of middle Chou time, in the Pillsbury collection; when the Chinese artist was confronted with the task of creating an animal unadulterated by a surface décor, he found the means ready for doing so.⁴⁹ He could continue where his predecessors had stopped.

The second reason is that such a tradition not only did not exist for him who had to represent man in this new way, but that the idea of doing so seemingly sprang up at a later time, i.e. in the period when the Huai style flourished. In this time, and even in the following epoch which saw the rise of the Chin Ts'un style, the artistic level of such small plastic works had apparently declined: one has only to compare the animals on the various vessels from Li Yü with those crouching on the Ting from Chin Ts'un.⁵⁰ The first attempts at human figures coincided exactly with this low level.⁵¹

The boy in Kansas City cannot be very far removed from such figures, though he shows greater freedom in composition and a breaking away from rigidly applied symmetry; but the almost grotesque disproportion between his head and his body, and certain details range him with the group of older statuettes. The pattern on his coat puts him in the period when the new style, working with thin inlaid geometric devices, began to make itself felt. This must have been in the first half of the fifth century.

More recent, but not very much so, are the two figures in Toronto and the Loo collection: they show a better understanding of proportion, and a greater clarity of form. The further development can be followed without difficulty; it may be characterized as a process of progressive differentiation and integration of the human figure. The creative power of the sculptor must have reasserted itself, for the two wrestlers, the dancing boy, and the obese child, are not only charming *objets d'art*, but real masterpieces.

Parallel to this evolution of the human figure from the simple to the complicated runs the evolution of animal sculpture, and the evolution of the decorative system. From the historical point of view, it is important that the development reached its climax before the rise of the Ch'in. From this basis then emerged the art of the first Han dynasty.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

49. *Cat. London Exhib.*, no. 268A, 186.

50. Umehara, *Étude*, Pl. 119; *Rakuyō*, Pl. 10. *Loo Cat.*, 1939, Pl. 17.

51. The religious significance of statuettes which served as substitutes for the living to be buried with their masters, has less bearing on the problem than is generally assumed. For this purpose almost anything might have served, once it was accepted and acknowledged as a substitute: besides wood, straw was used as material for such figures, and then the question of form certainly did not arise. According to

the *Li Chi* (II, sect. II, part 1, 45) Confucius objected to the use of wooden figures instead of those of straw lest they might lead to human sacrifices for the dead. When mustering the compilation of the records on such human sacrifices, made by Carl Hentze (*Chinese Tomb Figures*, London, 1928, pp. 11 ff.), one wonders whether this barbaric custom, widespread under the Shangs, had not fallen into disuse later, to be revived at the time when a new strong wave of foreign forms, customs, and ideas swept over China.

BOOK REVIEWS

ANTHONY BLUNT, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. vi + 168; 12 plates. \$2.75.

This excellent little book is a stimulating and well-balanced account of the development of artistic theory in Italy from its first Renaissance formulation in Alberti to the end of the Mannerist period. Intended primarily as an introduction to the aesthetic of an age of rapid development and striking contrasts, for students who would gain thereby a fuller understanding of its art, the book is an admirable guide. It deals with a literature sometimes of general interest and superior quality, as in Michelangelo and Vasari, but very often refractory, difficult, and read by none but the specialist, yet extremely important if one would fully comprehend the significance of artistic development. Mr. Blunt has traced and defined important tendencies in the aesthetic of the period with clarity and with a discriminating omission of matter that might for the beginner confuse or obstruct the main course of the argument. But the advanced student will also find the volume a revealing account of a century and a half of aesthetic theory to which no entire book had previously been dedicated. Its format is attractive and handy, and it contains twelve well-chosen plates that serve to illuminate the discussion in the text. These are taken from works that shape or reflect artistic theory, such as Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* or the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, or they illustrate works of art, chiefly by Michelangelo, that are related to theories under discussion.

An interesting first chapter on Alberti defines his humanism as a rational view of life, distinguished by a fine moderation, in which, as in ancient philosophy, reason and judgment are guides to individual self-control, and hence to social good. To this general point of view Alberti's self-conscious classicism as an architect, and his conception of architecture as a civic activity, are intimately related. There is an excellent discussion of his theory of imitation with its combined naturalism and idealism—a combination to be expected from a practicing artist who lived in an age of intense artistic experiment, and who was at the same time a serious student of ancient art and criticism. Near the end of the chapter, apropos of Alberti's relation to Neoplatonism, occurs the statement that "mystical Neoplatonism was encouraged by Lorenzo de' Medici, perhaps to some extent for political reasons. At any rate it certainly served his ends; for the Neoplatonists at this time laid much more emphasis on the contemplative than on the active life; and it suits an autocrat to keep thinking men as far as possible out of active politics in order that he may enjoy his absolute power undisturbed." This seems to the reviewer a political interpretation of the activity of the Platonic Academy under Lorenzo that is unwarranted, and that tends to give a wrong impression of the character of Florentine Neoplatonism which was, after all, an important aspect of the broad cultural movement of the Renaissance, and shared its vitality. The intense interest in the ancient world and in Greek studies would, of themselves, have made the study of Plato

and of the Platonic tradition inevitable. But the otherworldliness of Dante, whom the Platonic Academy regarded as an illustrious forerunner, and the admiration of Petrarch, taught chiefly by Cicero and St. Augustine, for Plato as a philosopher whose doctrines foreshadowed those of Christianity, had already prepared the way for the enthusiastic study of "Platonism" in the fifteenth century. And Ficino and Pico were tremendous scholars and enthusiasts who were going to tend the lamp before the bust of Plato whether Lorenzo encouraged them or not.

The succeeding section on Leonardo is an admirable summing up of his passionate empiricism, as opposed to the empiricism of the humanistic Alberti which was tempered by notions of the beautiful and the typical derived from antiquity. Perhaps Leonardo emerges from this chapter a trifle simplified—too purely the empiricist and devoted worshipper of nature, and too little aware of the varied intellectual currents of his time. Two short sections follow. In the first, entitled "Colonna: Filarete: Savonarola," the author gives, *inter alia*, a good analysis of the romantic classicism of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, so different from the rational classicism (and attendant archaeological method) of Alberti, commenting on Colonna's melancholy delight in ruins as symbols of impermanence—a sentimental and nostalgic approach to antiquity that may recall to the reader a host of similar examples in poetry and painting, from Du Bellay's lament in the sixteenth century over the ruins of Rome to Pannini's nostalgic painting in the eighteenth when, as Mr. Blunt remarks, this kind of romantic sentiment had become particularly fashionable. Poussin among the ruins of Rome had reflected upon "the unimaginable touch of time," but a sentiment that in susceptible lesser artists was but pleasantly nostalgic and superficial, was translated in some of Poussin's finest landscapes into an elegiac poetry both subtle and profound. At the end of this section occurs an interesting, if very brief, analysis of medieval and Renaissance elements in Savonarola's view of art.

In the second of these short chapters, "The Social Position of the Artist," the author discusses briefly the struggle of architects, sculptors, and painters to raise their arts out of the category of mechanical arts, wrought by hand and by mere craftsmen, which they had been considered in the Middle Ages, to the dignity of liberal arts of equal honor with poetry. And both here and elsewhere in the book Mr. Blunt might have pointed out that the theory of imitation which lies at the heart of Renaissance aesthetic is in its origins in Aristotle, Horace, and others a literary theory originally intended for poetry; and that throughout the Renaissance and Baroque periods the theory of painting was in all philosophical essentials a theory taken almost bodily from the poetic of antiquity, and absolutely parallel in many ways to the literary theory of the Renaissance. Thus painting not only asserted herself, as in Leonardo's *paragone*, as an art whose performance was in certain ways uniquely superior to that of poetry; conversely painting for several centuries borrowed the aesthetic of the art which she sought to emulate.

In the chapter on Michelangelo, the author at-

tempts to trace the growth of the great artist's theories of love and beauty (with their bearing on his conception of art and of the artist's activity) from a first period ending in 1530, in which his poetry betrays an enthusiasm for physical beauty combined with a Neoplatonic worship of absolute beauty, through a second period, lasting some fifteen years, when his mind dwells on the decay of physical beauty which is yet the necessary visual stimulus to urge the mind to a contemplation of the divine Idea of beauty, to a final period in which he renounces mortal beauty even as a symbol of the divine. And in this final period he even turns away from the Idea of beauty which, as he tells us in an earlier sonnet, had been a sure guide to him in his vocation, and an inspiration to lofty creation in painting and sculpture (quoted on p. 69), to cast himself in passionate Christian penitence on the mercy of God, renouncing painting and sculpture and the fond imagination which made art his idol and king (p. 80). Mr. Blunt sets these changes in the content of Michelangelo's poetry against the political and religious changes which occurred in Italy during his lifetime and profoundly affected him; and a parallel is drawn throughout the chapter between similar content in his art and in his writing. Thus, according to Mr. Blunt, his art up to 1530 corresponds to those early poems which display an enthusiasm for the beauty of the human body; the *Last Judgment* (finished in 1541), in which there is little reference to the real world, corresponds to the second period of the poems in which the poet laments the passing of physical beauty and cries out, like Sophocles, in tragic bitterness that he is happiest whose death follows soonest on his birth; the last *Pietàs* and drawings correspond to the late religious sonnets. Now these divisions and correspondences have, of course, foundation in fact, and serve to clarify Michelangelo's development both as artist and poet-theoretician. Nevertheless, Mr. Blunt, who is well aware that there is something organic in the development of Michelangelo's ideas which does not altogether fit his useful divisions into periods, might have been at greater pains to emphasize what is constant in the artist's development as well as the differences encountered at various stages along the way; and to do this would be perhaps to give a truer account of the nature of this development. Thus when Mr. Blunt remarks of the second period (p. 70) that "the strong physical passion of the early love poems has given place to doctrines which make of love the contemplation of an incorporeal beauty," he is overstating the case, for in the early poems, in spite of a certain enthusiasm for earthly beauty which one may contrast with a keen realization of its decay sometimes expressed during the second period, earthly beauty is still a stair which leads the lover upward to a contemplation of immaterial beauty. Michelangelo is as thoroughly Neoplatonic at the beginning as he is later; in fact he is, in a sense, more so, for in the second period in the sonnets to Cavalieri and elsewhere, his Neoplatonism has sometimes a stronger Christian accent than at the beginning, in his reference, for instance, to the fount of mercy as the source of beauty (p. 68), and in the way in which the Neoplatonic term *grazia* (grace)

sometimes takes on Christian overtones if not actual Christian meaning. It is not then, in the writer's opinion, quite correct to say, as Mr. Blunt does (p. 70), that during the second period Michelangelo's poems show strongly the more mystical elements of Neoplatonism. What they sometimes show is a more Christian Neoplatonism than in the beginning, and Michelangelo is actually as much, if not more, a pure Neoplatonic mystic in the first period when he tends, with less sense of the dichotomy between matter and spirit, to accept the Neoplatonic monistic doctrine of the One in the Many—the informing presence of ideal beauty in matter. Yet even in the poems of the first period there is also the Neoplatonic desire to escape the bright beauty of the world of which he is at the same time enamored; and therein lie already the germs of his final renunciation of earthly beauty and of his art when he throws himself on the mercy of God. Again Mr. Blunt's statement that "in the first period, ending roughly in 1530, Michelangelo's view of the arts is that of High Renaissance Humanism," might also be scanned. For the ideas and feeling of the early poems do not fit the rational canons of humanism, and though it is true, as Mr. Blunt says, that Michelangelo's art up to 1530 is founded on nature in the sense that it implies a thorough grounding in anatomy according to the scientific tradition of Florence, it is far from the serene humanistic art of a Raphael. Instead, the strong, anfractuous style of his figures betrays an inner conflict symbolic of the struggle of the spirit to free itself from the bondage of the flesh—a struggle finally abandoned in the piety and passionate resignation of his latest sculpture and poetry. Thus even in figures from Mr. Blunt's first period, like the Sistine *Adam*, that most display the artist's love of corporeal beauty, the ascetic late works are implied, just as in Donatello's early work an intense spirituality sometimes implies the total renunciation of the world expressed in his last works. Therefore when Mr. Blunt, after quoting the famous late sonnet already referred to, in which the artist renouncing the world, the artistic imagination, and art itself, turns to the outstretched arms of Christ on the Cross, remarks (p. 80) that "it is hard to believe that the Humanist creator of the early Bacchus, or even the painter of the Sistine ceiling would one day pray to renounce the arts from feelings of Christian piety," one may again disagree. And it may be interesting to recall that the poet Shelley, who was an admirer of Greek art and literature, once expressed his dislike of the *Bacchus* (whose particular excellence he obviously did not appreciate) precisely because it was anticlassical both in style and content. "The countenance of this figure," Shelley remarked, "is the most revolting mistake of the spirit and meaning of Bacchus. It looks drunken, brutal, and narrow-minded, and has an expression of dissoluteness the most revolting. *The lower part of the figure is stiff, and the manner in which the shoulders are united to the breast and the neck to the head, abundantly inharmonious.* It is altogether without unity, as was the idea of the deity of Bacchus in the conception of a Catholic" (quoted by Symonds, *Life of Michelangelo*). These remarks are not at all points dis-

criminating but they are penetrating nonetheless.

A short section on such minor writers of the High Renaissance as Dolce, Pino, and Biondo leads to an interesting chapter on Vasari—the first of three final chapters dealing with Mannerist theory. Mr. Blunt's discussion is centered about the fundamental term *la grazia* which in Vasari means a certain *je ne sais quoi* in painting, which is a gift of nature not to be acquired by labor and study (a similar conception of grace was known to antiquity). It is an indefinable quality that eludes definition and is to be distinguished in Vasari from beauty, which depends, according to humanist doctrine that followed the common opinion of the ancients, on an harmonious proportion of parts, and is therefore, by contrast, a rational quality. Furthermore, it is associated in Vasari's mind with sweetness, elegance, and facility; and this emphasis on aesthetic superficiality at the expense of expression and of human content, Mr. Blunt rightly relates to the surface ingenuity of the Florentine Mannerist painters with its attendant "lowering of the intellectual and emotional tone of art." And it may be remarked in passing that although in the Baroque period, the arts finally discarded the uncreative formulas of Mannerism and took a new lease on life, painting and sculpture in Italy, despite moments of extraordinary brilliance, never regained the rich balance between the sensuous, the emotional, and the intellectual, and hence the deep and valid human utterance, of the art of the Renaissance. After a stylistic comparison of Leonardo's *Last Supper* with Tiepolo's, Wölfflin quietly remarks, "It is a pity that Tiepolo has no more to say to us." But to return to Mr. Blunt's chapter, grace in Vasari is apprehended by "the judgement of the eye; for even though a thing is perfectly measured, if the eye is still offended, it will not cease to censure it" (quoted by Blunt, p. 91). Judgment, as Mr. Blunt observes, is no longer the rational faculty of Alberti, but "is rather an instinct, an irrational gift, allied to what we call taste, and residing not so much in the mind as in the eye" (p. 91). And when Vasari writes to Aretino that he has painted a group of fighting nudes first to show his skill in art, and only secondly to follow the story (p. 92), he is again, one may point out, opposed to the humanism of Alberti, for whom the painting of the *storia* was the important goal of the painter's training. To such a theory of art, which has substituted mere appeal to the eye for appeal to the mind through the eye, corresponds that aspect of Mannerist painting in which, to quote Mr. Blunt, "the nude was simply the unit in a jig-saw puzzle, to be twisted and fitted into a decorative scheme" (p. 92), or the chilling decorative portraiture of a Bronzino. And it is characteristic of Vasari's bloodless aesthetic that he disliked emotion in art, and found distasteful the religious emotion of one Florentine painter, also called a Mannerist, whose art reveals far more than surface values—Pontormo.

The penultimate chapter, entitled "The Council of Trent and Religious Art," is perhaps the most informative and interesting in the book. Here the author shows with admirable clarity how the control of the Catholic Church influenced artists to abandon

Renaissance ideals of space, human proportions, and color, and to return to a quasi-medieval aesthetic which implies a denial of humanist values; how the clerical criticism of the age tended to substitute a moralistic for an aesthetic theory of the arts, and sought to restrain the free activity of the artist; how at the same time art was, in a positive way, encouraged by the Council of Trent to stimulate religious emotion; how finally the realistic attitude of the Jesuits in emphasizing appeal to the emotions in the propagation of the faith prepared the way for the Baroque movement of the following century. The final chapter dealing with the writing of the late Mannerists—Zuccaro, Lomazzo, Armenini—discusses the mystical and medieval elements in the Mannerist theory of imitation (this is the retrospective aspect of the theory), but shows as well how the concern with "rules" based upon the invention, practice, and theory of the past, and with the *Maniera antica* based upon a study of ancient sculpture, points the way to the eclecticism and formalistic classicism of the Baroque. The principle of authority, which in the name of individual reason the Renaissance denied in aesthetic as in all other matters, is reinstated by writers on art and literature of the latter sixteenth century in the name of the perfect antique.

One might remark of the book as a whole (and the reviewer has already touched upon this point) that the author has not emphasized enough the pervasive effect of ancient theory on the Renaissance theory of the arts. For the theory of decorum, for instance, he fails to suggest any ancient background when he remarks that it appears for the first time in Leonardo (though he undoubtedly means for the first time in the Renaissance, the theory had actually appeared already in Alberti's *Della pittura*). He might have pointed out that behind all Renaissance theory of decorum among critics both of art and literature lay the potent influence of Horace's *Ars poetica* and many passages from the Roman rhetoricians. And when Mr. Blunt states (p. 36) that "in the hands of Leonardo decorum is simply an element in the complete rendering of the outside world, without which history painting would be incomplete and unconvincing," he fails to note that decorum as defined both by Leonardo and Horace is a formalistic concept which implies a generalizing, not a particular, mode of representation that is really inconsistent with Leonardo's usually realistic and empirical approach to nature. And further, apropos of decorum, when Mr. Blunt remarks that Gilio da Fabriano attacks Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in the name of morality, whereas Aretino and Dolce more often in their attacks appeal to the theory of decorum (p. 123), it should be remembered that actually decorum (here with strong implications of decency and propriety in matters of morality and religion) is tremendously important throughout much of Gilio's dialogue, which is, in a very real sense, a treatise on decorum with extended comment on various quoted passages dealing with this concept from Horace's *Ars poetica*. And Gilio maintains the general point of view that the ignorance of painters breeds that indecorum in religious art which has evil

effects on morality. Thus a highly typical document of the Counter-Reformation is at the same time pervaded by a critical concept derived from antiquity, which the author has adapted to his moralistic criticism of religious art.

Again, in the case of the theory of expression, it should be remembered that Horace's advice to the tragic actor, *si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi* (if you want me to weep, you must grieve first yourself), was accepted as fundamental in sixteenth-century criticism both of art and literature. And so when the Jesuit Possevin remarks in his *Tractatio de poesi et pictura* (1595) that if the painter of martyrdoms is to convey their horrors to the spectator, he must first feel these horrors himself, he is, as Mr. Blunt says, directly applying the methods of St. Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* to the practice of the arts; but there are nine chances out of ten that he also remembers Horace's popular dictum which had become a byword of criticism, and that he is adapting it (much as Gilio had adapted the Horatian theory of decorum) to the propagandistic uses of his order.

The book shows a fine capacity for clear generalization and is written with an admirable simplicity. It should be of great value to teachers of undergraduate courses in Italian art, who have had hitherto no good book in English on the aesthetic of the Italian Renaissance to which they could direct their students. And it provides invaluable background for courses in the Baroque. A knowledge of the theory of art in any period obviously increases and deepens an understanding of the art itself. And such knowledge is of supreme importance in the case of the Renaissance, when artists themselves, who often associated closely with learned men and were keenly aware of the aesthetic speculation of their age, generally made the most significant contributions to the theory of art.

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ERWIN PANOFSKY, *The Codex Huygens and Leonardo da Vinci's Art Theory: The Pierpont Morgan Library Codex M.A. 1139* (*Studies of the Warburg Institute*, vol. 13), London, The Warburg Institute, 1940. Pp. 138; 117 plates. 30 s.

This codex, recently acquired from London by The Pierpont Morgan Library, is an unfinished treatise on design, written on one hundred and twenty-eight sheets, by a Milanese painter in the latter half of the sixteenth century.¹ It is an attempt to record for the benefit of students the new scientific knowledge developed through actual experiment by the great painters of the Renaissance. That such a treatise was written in answer to a prevailing need and a desire to understand these problems, and corresponded to the inquiring temper of the period, is attested by the number of artists who wrote on the subject, including such masters as L. B. Alberti and

Piero della Francesca. Leonardo da Vinci left many notes on the subject to Francesco Melzi, who tried to coördinate them; and there is evidence that other manuscripts by Leonardo may have been circulating among artists at that time. The compiler of the Huygens Codex moved in this Vincian orbit. He copied from Leonardo's notes and drawings. His work, entitled *Le Regole del Disegno*, was to comprise fourteen "regole" or "libri," of which only the first five are included in the codex, and these in an uneven and confused form. They are devoted almost entirely to the human figure. The first book deals with its form and structure; the second with its movements; the third with methods of transforming the profile elevation of the human figure into front and rear elevations; the fourth with proportions of the human figure and of the horse; and the fifth with perspective.

No more adept editor for this material could have been found than Professor Panofsky. He begins with a succinct chapter on the history of the manuscript, following which he discusses its general content, pagination, and the date and place of origin so far as these can be determined from a study of watermarks. A catalogue of the manuscript follows, with a summary of the text on each of the one hundred and twenty-eight folios and explanatory notes. The concluding section is devoted to the intricate question of authorship and to an examination of the sources of the author's material. The latter investigation has led the editor to provide a series of dissertations on the science of perspective, the methods adopted by Renaissance artists in staging their compositions, canons of proportion at different periods, and Leonardo's and Dürer's conceptions of movement. The book is copiously illustrated; seventy-two of the one hundred and twenty-eight folios are reproduced, including nineteen copies from lost originals by Leonardo.

Leonardo's manuscripts constituted one of the chief sources for the writer of the codex, and Panofsky devotes much of his attention to tracing this influence. In this review we should like, for the most part, to elaborate further on this aspect of the newly published material.

To begin with, the story of the purchase of our codex in the seventeenth century may throw new light on the somewhat obscure history of Leonardo's manuscripts in the Royal Collection at Windsor. When Constantijn Huygens, Secretary to King William III of England, acquired it, he thought that he had secured an original manuscript by Leonardo, as is indicated by his letter to his brother Chrystian, the famous physicist, written from Kensington Palace on March 3, 1690. A few months later, on September 1, 1690, he made the following entry in his diary:

"Smorgens te 9 ueren, ick noch niet op wesende, sondt de Coningin weder om mij, en sagh het boek van Leonardo en dat van Holbeen."² ("This morning at 9 o'clock, I being not yet up, the Queen again sent

1. I take this opportunity to express appreciation of the help afforded me by Miss Belle da Costa Greene and Miss Meta Harsen in facilitating my study of the original manuscript at the Morgan Library.

2. *Journal van Constantijn Huygens, den Zoon, van 21. Oct. 1688 tot 2. Sept. 1696* (*Werken, uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, Nieuwe Reeks*, xxiii), 1876, pp. 227, 326.

for me and [I] saw the book of Leonardo da Vinci and that of Holbein.")

Panofsky paraphrases this entry as follows (p. 11), leaving out the reference to Holbein's book: "On September 1st, at nine o'clock in the morning he (Huygens) 'not yet being up,' the Queen sent for him in order to be shown the precious volume" [i.e., our codex, which Huygens thought to be by Leonardo]. But the mention of a book of Holbein in conjunction with one of Leonardo would seem to suggest that they may have been the same books which were discovered together in a cabinet in Kensington Palace in 1778—i.e., Holbein's book of portraits of the court of Henry VIII and the volume of Leonardo's drawings now in the Royal Collection. If so, does not the note in Huygens' diary refute the old story, questioned in part by Sir Kenneth Clark in his catalogue of Leonardo drawings at Windsor, that after having been put away in a coffer by Charles I in the time of the Civil War, these two volumes were not discovered until 1778 in Kensington Palace? If our assumption is correct, Queen Mary in the previous century was fully aware of their existence.

We turn now to the contents of the Codex Huygens. On one and the same sheet (folio 75) there are four tracings from drawings of a horse's head, of which two are now at Windsor and two at the Institut de France. These tracings must therefore have been made before the dispersal of the manuscripts which Leonardo had bequeathed to Francesco Melzi, that is to say before or soon after 1570, the date of Francesco's death. We know that the Melzi bequest was not only dispersed but that a great part of it has been lost. Of importance are a number of folios in the Huygens codex which obviously reproduce some of these lost drawings. There are, for instance, no less than six different views with proportions of the stalwart horse "Siciliano," of which only one original has survived. This horse, which was owned by Galeazzo di San Severino, was measured by Leonardo in order to ascertain the proportions for his model of the Sforza Monument. We also learn the breed and shape of another horse that served the same purpose—the "Frisone."

The profile illustrating the proportions of the head on folio 54^r was traced from a drawing which is now at the Academy in Venice, and we may infer that this drawing probably formed part of the Melzi bequest. And there is another drawing by Leonardo at Venice which by its style may be dated about 1490 and which was later reproduced in Fra Giocondo's edition of Vitruvius. We are referring to the well-known study of human proportions according to Vitruvius, representing a figure inscribed in a circle and a square, which is closely related, as Panofsky points out (pp. 109, 121, 123), to similar studies in proportion on folios 7, 8, 12, 21–24, and 29. It is possible that these drawings were inspired by a treatise on the movement of the human figure which Leonardo is reported to have written. Panofsky, while suggesting (p. 123) that our author's whole theory of human movement may be derived from Leonardo, speaks of that master's "lost or more probably unwritten book" (p. 129) on this subject.

There is, however, literary evidence that the book though lost had actually been written. The following references to it in Stefano della Bella's edition of Leonardo's *Trattato della pittura* (Florence, 1792) are suggestive: "[Leonardo] compose ancora un opera sulla meccanica del corpo umano riferendo tutto all'arti che ei professava" . . . "Della sua gran opera poi sulla meccanica del corpo umano . . . che ha per solo oggetto i movimenti del corpo umano col modo a disegnar le figure secondo le regole geometriche." That Leonardo had completed such a treatise during his first stay at Milan is stated by the mathematician Fra Luca Pacioli in a letter dated Feb. 9, 1498, and addressed to Lodovico Sforza: "[Leonardo] havendo con tutta diligentia al degno libro di pittura e movimenti humani posto fine." The letter served as an introduction to Pacioli's *De divina proportione*, a dissertation founded on the thirteenth book of Euclid's *Elements* and dealing with the five regular solids, for which Leonardo drew the illustrations. In this connection we should like to suggest that the drawing on folio 7 of our codex, showing the human figure related to two circles, a square, equilateral triangles, and to various regular polygons, was not necessarily inspired by Gothic architectural geometry, as Panofsky suggests (p. 122), and may have no direct connection with Cesariano's well-known cross-section of the cathedral of Milan³ where the geometrical pattern is based on a square and on a scheme of equilateral triangles. Our drawing, where the proportions of the figure and the gyratory movements of its limbs are related to the sides and angles of a square, of three regular polygons, and of three equilateral triangles, is so closely connected with the drawing by Leonardo in Venice mentioned above, that it may derive from a lost design by Leonardo, made at a time when he was writing the "degnò libro di pittura e di movimenti umani," and when his interest in Euclidean geometry had been aroused by his friend Fra Luca Pacioli, i.e., before 1498.

The fifth book of our codex is entitled "della Prospettiva." In a general introduction on folio 87 the eye is praised as the noblest and most spiritual organ of man, and the science of perspective as the noblest of all sciences. This reminds one of certain passages in Leonardo's *Paragone*. Then follow four sheets with drawings illustrating the problems of illumination by the sun, the moon, and by candlelight. These sheets are obviously insertions, as Panofsky points out (p. 12), for they differ in size and quality of paper from the rest; while the subject of folio 87 is continued on folio 92.⁴ The compiler

3. Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de Architettura libri decem . . . comentato et affigurato da Cesare Cesariano, Como, 1521, fol. xv^r. Panofsky gives Cesariano's explanation of this cross-section in translation, while quoting the Latin text in a footnote. There is a mention of polygons in the Latin text and the rendering of "trigonon" (misprint for trigono) et quadrato aut alio quocumque perueniunt" by "[lines] as constitute triangles, squares or other polygons of all descriptions" is an interpretation of Cesariano's thought. A closer translation would be "[lines] which come from a triangle or a square or (originate) in any other way whatever."

4. In our opinion the text is continuous, though Panofsky supposes that a number of folios are missing (pp. 16, 60).

evidently inserted these drawings as an afterthought with the idea that they might serve as illustrations to his panegyric on the sun on folio 87^v, where the light of the sun is called the eye of the world illuminating all things and operating very much like the visual rays that radiate from the eye in the art of perspective. The inclusion of a dissertation on light and shade would have been in accordance with the Leonardesque tradition; thus in the *Trattato della Pittura*,⁵ compiled by Melzi from Leonardo's manuscripts, the fifth book also deals with Light, Shade, and Perspective. The somewhat dramatic drawing (folio 90^r) showing large shadows thrown on the walls of a room which is illuminated by a candle, might serve as an illustration to such statements by Leonardo as: "The spaces occupied by the shadows caused by a small luminous body are of the same size and shape as those not reached by the visual rays (if the eye were in the position of the luminous body)."⁶ "In practice of perspective the same rules apply to light and to the eye."⁷ The drawing showing the shadows of a human figure cast by the sun (folio 88^r) on a wall recalls Leonardo's statement: "The first picture consisted of only one line which outlined the shadow of a man cast by the sun on a wall,"⁸ while the drawings concerning the apparent size of the sun (folio 91^r) surely illustrate Leonardo's astronomical investigations: "Why the sun appears larger when setting than at noon, when it is near us. Every object seen through a curved medium seems to be of larger size than it is."⁹

The rest of the fifth book is devoted to problems of linear perspective, which are described as "the diversity of the collocation of objects according to the angles caused by the eye and the objects with reference to three principal points of view" (p. 58). The three views are the normal view when the object is seen on a level with the beholder, the bird's-eye view, when the object is seen from above, and the worm's-eye view when it is seen from below.

In the numerous illustrations the point of sight is conceived as located in the center of a spherical field of vision whence the visual rays radiate. This is the Euclidian conception described also by Vitruvius, who speaks of the point of sight as the center of a circle such as that formed by the horizon round the spectator. It was a conception known also to Leonardo;¹⁰ and it was therefore not as unique a feature in Renaissance perspective as Panofsky supposes (p. 99). In this connection we should like to recall the existence at that time of another treatise by Leonardo which can no longer be traced and which the owner, Benvenuto Cellini, described as "the finest discourse on perspective that was ever invented, for Leonardo had found the rules for foreshortening not only the longitudes but also the lati-

tude and altitude, and had explained them with such fine facility and method that everybody who saw them became very proficient."¹¹

However, as Panofsky indicates (p. 99), the part (fols. 100-128) which deals with the rules of linear perspective as applied to the human figure cannot be traced to any existing source, and is therefore a unique feature of our codex. Given a normal profile view of a figure, the artist is made to deduce the bird's-eye and worm's-eye views of the front and back. The procedure is analogous to that adopted by architects who, given the elevation, deduce the plan, or given plan and elevation deduce the perspective view by orthographic projection. But here the task is more difficult, for the artist has to deal with the complicated structure of the human figure placed in a variety of poses, and he reveals an astonishing power of visualizing and memorizing. The logical and systematic procedure, which is here revealed to us, for the construction of figures in a great variety of poses seen from different points of view, must have proved very useful in composing the historical pictures of that period. Such work presupposed a training very different from that of the modern artist who concentrates on the direct rendering of actual visual impressions in working from a model. The author's preference for foreshortened views was in conformity with a tendency in the Milanese School which was no doubt inspired by the works of Mantegna at Mantua and Padua. Bramantino, for instance, liked to introduce startling and unusual aspects of the human figure in his paintings. He wrote a treatise on perspective from which the following theorem is quoted by Lomazzo: "Nothing is to be represented of which the artist does not know the exact size, from near and from a distance, as a whole and in all its parts." Another Lombard painter, Gaudenzio Ferrari, reveals a similar delight in foreshortened views in the charming decoration of the cupola at Saronno, with angels playing musical instruments seen from the worm's-eye point of view.

The question of the identity of the author of the Codex Huygens is answered by Panofsky with the suggestion that he may have been Aurelio Luini, whose knowledge of anatomy and perspective are praised by Lomazzo, and who was the owner of a cartoon and of a collection of caricatures by Leonardo. In order to facilitate comparison Panofsky reproduces two drawings by Aurelio Luini, one at Dresden and one in the Uffizi (figs. 76, 77); but it would seem that their style is less direct and sure than that of the codex drawings, and that the figures lack the distinct articulation of parts which is so marked a characteristic of the latter. Another artist mentioned by Panofsky (pp. 86-87) as a possible author of the codex is Ambrogio Figino, a pupil of Lomazzo. We should like to propose that there is perhaps a better, if still tentative, case for this artist in this connection than Panofsky is prepared to admit. Figino too had grown up under the spell of Leonardo's influence, was owner of a number of his drawings, and at the dispersal of the Melzi bequest

5. *Trattato della pittura*, ed. H. Ludwig, Vienna, 1872.

6. J. P. Richter, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, 2nd ed., London, 1939, no. 72A.

7. *Ibid.*, no. 72.

8. *Trattato*, no. 126.

9. Richter, *op. cit.*, no. 289.

10. Compare Richter, *op. cit.*, no. 86, which deals with the same subject as folios 93-97 of the Codex Huygens and where an arc is drawn to represent the base of the pyramid of sight; cf. also nos. 107, 108.

11. Jacopo Morelli, *I codici manoscritti volgari della Libreria Naniiana*, Venice, 1776, p. 158.

secured one of the original manuscripts for himself.¹² His paintings reveal an interest in the problems of foreshortening. Note the postures of the sleeping apostles seen from above in his picture of *Christ on the Mount of Olives* in the Matsvansky collection, formerly at Vienna, and the curious bird's-eye view of the advanced foot in his portrait of Lucio Foppa at the Brera. These renderings recall the last section of our codex. In Figino's painting of Sant' Ambrogio at the Castello Sforzesco, the horse with its bulging eyes recalls the drawings of horses in the codex, which, though copied from Leonardo, lack that master's spirited touch. Moreover, there is similarity in the treatment of drapery in the codex and in these paintings. Figino was an able draughtsman and his drawings are much sought after. A batch of them, which included some copies after Leonardo, made its appearance in Venice recently in the possession of the Italian painter Ferruccio Ferruzzi and was sold at an auction in Vienna.¹³ Probably, then, the question of the authorship of the codex will lead to further comparisons and inquiries before it can be finally settled.

This volume is of interest to students on more than one account. First and foremost, because it contains at least nineteen copies from lost Leonardo drawings, because it recalls two lost treatises by Leonardo, and because it throws new light on the history of his manuscripts. Furthermore, it is an exposition of Renaissance methods of artistic design, parts of which are not to be found in any other treatise on this subject. Professor Panofsky, who in former publications has done much to stimulate the study of artistic technique, is herewith making one more important contribution, to be welcomed alike by artists, students of the Milanese school in particular, and art historians in general.

IRMA A. RICHTER

WILLIAM SENER RUSK, *William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor*, Baltimore, Norman T. A. Munder, 1939. Pp. xii + 143; 24 plates.

At a time when the future of the visual arts seems to rest so largely in the hands of America, it becomes important to determine the directions and qualities of this country's art in the past. Any such study reveals at once how pitifully inadequate has been serious research on American painters and sculptors. The preoccupation of American art historians with European and Asiatic traditions has left the criticism of American art to amateurs and dilettantes.

While periodical articles abound, incredibly few of these can lay any claim to seriousness. For adequate general accounts of American sculpture one can only turn to Post's *History of European and American Sculpture* and to Lorado Taft's *History of American Sculpture*. The former, although by an art historian, substitutes too frequently pleasant description for precise stylistic analysis; while the latter, from the hand of a fine sculptor and teacher, is essentially a monument to the kindly personality

and all-encompassing tolerance of its author. It is difficult to think of any respectable biography of an American sculptor other than Homer Saint-Gaudens' life of Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

The appearance of Professor Rusk's biography of William Henry Rinehart, an objective treatment of an important sculptor by a competent art scholar, is then something of an event. This volume, the result of a long study of the artist, attacks biographical details with great energy and adequacy. An account of Rinehart's life is followed by a reprinting of the bulk of his extant letters. A catalogue of sculptures, a brief "criticism of Rinehart's works," a chapter on the Rinehart scholars, and several appendices, chiefly bibliographical, make up the rest of the book.

Little criticism can be made of Professor Rusk's methods or results in the biographical phases of this study. Letters, newspaper comments, anecdotes of friends and relatives have been collected with a painstaking thoroughness that results in an admirably detailed picture of Rinehart's life and even his genealogy. It is perhaps to be regretted that no more information could be gathered concerning his Roman years, the period that was most decisive in his formation as an artist.

It is, in fact, entirely in this regard—in the curiously inadequate portrait of Rinehart as an artist—that the limitations of the book lie. Rinehart, as Professor Rusk is well aware, was the most talented of the early American sculptors and also occupied a key position as a transitional figure between American neo-classicism and naturalism. He was the perfect type of the first American artists, the rough naturalism of whose native style was polished but never entirely obliterated by long exposure to the European classic tradition. Beyond the merest indication of these facts, no effort is made by Rusk to describe Rinehart's actual development or in what exact respects he formed a link between Powers and Saint-Gaudens. The "criticism of Rinehart's works" is limited to three pages, and in the critical passages included in the catalogue the author leans far too heavily on the rarely penetrating descriptions of Lorado Taft. Professor Rusk's diffidence in analysis is the more curious as in those passages where he deserts his authorities and speaks out for himself, he exhibits a complete awareness of the problems involved in stylistic criticism.

The other questions that can be raised in connection with this study are perhaps minor ones. Rinehart followed, as the author points out, the deplorable neo-classic and modern technique of working with plaster casts from which several replicas in stone and bronze could be made; this is the technique that is so largely responsible for contemporary sculptors' indifference to surface effects. Yet despite the historical importance of the artist's technique, Professor Rusk makes only incidental reference to his manner of working and leaves unanswered questions such as in what degree he was himself responsible for the marble versions—questions most pertinent to any analysis of his style.

Finally, as the volume is an excellently designed and printed press book, it may not be impertinent to

12. See Don Ambrogio Mazzenta's memorandum (Richter, *op. cit.*, II, 394). This manuscript is now lost and there is no record of its subject matter.

13. I owe this information to Professor W. Suida.

say a word concerning the quality of the plates. Sculpture suffers more from photography than the other major arts, and so more care should be exercised in its reproduction. Unfortunately, the plates are here subordinated to the format of the book to a degree that makes many of them quite useless for the study of the sculptures.

The book as a whole remains an important addition to our knowledge of a major American sculptor and performs admirably its task of bringing to light the details of William Rinehart's life. It is to be hoped that Professor Rusk will follow it with another volume that examines in more detail Rinehart's actual accomplishment as a sculptor.

H. HARVARD ARNASON
The Frick Collection

G. H. HARDY, *A Mathematician's Apology*, Cambridge, University Press, 1941. Pp. 93.

Everyone knows that mathematicians sometimes speak of perfectly formulated equations as "beautiful" and are excited by them as the connoisseur is excited by works of art. The present volume will be of the greatest interest and value to "aestheticians," since it is here for the first time that the "beauty" of mathematics has been discussed by a mathematician. Professor Hardy's analysis of this beauty is penetrating and illuminating, and in welcome contrast to the vagueness that is so characteristic of most modern writings on the criteria of beauty in other kinds of art.

"A mathematician, like a painter or a poet, is a maker of patterns. . . . The mathematician's patterns, like the painter's or the poet's, must be *beautiful*; the ideas, like the colours or the words must fit together in a harmonious way. Beauty is the first test: there is no permanent place in the world for ugly mathematics" (pp. 24, 25). "The best mathematics is *serious* as well as beautiful. . . . The beauty of a mathematical theorem *depends* a great deal on its seriousness. . . . A 'serious' theorem is a theorem that contains 'significant' ideas . . . [for which]. . . . There are two things at any rate that seem essential, a certain *generality* and a certain *depth*" (pp. 29-43). By generality it is meant "That the relations revealed by the proof should be such as to connect many different mathematical ideas . . . [not one of] the isolated curiosities in which arithmetic abounds" (p. 44).¹ Depth "has something to do with *difficulty*; the deeper ideas are usually the harder to grasp" (p. 49). In such beautiful theorems as those propounded by Euclid and Pythagoras "there is a very high degree of *unexpectedness*, combined with *inevitability* and *economy* . . . the weapons used seem so childishly simple compared with the far-reaching results; but there is no escape from the conclusions" (p. 53). And thus Professor Hardy is

"interested in mathematics only as a creative art" (p. 55).

Having so well defined what are in fact the essentials in any art, the author, who seems to be acquainted only with modern ("aesthetic") conceptions of art, naturally rates the beauty of mathematics above that of "art." He quotes without protest Housman's "Poetry is not the thing said but a way of saying it"—a pronouncement fit to make Dante or Āśvaghōṣa turn in their graves. He takes an example from Shakespeare:

Not all the water in the rough rude sea

Can wash the balm from an anointed King
and asks "Could lines be better, and could ideas be at once more trite and more false? The poverty of the ideas seems hardly to affect the beauty of the verbal pattern." What the example really proves is, not that beauty can be independent of validity, but that beauty and validity are relative. There is nothing made that can be either beautiful or apt in all contexts. "Nothing is beautiful for any other purpose than that for which that thing is adapted" (Socrates in Xenophon *Mem.* iv. 6, 9). The example also shows that no pronouncement can be true except for those to whom its truth is apparent. To any Platonist or other traditionalist, and to the reviewer Shakespeare's words are beautiful *and* true, but they are not true for Professor Hardy or in any democratic context. And where they are not true, the mere fact that the sounds of the words is liked does not make them beautiful in the sense of the tradition that maintains that "Beauty pertains to cognition"; but only "beautiful" (or rather, "lovely") to those whom Plato calls "lovers of fine colours and sounds." Professor Hardy is not one of these; he confesses ignorance of aesthetics, but all he needs to do is to apply his own mathematical standards of intelligibility and economy to other works of art, and let the Housmans say what they will. "Ideas do matter to the pattern" (p. 31).

As an "Apology," Professor Hardy's book is a defence of real or higher mathematics against those who raise objection to their uselessness (in the crude sense of the word). All he need have said is that mathematics as a whole serves needs both of the soul and of the body, like the arts of primitive man and those which Plato would have admitted to his Republic. That the higher mathematics have served his own soul well is shown by his concluding statement that, if he had a statue on a column in London, and were able to choose whether the column should be so high that the features of the statue would be invisible, or so low that they could be clearly seen, he would choose the first alternative (p. 93); and since it is man's first duty to work out his own salvation (from himself), no further defence is needed. He makes it perfectly clear that he could not have "done better" in any other field; mathematics was his vocation. He was right to be a mathematician, not because he succeeded (p. 90), but rather, he succeeded because he did "what it was his to do, by nature," which is Plato's type of "justice" and in the *Bhagavad Gītā* the way that leads to perfection.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

1. The bearing of this upon the notion of art as the record of an impression or effect is obvious. An art form can only be called "serious" when it subsumes many single instances. The Trundholm sun-wheel is serious, but a still life of a particular wagon wheel in a particular light is trivial. The Japanese are justified in not taking their *ukiyo-e* "seriously."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TO THE EDITOR FOR BOOK REVIEWS
SIR:

I should like to call attention through the pages of the ART BULLETIN to Bernard Berenson's *Pittura Italiana del Rinascimento*, translated into Italian by Emilio Cecchi and published by Ulrico Hoepli at Milan in 1936. The few American scholars who know this translation probably regard it as identical for practical purposes with the English version of 1932. Nothing could be further from the fact. In the four years intervening between the two editions the author carefully revised his lists, occasionally changed his opinion, noted shifts in location, and made considerable additions. To such a familiar list as that of Fra Angelico, there are seven additions. To the list of Giovanni Bellini there are three additions and eight other changes representing revision of opinion and shifts in location. The list for Botticelli shows three additions and four other changes.

These samples are characteristic. In short, whoever would profit to the full by Mr. Berenson's labors as a cataloguer must use the Italian version—alas! procurable with difficulty in these troubled times—or must manage to borrow it and collate it with his English *I.P.R.* May the time be not too far distant when Mr. Berenson's English publishers may be able to issue a second edition. The war will change the location of many a picture, and while Mr. Berenson himself can hardly be expected to renew the useful and self-sacrificing labor of revamping his indispensable lists, the necessary task of editorship could be accomplished in a few weeks by any competent scholar enjoying the facilities of the Frick Art Reference Library or, even better, those of Mr. Berenson's library at Settignano, which has always been hospitably open to all serious students.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

J. W. CROWFOOT, *Early Churches in Palestine (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1937)*, London, published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv+166; 30 plates+22 figs. \$3.25.

FRANCIS J. GECK, *Bibliography of Italian Rococo Art*, Vol. x, Boulder, Colo., Boulder Publishing Co., 1941. Pp. v+76.

ERNST E. HERZFELD, *Iran in the Ancient East*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. 363; 131 plates (8 hand-colored)+421 figs. \$40.00.

GEORGIANA GODDARD KING, *Heart of Spain*, edited by Agnes Mongan, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. ix+179; 10 plates. \$3.00.

SUNE LINDQVIST, *Gotlands Bildsteine I*, Stockholm, Wahlström & Widstrand, 1941. Pp. 151; 72 plates +263 figs. 35 Kr.; bound, 40 kr.

GILBERT MÉDIONI and MARIE-THÉRÈSE PINTO, *Art in Ancient Mexico, Selected and Photographed from the Collection of Diego Rivera*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xxvi; 259 plates. \$10.00.

DAVID M. ROBINSON, *Excavations at Olynthus, Part X, Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xxvii +593; 171 plates+33 figs. \$20.00.

STUDIES IN THE ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE by Carl W. Blegen, Rhys Carpenter, Charles R. Morey, Francis H. Taylor, Dixon Ryan Fox, John E. Burchard, Leopold Arnaud, Theodore Spencer, Joseph Hudnut, George Howe, Frederick H. Frankland, Harvey W. Corbett. University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. \$1.25.

WERNER WEISBACH, *Spanish Baroque Art (Three Lectures Delivered at the University of London)*, Cambridge, University Press, 1941; New York, The Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. xi+65; 67 figs. \$2.25.

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century*, London, Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xxix+307; 120 plates, 117 figs., 3 maps. \$17.50.

INDEX FOR VOLUME XXIII

INDEX FOR VOLUME XXIII

- ABBOTT, JERE, review of John McAndrew: *Guide to Modern Architecture: Northeast States*, 185
- Academies of Art, Past and Present*, by Nikolaus Pevsner, reviewed by ROBERT GOLDWATER, 184
- Aesop, Life *see* Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai and the Life of Aesop
- Alfred Stevens: A Biography with New Material*, by Kenneth Romney Towndrow, reviewed by W. G. CONSTABLE, 242
- Allegories of the Months in Classical Art, The*, by DORO LEVI, 251
- Altarpiece by Piero della Francesca *see* Documented Altarpiece by Piero della Francesca
- American Architectural Books*, by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, reviewed by FRANK J. ROOS, JR., 186
- Arabesque of Berain *see* Sources and Evolution of the Arabesque of Berain
- Architecture
- American *see* American Architectural Books; *see* Bulfinch's Design for the Library of Congress; *see* Frank Lloyd Wright at the Museum of Modern Art; *see* Guide to Modern Architecture: Northeast States; *see* Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver
- Byzantine *see* Hagia Sophia
- French *see* Creation of the Style Louis XV; *see* Notre Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century; *see* Sources and Evolution of the Arabesque of Berain
- Medieval *see* Early Muslim Architecture; *see* Notre Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century
- Modern *see* Frank Lloyd Wright at the Museum of Modern Art; *see* Guide to Modern Architecture: Northeast States
- Muslim *see* Early Muslim Architecture
- Architecture through the Ages*, by Talbot Hamlin, reviewed by LEWIS MUMFORD, 86
- ARNASON, H. HARVARD, review of William Sener Rusk: *William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor*, 338
- Art Theory *see* Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600; *see* Arts and the Art of Criticism; *see* Codex Huygens and Leonardo da Vinci's Art Theory; *see* Space in Medieval Painting
- Artist, H. Daumier: Interpreter of History, The*, by Ynez Ghirardelli, reviewed by HENRI MARCEAU, 244
- Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600*, by Anthony Blunt, reviewed by RENSSELAER W. LEE, 332
- Arts and the Art of Criticism, The*, by T. M. Greene
- Letter from Irwin Edman concerning, 81
- Letter from T. M. Greene concerning, 80
- AVERY, MYRTILLA, *Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai and of the Life of Aesop in The Pierpont Morgan Library*, 103
- BACHHOFER, LUDWIG
- Bronze Figures of the Late Chou Period*, 317
- Review of William Charles White: *Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China*, 96
- Berain *see* Sources and Evolution of the Arabesque of Berain
- Berenson, Bernard: *Pittura Italiana del Rinascimento*, Letter to the Editor concerning, 340
- Bidpai, Fables *see* Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai
- Blunt, Anthony: *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600*, reviewed by RENSSELAER W. LEE, 332
- Book Reviews, 82, 174, 225, 332
- Books Received, List of, 99, 187, 247, 340
- Borsig, Arnold von: *Die Toscana, Landschaft, Kunst und Leben im Bild*, reviewed by ULRICH MIDDELDOERF, 95
- Brizio, Anna Maria: *Ottocento, Novecento (Storia Universale dell'Arte, VI)*, reviewed by G. HAYDN HUNTLEY, 94
- Bronze Figures of the Late Chou Period*, by LUDWIG BACHHOFER, 317
- Brooklyn Museum, Exhibition of Pagan and Christian Art in Egypt *see* Pagan and Christian Art in Egypt
- Bulfinch's Design for the Library of Congress*, by ROGER HALE NEWTON, 221
- Bunim, Miriam Schild: *Space in Medieval Painting and the Forerunners of Perspective*, reviewed by RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER, 178
- Byzantine Ivory *see* Fragments of a Byzantine Ivory Box
- Calendars *see* Allegories of the Months in Classical Art
- CALLISEN, S. A., *The Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV in Dijon and Related Monuments*, 131
- Chicago Art Institute, Goya Exhibition *see* Goya Exhibition at Chicago
- Chinese Bronzes *see* Bronze Figures of the Late Chou Period
- Chinese Painting *see* Early Chinese Landscape Painting
- Chinese Tiles *see* Tomb Tiles Pictures of Ancient China
- Christie, A. G. I.: *English Medieval Embroidery*, reviewed by RENSSELAER W. LEE, 180
- CLAPP, FREDERICK MORTIMER, review of Agnes Mongan and Paul J. Sachs: *Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 174
- Classical Art *see* Allegories of the Months in Classical Art; *see* Imagines of the Elder Philostratus; *see* Pagan and Christian Art in Egypt
- Codex Huygens and Leonardo da Vinci's Art Theory, The*, by Erwin Panofsky, reviewed by IRMA A. RICHTER, 335
- CONANT, KENNETH JOHN, review of Charles Seymour, Jr.: *Notre Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century*, 87
- CONSTABLE, W. G., review of Kenneth Romney Towndrow: *Alfred Stevens: A Biography with New Material*, 242
- COOK, WALTER W. S., review of the Exhibition of Spanish Painting at the Toledo Museum of Art, 223
- COOMARASWAMY, ANANDA K. •
- An Ivory Casket from Southern India*, 207
- Letter to the Editor concerning *A Survey of Persian Art*, 173
- Review of G. H. Hardy: *A Mathematician's Apology*, 339
- Coptic Art *see* Pagan and Christian Art in Egypt
- COTT, PERRY B., review of F. Stohman: *Gli Smalti del Museo Sacro Vaticano*, 92

- Creation of the Style Louis XV, The*, by FISKE KIMBALL, I
 Creswell, K. A. C.: *Early Muslim Architecture, Part Two*, reviewed by ERIC SCHROEDER, 233
- Daumier *see* Artist, H. Daumier
 "David to Toulouse-Lautrec" at the Metropolitan Museum, reviewed by HENRY P. MCILHENNY, 170
 DER NERSESSIAN, SIRARPPIE, review of Pagan and Christian Art in Egypt: an Exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum, 165
 Dijon, Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV *see* Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV
Documented Altarpiece by Piero della Francesca, A, by MILLARD MEISS, 53
 Doura-Europos, Synagogue *see* Peintures de la Synagogue de Doura-Europos
Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art, A Critical Catalogue, by AGNES MORGAN and Paul J. Sachs, reviewed by FREDERICK MORTIMER CLAPP, 174
 Dumbarton Oaks Collection, reviewed by HANNS SWARZENSKI, 77
 Dutch Painting *see* Recent Periodical Literature on 17th-Century Painting in the Netherlands and Germany
- Early Chinese Landscape Painting*, by ALEXANDER C. SOPER, 141
Early Muslim Architecture, Part Two, by K. A. C. Creswell, reviewed by ERIC SCHROEDER, 233
 EDMAN, IRWIN, Letter to the Editor concerning T. M. Greene: *The Arts and the Art of Criticism*, 81
 Egypt, Pagan and Christian Art *see* Pagan and Christian Art in Egypt
 Embroidery, English *see* English Medieval Embroidery
 Enamels *see* Smalti del Museo Sacro Vaticano
English Medieval Embroidery, by A. G. I. Christie, reviewed by RENSSELAER W. LEE, 180
Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV in Dijon and Related Monuments, The, by S. A. CALISEN, 131
Etruscans and Their Art, The, by George M. A. Hanfmann, reviewed by GISELA M. A. RICHTER, 177
 Exhibition of Spanish Paintings at the Toledo Museum of Art, reviewed by WALTER W. S. COOK, 223
 Exhibition Reviews
 "David to Toulouse-Lautrec," 170
 Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 77
 Frank Lloyd Wright, 73
 Goya, 169
 Indian Art of the United States, 67
 Pagan and Christian Art in Egypt, 165
 Spanish Painting, 223
- Flemish Painting *see* Recent Periodical Literature on 17th-Century Painting in the Netherlands and Germany
 Fogg Museum of Art
 Drawings *see* Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art
 Spanish Romanesque Column *see* Spanish Romanesque Column in the Fogg Art Museum
 Forain *see* Religious Influence in the Art of Jean-Louis Forain
- Fragments of a Byzantine Ivory Box*, by MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS, 71
 Frank Lloyd Wright at the Museum of Modern Art, reviewed by HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, 73
 French Painting *see* "David to Toulouse-Lautrec"
 Frick Collection, Piero della Francesca Panel *see* Documented Altarpiece by Piero della Francesca
 Fry, Roger *see* Roger Fry
- German 17th-Century Painting *see* Recent Periodical Literature on 17th-Century Painting in the Netherlands and Germany
 Ghirardelli, Ynez: *The Artist, H. Daumier: Interpreter of History*, reviewed by HENRI MARCEAU, 244
 GOLDWATER, ROBERT J.
 Review of Nikolaus Pevsner: *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, 184
 Some Aspects of the Development of Seurat's Style, 117
 Goya Exhibition at Chicago, reviewed by Josep Gudiol, 169
 Greene, Theodore M.: *The Arts and the Art of Criticism*
 Letters to the Editor concerning, 80, 81
 GUDIOL, JOSEF, review of Goya Exhibition at Chicago, 169
Guide to Modern Architecture: Northeast States, by John McAndrew, reviewed by JERE ABBOTT, 185
- Hagia Sophia*, by Emerson Howland Swift, reviewed by ANDREW S. KECK, 237
 HAMLIN, TALBOT
 Architecture through the Ages, reviewed by LEWIS MUMFORD, 86
 Review of Fiske Kimball: *Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver, the Architect of Salem*, 88
 Hanfmann, George M. A.: *The Etruscans and Their Art*, reviewed by GISELA M. A. RICHTER, 177
 Hardy, G. I.: *A Mathematician's Apology*, reviewed by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, 339
 HITCHCOCK, HENRY-RUSSELL
 American Architectural Books, reviewed by FRANK J. ROOS, JR., 186
 Review of Exhibition of Frank Lloyd Wright at the Museum of Modern Art, 73
Hundred Years of Photography, A, by Lucia Moholy, reviewed by BEAUMONT NEWHALL, 246
 HUNTLEY, G. HAYDN, review of Anna Maria Brizio: *Ottocento; Novecento (Storia Universale dell'Arte, VI)*, 94
 Huygens, Codex *see* Codex Huygens
- Iberian Sculpture *see* Picasso and Iberian Sculpture
Imagines of the Elder Philostratus, The, by KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, 16
 Indian Art of the United States: An Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, reviewed by GEORGE C. VAILLANT, 67
 Indian Ivory *see* Ivory Casket from Southern India
 Ivory, Byzantine *see* Fragments of a Byzantine Ivory Box
 Ivory, Indian *see* Ivory Casket from Southern India
Ivory Casket from Southern India, An, by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, 207

- KECK, ANDREW S., review of Emerson Howland Swift: *Hagia Sophia*, 237
- KIMBALL, FISKE
The Creation of the Style Louis XV, 1
Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver, The Architect of Salem, reviewed by TALBOT HAMLIN, 88
Sources and Evolution of the Arabesque of Berain, 307
- KRAUTHEIMER, RICHARD, review of Miriam Schild Bunim: *Space in Medieval Painting and the Forerunners of Perspective*, 178
- Last Lectures*, by Roger Fry, reviewed by JAMES JOHNSON SWEENEY, 90
- LEE, RENSSLAER W.
 Review of A. G. I. Christie: *English Medieval Embroidery*, 180
 Review of Anthony Blunt: *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600*, 332
- LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, KARL, *The Imagines of the Elder Philostratus*, 16
- Leonardo da Vinci *see* Codex Huygens
- LEVI, DORO, *The Allegories of the Months in Classical Art*, 251
- Library of Congress, Bulfinch's Design for *see* Bulfinch's Design for the Library of Congress
- Louis XIV, Equestrian Statue *see* Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV at Dijon
- Louis XV, Style *see* Creation of the Style Louis XV
- Madonna of the Writing Christ Child, The*, by CHARLES P. PARKHURST, JR., 292
- MARCEAU, HENRI, review of Ynez Ghirardelli: *The Artist H. Daumier: Interpreter of History*, 244
- Mathematician's Apology, A*, by G. H. Hardy, reviewed by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, 339
- MATHER, FRANK JEWETT, JR., Letter to the Editor, 340
- MC ANDREW, JOHN
Guide to Modern Architecture: Northeast States, reviewed by JERE ABBOTT, 185
 Review of Laurence E. Schmeckebier: *Modern Mexican Art*, 97
- MC ILHENNY, HENRY P., review of exhibition "David to Toulouse-Lautrec" at the Metropolitan Museum, 170
- McIntire *see* Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver
- MEISS, MILLARD, *A Documented Altarpiece by Piero della Francesca*, 53
- Mendell, Elizabeth Lawrence: *Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge*, reviewed by DAVID M. ROBB, 240
- Mesnil du Buisson, Comte du: *Les Peintures de la Synagogue de Doura-Europos*, reviewed by C. R. MOREY, 231
- Metropolitan Museum, Exhibition of "David to Toulouse-Lautrec" *see* "David to Toulouse-Lautrec"
- Mexican Art *see* Modern Mexican Art
- MIDDELDORF, ULRICH, review of Arnold von Borsig: *Die Toscana, Landschaft, Kunst und Leben im Bild*, 95
- Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai and of the Life of Aesop in The Pierpont Morgan Library*, by MYRTILLA AVERY, 103
- Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver, the Architect of Salem*, by Fiske Kimball, reviewed by TALBOT HAMLIN, 88
- Modern Mexican Art*, by Laurence E. Schmeckebier, reviewed by JOHN MC ANDREW, 97
- Moholy, Lucia: *A Hundred Years of Photography*, reviewed by BEAUMONT NEWHALL, 246
- Mongan, Agnes, and Paul J. Sachs: *Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art*, reviewed by FREDERICK MORTIMER CLAPP, 174
- Months *see* Allegories of the Months in Classical Art
- MOREY, C. R., review of Comte du Mesnil du Buisson: *Les Peintures de la Synagogue de Doura-Europos*, 231
- Morgan Library
 Codex Huygens *see* Codex Huygens
 Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai *see* Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai
- MUMFORD, LEWIS, review of Talbot Hamlin: *Architecture through the Ages*, 86
- Museum of Modern Art
 Exhibition of Frank Lloyd Wright *see* Frank Lloyd Wright at the Museum of Modern Art
 Exhibition of Indian Art *see* Indian Art of the United States
- Muslim Architecture *see* Early Muslim Architecture
- Netherlands, 17th-Century Painting *see* Recent Periodical Literature on 17th-Century Painting in the Netherlands and Germany
- NEWHALL, BEAUMONT, review of Lucia Moholy: *A Hundred Years of Photography*, 246
- NEWTON, ROGER HALE, *Bulfinch's Design for the Library of Congress*, 221
- Notes for Contributors, 101
- Notre Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century*, by Charles Seymour, Jr., reviewed by KENNETH JOHN CONANT, 87
- Noyon, Notre Dame *see* Notre Dame of Noyon
- Ottocento; Novecento (Storia Universale dell'Arte, VI)*, by Anna Maria Brizio, reviewed by G. HAYDN HUNTLEY, 94
- Pagan and Christian Art in Egypt: An Exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum, reviewed by SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN, 165
- Painting, Medieval *see* Space in Medieval Painting
- Panofsky, Erwin: *The Codex Huygens and Leonardo da Vinci's Art Theory*, reviewed by IRMA A. RICHTER, 335
- PARKHURST, CHARLES P., JR., *The Madonna of the Writing Christ Child*, 292
- Peintures de la Synagogue de Doura-Europos, Les*, by Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, reviewed by C. R. MOREY, 231
- Periodical Reviews, 225
- Persian Art *see* Survey of Persian Art
- Perspective *see* Space in Medieval Painting
- Pevsner, Nikolaus: *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, reviewed by ROBERT J. GOLDWATER, 184
- Philostratus *see* Imagines of the Elder Philostratus
- Photography *see* Hundred Years of Photography
- Picasso and Iberian Sculpture*, by JAMES JOHNSON SWEENEY, 191
- Piero della Francesca *see* Documented Altarpiece by Piero della Francesca

- Pittura Italiana del Rinascimento*, by Bernard Berenson, Letter to the Editor concerning, 340
- Recent Periodical Literature on 17th-Century Painting in the Netherlands and Germany, reviewed by WOLFGANG STECHOW, 225
- Religious Influences on the Art of Jean-Louis Forain*, by JOSEPH C. SLOANE, JR., 199
- RICHTER, GISELA M. A., review of George M. A. Hanfmann: *The Etruscans and their Art*, 177
- RICHTER, IRMA A., review of Erwin Panofsky: *The Codex Huygens and Leonardo da Vinci's Art Theory*, 335
- Rinehart, William Henry *see* William Henry Rinehart
- ROBB, DAVID M., review of Elizabeth Lawrence Mendell: *Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge*, 240
- ROE, ALBERT S., *A Steatite Plaque in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library*, 213
- Roger Fry: *A Biography*, by Virginia Woolf, reviewed by JAMES JOHNSON SWEENEY, 90
- Romanesque Column in the Fogg Art Museum *see* Spanish Romanesque Column in the Fogg Art Museum
- Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge*, by Elizabeth Lawrence Mendell, reviewed by DAVID M. ROBB, 240
- ROOS, FRANK J., review of Henry-Russell Hitchcock: *American Architectural Books*, 186
- ROSS, MARVIN CHAUNCEY, *Fragments of a Byzantine Ivory Box*, 71
- Rusk, William Sener: *William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor*, reviewed by H. HARVARD ARNASON, 338
- Sachs, Paul J., and Agnes Mongan: *Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art*, reviewed by FREDERICK MORTIMER CLAPP, 174
- Saintonge, Romanesque Sculpture *see* Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge
- SCHAPIRO, MEYER
Letter to the Editor concerning *A Survey of Persian Art*, 173
Review of *A Survey of Persian Art*, 82
- Schmeckebier, Laurence E.: *Modern Mexican Art*, reviewed by JOHN MC ANDREW, 97
- Schroeder, Eric, review of K. A. C. Creswell: *Early Muslim Architecture, Part Two*, 233
- Seurat *see* Some Aspects of the Development of Seurat's Style
- Seymour, Charles, Jr.: *Notre Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century*, reviewed by KENNETH JOHN CONANT, 87
- SLOANE, JOSEPH C., JR., *Religious Influences on the Art of Jean-Louis Forain*, 199
- Smalti del Museo Sacro Vaticano, Gli*, by F. Stohlmán, reviewed by PERRY B. COTT, 92
- Some Aspects of the Development of Seurat's Style*, by ROBERT J. GOLDWATER, 117
- SOPER, ALEXANDER C., *Early Chinese Landscape Painting*, 141
- Sources and Evolution of the Arabesque of Berain*, by FISKE KIMBALL, 307
- Space in Medieval Painting and the Forerunners of Perspective*, by Miriam Schild Bunim, reviewed by RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER, 178
- Spanish Painting *see* Exhibition of Spanish Painting; *see* Goya Exhibition at Chicago
- Spanish Romanesque Column in the Fogg Art Museum*, A, by W. R. TYLER, 45
- Steatite Plaque in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library*, A, by ALBERT S. ROE, 213
- Stevens, Alfred *see* Alfred Stevens
- STECHOW, WOLFGANG, Review of Recent Periodical Literature on 17th-Century Painting in the Netherlands and Germany, 225
- Stohlmán, F.: *Gli Smalti del Museo Sacro Vaticano*, reviewed by PERRY B. COTT, 92
- Style Louis XV *see* Creation of the Style Louis XV
- Survey of Persian Art*, A
Reviewed by MEYER SCHAPIRO, 82
Letters to the Editor Concerning, 173
- SWARZENSKI, HANNS, review of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 77
- SWEENEY, JAMES JOHNSON
Picasso and Iberian Sculpture, 191
Review of Roger Fry: *Last Lectures* and Virginia Woolf: *Roger Fry, A Biography*, 90
- Swift, Emerson Howland: *Ilagia Sophia*, reviewed by ANDREW S. KECK, 237
- Toledo Museum of Art, Exhibition of Spanish Painting *see* Exhibition of Spanish Painting
- Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China*, by William Charles White, reviewed by LUDWIG BACHHOFFER, 96
- Toscana, Landschaft, Kunst und Leben im Bild*, Die, by Arnold von Borsig, reviewed by ULRICH MIDDLELDORF, 95
- Toulouse-Lautrec *see* "David to Toulouse-Lautrec"
- Towndrow, Kenneth Romney: *Alfred Stevens: A Biography with New Material*, reviewed by W. C. CONSTABLE, 242
- TYLER, W. R., *A Spanish Romanesque Column in the Fogg Art Museum*, 45
- VAILLANT, GEORGE C., review of Exhibition of Indian Art of the United States, 167
- Vatican, Museo Sacro
Enamels *see* Smalti del Museo Sacro Vaticano
Steatite Plaque *see* Steatite Plaque in the Museo Sacro
- White, William Charles: *Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China*, reviewed by LUDWIG BACHHOFFER, 96
- William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor*, by William Sener Rusk, reviewed by H. HARVARD ARNASON, 338
- Woolf, Virginia: *Roger Fry: A Biography*, reviewed by JAMES JOHNSON SWEENEY, 90
- Wright, Frank Lloyd *see* Frank Lloyd Wright
- Writing Christ Child *see* Madonna of the Writing Christ Child



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